





4/22

rare

c1909

This book belongs  
to  
Albert Hoxie





**Morris and Morgan's Latin Series**

**EDITED FOR USE IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES**

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

**EDWARD P. MORRIS, L.H.D.,**

**PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN YALE UNIVERSITY**

AND

**MORRIS H. MORGAN, PH.D.,**

**PROFESSOR OF CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY**

## VOLUMES OF THE SERIES

**Essentials of Latin for Beginners.** Henry C. Pearson, Teachers College, New York.

**A School Latin Grammar.** Morris H. Morgan, Harvard University

**A First Latin Writer.** M. A. Abbott, Groton School.

**Connected Passages for Latin Prose Writing.** Maurice W. Mather, formerly of Harvard University, and Arthur L. Wheeler, Bryn Mawr College.

**Caesar. Episodes from the Gallic and Civil Wars.** Maurice W. Mather, formerly of Harvard University.

**Cicero. Ten Orations and Selected Letters.** J. Remsen Bishop, Eastern High School, Detroit, Frederick A. King, Hughes High School, Cincinnati, and Wilbur Helm, Evanston Academy of Northwestern University.

**Six Orations.**

**Selections from Latin Prose Authors for Sight Reading.** Susan Braley Franklin and Ella Catherine Greene, Miss Baldwin's School, Bryn Mawr.

**Cicero. Cato Maior.** Frank G. Moore, Columbia University.

**Cicero. Laelius de Amicitia.** Clifton Price, University of California.

**Selections from Livy.** Harry E. Burton, Dartmouth College.

**Horace. Odes and Epodes.** Clifford H. Moore, Harvard University.

**Horace. Satires.** Edward P. Morris, Yale University.

**Horace. Satires and Epistles.** Edward P. Morris, Yale University.

**Horace. Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Saeculare, Moore. Satires and Epistles, Morris.** In one volume.

**Tibullus.** Kirby F. Smith, Johns Hopkins University.

**Lucretius.** William A. Merrill, University of California.

**Latin Literature of the Empire.** Alfred Gudeman, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania.

Vol. I. Prose: Velleius to Boethius . . . . .

Vol. II. Poetry: Pseudo-Vergiliana to Claudianus . . . . .

**Selections from the Public and Private Law of the Romans.** James J. Robinson, Hotchkiss School.

*Others to be announced later.*

# HORACE

# THE SATIRES

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

EDWARD P. MORRIS

PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN YALE COLLEGE

NEW YORK ·· CINCINNATI ·· CHICAGO  
AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

COPYRIGHT, 1909, BY  
EDWARD P. MORRIS AND MORRIS H. MORGAN.

ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL, LONDON.

---

MORRIS. HORACE SATIRES.

W. P. 8

## PREFACE

THIS book will be found to differ from the many excellent editions of the Satires accessible to American students chiefly in the emphasis which I have desired to place upon the thought of Horace, as distinguished from the language or the verse or the allusions. That is, without denying that Horace may be made useful as the basis for a study of Roman life, and without forgetting that it is absurd to talk of studying the thought, if the language is only imperfectly understood, I have nevertheless believed that of all the Latin writers read in college Horace was the one in whose writings literary form could be most interestingly studied. In the Satires, too, the connection of thought is peculiar and, at first, difficult to follow. To meet this difficulty and to facilitate the understanding of each satire as a whole, the introductions have been made somewhat fuller than is usual.

E. P. MORRIS.





## INTRODUCTION

THE events in the life of Horace are known to us from two sources : first, from an extract from Suetonius, preserved in the manuscripts of Horace and printed below ; and, second, from the many personal allusions in his works.

Quintus Horatius Flaccus was born in Venusia, a Roman colony in the borderland between Lucania and Apulia, on the 8th of December, 65 B.C. His father was a freedman, that is, he had been a slave, but had bought his freedom or had been manumitted, and was engaged in some small business in or near Venusia. He was apparently of Italian stock, and in character and circumstances he was a man of the older Roman type, energetic, prudent, ambitious. The ambition took, in particular, the form of a determination to give to his son the best possible education and opportunities, — one of many modern touches in the life of Horace, — and in furtherance of this determination he brought the son to Rome and placed him in one of the best schools of the city. Somewhere about 45 B.C. Horace went to Athens — as young men now go to a university — to carry on studies and hear lectures on rhetoric, philosophy, and mathematics ; this was the ordinary culmination of a Roman higher education, and Horace at this time, as probably also in the school in Rome, formed associations and friendships with young men of intellectual tastes and of social position somewhat higher than his own. While he was still a student at Athens, not yet quite twenty-one, the death of Caesar in March, 44, divided the Roman world into two hostile camps, and when

## INTRODUCTION

Brutus came to Athens in the late summer of 44, on his way to assume the governorship of Macedonia and Asia Minor, Horace abandoned his studies and accompanied him with the nominal title of *tribunus militum*. Of the two years that intervened between the death of Caesar and the battle of Philippi, in 42, there is no record except the rather juvenile seventh satire of the First Book. It is probable that his father had died and that the property had been lost, perhaps confiscated; for when Horace returned to Rome in 41, he was obliged to support himself by taking a clerkship in the treasury department; here he began his career as a writer.

Behind these bare facts of his early life the temperament and character of Horace were taking shape. The story has in it so much that is modern that we are perhaps in danger of forcing the analogies, yet the outlines of the process are clear. Horace was a country boy, trained in the prudent traditions of a quiet life; his father desired for him the rise in station which he had himself only partially achieved, and sought it by means of a higher education and more stimulating associations than a remote village could afford. From the studies of the university the young man was plunged into the floods of civil war, following the leadership of the half-mystical and wholly romantic Brutus. He returned to Rome a pardoned rebel; the cause which he still believed to have been the cause of liberty was lost; his hopes of advancement in public life were at an end; his father was dead, his friends scattered, his property gone. Obscure, disappointed, perhaps a little embittered, he was to begin life over again. If this young man seems a different person from the Horace whom we associate with graceful love poems and the doctrine of the golden mean, it is only because we accept the result without following the process which led to it. For the two are identical; there is no break in the development; indeed, it is out of precisely such material that the mellow and penetrating commentator upon life is made, when success and recogni-

## INTRODUCTION

tion, as well as disenchantment and difficulty, have done their part in shaping his character.

It was in the decade between 41, when he returned after Philippi, and 30, when at the age of thirty-five he published the *Epodes* and the *Second Book of Satires*, that his character and his life philosophy were matured. Few events are known to us out of these years. In 39 or 38 he was introduced by Vergil and Varius to Maecenas, and in 33 he received from Maecenas the gift of the Sabine farm, which was in a special sense his home for the rest of his life. But the intimacy with the circle of poets and critics who were gathered about Maecenas, greatly as it stimulated him, and the lasting friendship with Maecenas himself, with all the resulting benefits, were only important incidents in his development; his real life was in his writings. He began with a group of three satires, 2, 7, and 8 of Book I, and it was these which, with some of the *Epodes*, brought him to the notice of Vergil, and ultimately of Maecenas. They are plainly the work of a young writer. The seventh, though it is well written, is trivial; the eighth is a kind of burlesque *Priapus*-poem, without wit or real humor, unpleasantly personal and with no marked attractiveness of style. Of the second it must be said plainly that it is an attempt to draw attention by jesting indecency; there is no other possible interpretation of the choice of subject. On the other hand, the style of the seventh is good, the eighth is better than most poems of its kind, and the second, except in the choice of subject, is the real Horace, easy in style and handling, humorous and yet in a certain way serious. There is enough of sharpness and even of bitterness in it to explain the criticisms that it brought upon the writer, and the tone of the next satire, 4 of Book I, shows that Horace was himself aware that the earlier satires needed defense, if not apology. But a clear-sighted critic, on the lookout, as the members of the circle of Maecenas were, for young men of promise, would certainly have seen that the writer of these poems was a man not to be

neglected. The satires which followed the admission of Horace to the friendship of Vergil and Varius and Maecenas need no specific comment beyond that which will be found in the special introductions; they are not the work of an obscure beginner, but of a man tempered by association with men of taste, melowed by friendly recognition, and already master of an easy style and a sane and humorous philosophy of life.

His choice of satire as a means of expression is explained by Horace in *Sat.* 1, 10, 40-47; he says that other fields — comedy, tragedy, the epic, the bucolic — were already occupied, and that satire alone seemed open to him. But this explanation is not to be taken seriously; the causes which determined his choice were deeper, partly in his own temperament, partly in the conditions of his time. He was by nature an observer of men; he found in the interplay of character and circumstance a spectacle of constant interest, and the account which he gives (*Sat.* 1, 4, 105-143) of the teachings of his father and of his own habitual attitude, however humorous the application which he makes of it, is essentially true. To a man of such a habit of mind satire, in the sense which Horace gave to the word, as a good-natured commentary, that is, upon the follies and upon the virtues, too, of the men with whom he lived, was the most natural vehicle of expression. In so far as he was inclined toward more serious and emotional expression, he used at first the half-lyrical form of the Epodes, and the absence of the more profound feelings from the Satires is to be explained in part by the fact that they found another outlet in such poems as Epodes 4, 7, 9, and 16. But these strongly emotional verses look backward to the tempestuous past; they express the attitude of the obscure and defeated republican, struggling with circumstances and not yet in harmony with himself, and their subjects belong rather to the period of strife than to the new era upon which Rome was entering. The Augustan Age, precisely because it checked the vigorous public activities of the preceding period and turned

## INTRODUCTION

men back upon science and philosophy and law and literature, was of all periods in Roman history the one which offered the most inviting material for humorous commentary. As on the crowded streets of the city men of every country and of all stations met and passed on, — a peasant from the mountains, a deposed Eastern king, a Greek philosopher, a Roman noble, — so in the complex social structure motives of every possible form and color were at work. Though public activities were checked, the office-holding and office-seeking politician flourished as he always flourishes under a one-man power, and his ambitions, selfish enough, yet not wholly unworthy, were an open invitation to discriminating satire. The immense business interests, too, which centered at Rome, presented then, as now, their puzzling mixture of motives and of influences, and it was to the man of business that Horace addressed the satire which was the preface to his first collected publication, as if the business man was to him the most marked figure of the age. Intermingled with these ambitions as a kind of common reward for every form of success was the prize of social recognition and prominence, which seems to have had for a Roman, with his outspoken personal conceits and vanities, an attractiveness even greater and more general than it has in modern societies; and certainly no spectacle offers itself more invitingly to the genial satirist than the spectacle of the social struggle. Horace played his part in society, as Thackeray did, and gathered material for his *Book of Snobs*. Somewhat apart from all these rivalries, but with rivalries no less keen in their own sphere, were the two schools of philosophy, the Epicurean and the Stoic. Horace is often, in a vague way, regarded as an Epicurean, but he was, in fact, of no school or of a school of his own, and it is not as an Epicurean that he occasionally strikes a sudden blow at a Stoic, or, more often, burlesques the paradoxes of the school with ironical solemnity. He recognized the underlying truth of the Stoics; he was by no means unconscious of the seriousness of

## INTRODUCTION

life; he was, indeed, himself a preacher; but he was also a discriminating humorist, and the formal Stoic, apparently more concerned about the growth of his beard than about his growth in grace, and more insistent upon the phraseology of his doctrines than upon their intelligibility, appealed to both sides of his mind. In the long picture gallery of the *Satires* no figure is more frequently recurrent. Nor did Horace neglect the men of his own craft. The Augustan Age, which is often called the golden age of Latin literature, was, at any rate, a period most prolific in skillful writers. Through chance allusions, serious or satirical, we are able to see, behind the figures of the greater poets whose writings have survived to our times, a long array of men of lesser rank, not undistinguished among their contemporaries, and undoubtedly writers of merit. And below them was the crowd of poets and historians and critics and essayists whose names even have been lost. Here was rich material for the satirist, and material especially for such a satirist as Horace, who was always as much critic as poet and interested alike in the practice and in the theory of his art. Somewhat less prominent in the life of the city, yet marked enough to give occasional color to the scene, were various minor caprices or eccentricities, each with its little circle of devotees. There were the collectors of old bronzes and tableware, indifferent to the artistic imperfections of their rare pieces, but credulous of their antiquity. The professional musicians formed, then as now, a class by themselves, with their own standards and judgments. Petty officials rejoiced in opportunities to display themselves in elaborate costume. It is in part the notice which Horace has bestowed upon them that makes the so-called legacy hunters seem to have been so numerous in Rome, but the brilliant satire in which their arts are burlesqued was the product of observation, not of invention. The proper arrangement of a *menu* and the doctrines of gastronomy were quite certainly matters of serious concern to many persons in Roman society, though it is possible that the



humorously detailed descriptions and travesties in the Second Book make the followers of this particular mania more prominent than they actually were in Roman life. But certainly the society to which Horace's friendship with Maecenas gave him access was a highly complex society, one which brought before his observant eye a most interesting variety of types and of individuals, and invited good-humored comment and even caustic remark. The Satires are not the result of so mechanical a choice as Horace jokingly implies, but the inevitable expression of the reflections of such a man as Horace was upon such a society as that of the Augustan Age.

The form which Horace's commentary on life was to take was already determined for him. In this respect ancient literature was to a high degree conventional and traditional; when once the type was fixed by the influence of some great originator, the range of subsequent deviation from the type was small. Didactic poetry was written in hexameters from Hesiod to Ovid; innovator as Euripides was, his variations from the norm of tragedy are in reality slight. Form and content are identified under one name in the *iambi* of Archilochus. The form of Roman satire, or at least the prevalent form, was fixed by C. Lucilius. He was an *eques* of the period of the Gracchi and the younger Scipio Africanus, a man of education and rank, a conservative in politics, and a writer of force and courage. His range of subjects was not very different from that of Horace, — literary criticism, ethical discussion, social comment, — but a large place was occupied by political satire, which was almost inevitable in that stormy period and in the writings of a friend of Scipio. In tone he was, so far as can be judged from the extant fragments and from the statements of his successors, extremely personal and harsh. The fact that the fragments of his writings have come down largely in quotations by the grammarians, who were interested chiefly in unusual words or phrases, makes it difficult to form an independent judgment

## INTRODUCTION

of his style. The longest quotation, a definition of *virtus* in thirteen verses, is not without dignity of thought and expression, but in general the criticism of Horace, that Lucilius wrote too freely and with too little attention to finish of style, seems to be justified. The loss of his writings is a loss to linguistic and literary history, rather than to literature itself. But he performed the great service of determining both the tone and the form of satire. He gave to it for all time that critical and censorious tone which is still associated with the name and, after considerable experiment with other verse forms which had been used by Ennius, he settled upon the hexameter as the most suitable meter. In selecting satire as his field, Horace therefore felt himself bound by all the force of strong tradition to a certain tone and a certain verse.

But the force of tradition and convention in ancient literature, strong as it was, did not preclude originality; it merely set the bounds within which originality might work. Of imitation, in any proper sense of the word, that is, of attempt to copy as closely as possible the work of an older writer, there is very little evidence in Greek or Latin literature, and Horace, setting himself to write *Lucili ritu*, as he says, accepting as his starting point the definition which Lucilius had given to satire, was also acutely conscious of the imperfections of his predecessor, and fully determined to avoid them in his own work. The most evident of these imperfections was in the matter of style. The fragments of the satires of Lucilius are bold and crude in expression; they say what was to be said, but they say it without charm. There is no evidence of care for workmanship, of pleasure in attractive expression. But between Lucilius and Horace was the great Ciceronian period, in which the whole subject of Latin style in prose and in verse was most warmly debated by men who were daily practicing the art of writing. Two generations had contributed to raise the standard of good style, and Horace and the friends with whom he lived were

## INTRODUCTION

desirous of raising it still further. Horace was, besides, by nature a literary artist, to whom the shaping of phrases into effective and pleasing form was an end in itself. It is, indeed, surprising to a modern reader that the justice of his guarded and moderate criticisms of the style of Lucilius should have been questioned by any intelligent student of Latin literature in the Augustan Age. That he was entirely successful in his attempt to improve in respect to style upon the work of his predecessor has never been doubted.

The other direction in which Horace endeavored to surpass Lucilius, without deviating too widely from the type, led him into greater difficulties. The satire of Lucilius was undoubtedly pungent and bitter in its attacks upon persons and upon parties, and this savageness of tone, which in various forms was familiar and agreeable to the Romans, was, in fact, an essential element in satire of the Lucilian type. But it was in every way impossible in the Augustan Age; the political situation between 42 and 31 B.C. would not have borne rough handling, and the softening of manners had put a check upon personalities. The problem, therefore, which presented itself to Horace was to retain the pungency of individual criticism without violation of the canons of good taste and without offense to public men. A part of the problem he made no attempt to solve; he left politics out of his satire entirely, even at the time when his patriotic feeling was expressing itself in the Epode *quo, quo scelesti ruitis?* and in Epode 16. But to the problem of giving to his satire the appearance without the reality of personal attack, he addressed himself with much ingenuity. The Satires seem to bristle with proper names, but examination shows that only a very few of the allusions are in fact personal attacks. Many of the names are taken from Lucilius and had long since ceased to be anything but types in literature. Others are from the Ciceronian period, the names of men who were then notorious.

Still others, men of Horace's day, were in their lifetime already so much the subject of open gossip and comment that an allusion to them was no more properly offensive or, indeed, personal, than an allusion in a modern newspaper to the men whose names are upon everybody's lips. Many names are fictitious, some pure inventions like the names in a novel, others disguising an allusion to a real person. The residuum of actual personality, such as would be offensive to modern feeling, is extremely small. Direct attack upon an individual was, in fact, as little to Horace's taste as to our own, and was incompatible with the lightness of touch which he was endeavoring to attain. Even the semblance of severity, which the Lucilian tradition obliged him to maintain in his earlier work, grows less distinct as he becomes conscious of his peculiar powers. The Second Book has less of it than the First; indeed, the first satire of that book is a kind of travesty of the severely personal satire and, by implication, a renunciation of it. The place of Horace in the history of Roman satire is, it is true, in the line of succession from Lucilius, but his own contribution to that history amounts almost to the creation of a new literary *genre*, a new variety of satire.

The events in the life of Horace after the publication of the Epodes and the Second Book in 30 B.C. are of interest to the reader of the Satires only in so far as they interpret his earlier period. He turned at once from satire to lyric poetry, following still further the path upon which he had entered in the Epodes, and published in 23 B.C. the first three books of the Odes, to which he gave the best of his powers and the best years of his life. Aside from other and more determining motives,—the inner impulse and the fact that the lyric is a higher form of art than satire,—the choice doubtless indicates also a feeling that he had for the time exhausted the field of satire, that he had carried his modifications of the Lucilian type as far as it was possible for him to carry them. But the habit of observation

was still strong in him, and after the publication of the Odes he resumed his commentary on life and society in the form of epistles in hexameter. By the choice of a new and different form he freed himself from the limitations of satire; at the same time, as the tradition of the epistle in verse was less definitely fixed, the new form did not hamper him. The interval that separates such a satire as 2, 6 from such an epistle as 1, 7 is very slight; by addressing the satire to Maecenas, he could easily have made it an epistle in form, and with a few modifications the epistle might have been published with the Satires. It might be said that the three collections of hexameter poetry represent three steps in a continuous process; the First Book of the Satires is, in the main, satire after the manner of Lucilius, the Second Book is an experiment with the dialogue form, and the First Book of the Epistles marks the complete breaking away from the Lucilian tradition. They are three stages in the working out of a literary form within which the temperament of Horace could express itself with the least possible sense of restriction.

Before his death, which occurred on the 27th of November, 8 B.C., Horace was already recognized as the greatest of Roman lyric poets and as the most conspicuous figure, next to Vergil, in the literature of his time. This position his poems retained after his death; they were universally read and were used as text-books in schools. Critical and learned commentary began to gather about them in the first century of the Empire, and, before the fall of Roman power in the West, copies of his works were in wide circulation, often prefaced by the account of his life from Suetonius and annotated with *scholia*. During the Middle Ages, when knowledge of the ancient world was at its lowest, his poems were still read in schools and frequently copied in the monastery libraries, and with the Revival of Learning many editions were issued from the early printing presses. In modern times they have formed a part of the

## INTRODUCTION

school or university curriculum in all countries ; they have been translated more often than the works of any other ancient writer, and have deeply influenced modern literature. All this is evidence of the high esteem in which his poetry has been held by scholars and men of letters ; the estimate of men of affairs, of men outside of academic life, is somewhat similar. For it is probably true that of all the writers of Greek and Latin poetry — many of them greater than Horace — no one has so frequently been carried away from the university life and become a part of the familiar intellectual furniture of educated men in active life. The explanation of an interest so widespread and so long-continued is not, of course, to be sought in those qualities or characteristics which Horace shares with other writers. He reflects, it is true, a highly interesting period in history, but the letters of Cicero are an even more vivid reflection of a more critical period. His poetic form, as it is worked out in the lyrics, is most admirable, and poetic form is one of the main reasons for our continued study of the two classic literatures, but the range of its attractive power is limited. That which has differentiated Horace from other writers and made him permanently attractive to men of widely varied taste is independent of his circumstances and, to a considerable degree, of his artistic form ; it lies partly in the personal character which his writings disclose and partly in the permanent worth of his comments upon life.

The character of a writer or an artist as it shows itself in his work must be learned by indirection, by impressions repeated and deepened into familiarity. For this kind of personal acquaintance Horace gives abundant material. Enough has been said above to correct the notion that he was a *dilettante*, playing with life. He was, it is true, fundamentally an observer rather than an actor, and he was by temperament genial and tolerant ; these are the qualities upon which the charm of his personality rests ; but a merely temperamental tolerance is, like tempera-



## INTRODUCTION

mental optimism, a very superficial and uninteresting quality. Horace was a man of warm feeling and of strong convictions, though his convictions are in part alien to our thought, and the lightness with which he sometimes touches serious things is not the lightness of carelessness. He had learned early, not without struggle and pain, the lesson of adjustment to the limitations of life, had learned that the secret of a composed and dignified life lies in the acceptance of the inevitable. Even in his less cheerful moods he faced his heaviest losses with steadiness : —

durum : sed levius fit patientia,  
quidquid corrigere est nefas.

But his ordinary mood was not tragic ; he preferred to meet life with a smile, not underestimating the possibilities of loss and trouble, but also not overestimating them. And it is the fact that his genial acceptance of life rests upon a foundation of cool judgment and shrewd comprehension that gives it meaning. It is this combination that makes him the philosopher for men of the world. For the man of affairs, if he is conscious of life at all, is seeking for a formula which will include all the follies and weaknesses of men and will teach him how to accept them with a smile. The real meaning of Horace's philosophy is poorly expressed by *nil admirari*, as the words are commonly understood, and not very well by *aurea mediocritas* ; it is a philosophy of comprehension and tolerance, and the charm of his personality is that he so perfectly embodies his own doctrine.

The value of his comments upon men and society lies partly in the application of his philosophy to life, partly in the peculiar forms in which he expresses it. His satires, and, to a less degree, his epistles, are a picture gallery. He does not describe individuals or, if he does, it is in terms so general as to make them types ; his little pictures are done in few lines, but in lines so expressive that they tell the essential truth about a man. Such a characterization as that of Tigellius in *Sat.* 1, 3 or that

## INTRODUCTION

of Damasippus in *Sat.* 2, 3, or the longer description by suggestion in *Sat.* 1, 9, is as true and as recognizable now as it was when it was written, because it presents the essential qualities which are of no single period or race. The power to draw such pictures is not, it is true, the highest kind of artistic power, and it does not necessarily carry with it either a profound philosophy or great breadth of view. Great artists have lacked it, and some caricaturists have had it. The most obvious modern illustrations are in fiction; George Eliot had not a trace of it; Anthony Trollope had it in a high degree. Such little pictures do not teach us the meaning of life, in its larger aspects and relations. They teach us in a nearer way about people; they show us how to analyze and classify; they stimulate our intelligent comprehension of the men we meet. The reader of Horace, if he gets his lesson truly, understands better the man who sits in the seat next to him, and, if he becomes a true disciple, he understands himself better, too.

## INTRODUCTION

### VITA HORATII

FROM SUETONIUS, *De Viris Illustribus*

Q. Horatius Flaccus Venusinus, patre, ut ipse tradit, libertino et exactionum coactore, ut vero creditum est, salsamentario, cum illi quidam in altercatione exprobrasset: 'quotiens ego vidi patrem tuum brachio se emungentem!' Bello Philippensi excitus a M. Bruto imperatore tribunus militum meruit, victisque partibus venia impetrata scriptum quaestorium comparavit. Ac primo Maecenati, mox Augusto insinuatus non mediocrem in amborum amicitia locum tenuit. Maecenas quantopere eum dilexerit satis testatur illo epigrammate: —

ni te visceribus meis, Horati,  
plus iam diligo, tu tuum sodalem  
Ninnio videas strigiosorem;

sed multo magis extremis iudiciis tali ad Augustum elogio: 'Horati Flacci ut mei esto memor.' Augustus epistularum quoque ei officium obtulit, ut hoc ad Maecenatem scripto significat: 'ante ipse sufficebam scribendis epistulis amicorum, nunc occupatissimus et infirmus Horatium nostrum a te cupio abducere. Veniet ergo ab ista parasitica mensa ad hanc regiam et nos in epistulis scribendis adiuvabit.' Ac ne recusanti quidem aut succensuit quicquam aut amicitiam suam ingerere desiit. Extant epistolae, e quibus argumenti gratia pauca subiei: 'sume tibi aliquid iuris apud me, tamquam si victor mihi fueris; recte enim et non temere feceris, quoniam id usus mihi tecum esse volui, si per valitudinem tuam fieri possit.' Et rursus: 'tui qualem habeam memoriam poteris ex Septimio quoque nostro audire; nam incidit ut illo coram fieret a me tui mentio. Neque enim si tu superbus amicitiam nostram sprevisi, ideo nos quoque ἀνθυπερηφανοῦμεν.' Praeterea saepe eum inter alios iocos purissimum penem et homuncionem lepidissimum appellat unaque et altera liberalitate locupletavit. Scripta quidem eius usque adeo

probavit mansuraque perpetuo opinatus est, ut non modo Saeculare carmen componendum iniunxerit, sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique privignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere; post sermones vero quosdam lectos nullam sui mentionem habitam ita sit questus: 'irasci me tibi scito, quod non in plerisque eius modi scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris. An vereris ne apud posteros infame tibi sit, quod videaris familiaris nobis esse?' expresseritque eclogam ad se cuius initium est: —

cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,  
res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,  
legibus emendes, in publica commoda peccem,  
si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar.

Habitu corporis fuit brevis atque obesus, qualis et a semet ipso in satiris describitur et ab Augusto hac epistula: 'pertulit ad me Oniscus libellum tuum, quem ego, ut excusantem, quantuluscumque est, boni consulo. Vereri autem mihi videris ne maiores libelli tui sint quam ipse es, sed tibi statura deest, corpusculum non deest. Itaque licebit in sextariolo scribas, quo circuitus voluminis tui sit *ὀγκωδέστατος*, sicut est ventriculi tui.' Vixit plurimum in secessu ruris sui Sabini aut Tiburtini domusque eius ostenditur circa Tiberni luculum. Venerunt in manus meas et elegi sub titulo eius et epistula prosa oratione quasi commendantis se Maecenati, sed utraque falsa puto; nam elegi vulgares, epistula etiam obscura, quo vitio minime tenebatur. Natus est vi. Idus Decembris L. Cotta et L. Torquato consulibus, decessit v. kal. Decembris C. Marcio Censorino et C. Asinio Gallo consulibus septimo et quinquagesimo anno, herede Augusto palam nuncupato, cum urgente vi valetudinis non sufficeret ad obsignandas testamenti tabulas. Humatus et conditus est extremis Esquiliis iuxta Maecenatis tumulum.

Q. HORATI FLACCI

# S E R M O N E S

LIBER PRIMVS

## I

There is no reference to current events sufficiently definite to fix the date of this Satire by internal evidence. It was written after Horace's introduction to Maecenas in 38, and the maturity of style and treatment show a great advance upon the early Satires of this book, 2, 7, and 8. Obviously, it is introductory to the whole book, published in 35, and it was probably written shortly before that date.

‘What is the source of the social discontent of our times? Not, certainly, as is sometimes said, in the peculiar hardships of this or that occupation. The very men who offer this explanation disprove it by their conduct. Nor can the persistent devotion of men to business be justified, as some of them appear to think, by the praiseworthy desire to provide against future needs. It is something deeper than this and less worthy — the mere desire to get rich, to be richer than others.

‘A life given up to this pursuit is no better than the life of the miser of fiction. Such a man dares not spend anything, lest he spend all, and does not see that, to one who lives a natural life, the possession of what is never to be used is not a gain, but a burden.

‘To say that social standing depends upon money is to say what is perhaps true, but is not to the point. For the result is the same; the man with such an ambition merely gathers wealth to tantalize himself, purchasing only terrors and unhappiness with it. He kills the natural affections, and spends his life in providing against contingencies that will, in all probability, never arise. I am not arguing that one should waste his money; that is only another extreme of folly; between the two lies the safe middle course.

‘The source of our unhappiness, to answer the question with which I began, is the desire to be rich, to be a little richer. We forget the many who are poorer than we, and see only the few who are ahead of

us. We spend our lives in an ignoble struggle, and we come still unsatisfied to the end.

‘Enough of sermonizing. I’m no Crispinus.’

The subject of this introductory satire is the race for wealth. In the universal peace which followed the civil wars, the financial affairs of the world centered at Rome as an imperial clearing house, and great fortunes were rapidly made by men of the capitalist class. In general, the old nobility and the philosophers and writers kept aloof from business, which consequently fell into the hands of the *equites*, who had had only a slight part in public affairs, or of the freedmen, who were ill-fitted by character and experience to make a large-minded or even a rational use of their money. Some of them burst out into ridiculous display, and furnished easy material for the satirist; others, with less obvious folly, knew no better use of their acquired wealth than to make it the means of acquiring still more. It is to men of the latter class that this discourse is addressed. For this is not pure satire, holding up the peculiarities of certain men to the scorn of others; it is, in part, a discourse, a sermon, addressed directly to the over-eager man of business, and intended to show to him, for his possible betterment, the intrinsic littleness of the occupation to which he was so ardently devoting himself.

Horace frequently employs in other places the thoughts and sometimes the figures and expressions of this satire. Compare especially the end of Epode 1, the main thought of Epode 2, and the whole of Epode 4. The similarity between the social structure of the Augustan Age and our own times could scarcely be made more vivid than it is by the fact that the satirist of that society chose for the theme of his opening satire the race for wealth.

Qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem  
seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit, illa

1. *Qui fit*: *how does it happen?* But the interrogative form is merely a rhetorical way of introducing the general subject — the discontent of men — by beginning with its source. — *Maecenas*: the direct address serves to dedicate the first book of Satires to Horace’s patron and friend. The dedication of the Odes is like this, a little formal and unconnected

with the subject of the poem. The address to Maecenas in the first Epode is more natural and graceful. — *quam sortem . . . illa*: = *illa sorte . . . quam*. The word *sors* is used without thought of its original sense, as ‘lot’ is in English.

2. *ratio* and *fors* are often used together to cover the whole field of human life; everything is due either to deliberate *choice* or to



contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentis?

‘O fortunati mercatores!’ gravis annis

5 miles ait, multo iam fractus membra labore.

Contra mercator, navem iactantibus Austris,

‘Militia est potior. Quid enim? Concurritur; horae

mere *chance*. The same contrast is implied in *Sat.* 1, 6, 54, though *ratio* is not actually used. The two verbs, *dederit*, *obiecerit*, carry on the contrast between the deliberate and the accidental.

3. *laudet*: the full expression of the thought would seem to require *sed unus quisque laudet*, but the negative of *nemo* goes only with *contentus*, not with *vivat*, so that the thought is ‘every one is discontented with his own life and envious of the lives of others.’ Cf. vs. 109, where the phrases *nemo se probet* (= *contentus vivat*) and *laudet* are connected by *ac potius*. The meaning of *laudare* is not precisely *to praise*, but ‘to speak of with admiration,’ as in Plaut. *Rud.* 523, *laudo fortunas tuas*, and in combination with *diversa sequentis* it suggests the idea of envy.

4-12. The two pairs of contrasted examples — soldier and sailor, lawyer and farmer — and indeed the whole scene which is half described, half suggested in vss. 15-22, come from the conventional popular philosophy, perhaps from some Greek burlesque drama. Horace uses them frequently with slight variations.

4-5. The first illustration is barely suggested, without specific details. *gravis annis* means, in ordinary usage, *weighed down with years*, not distinguishing between years of life and years of service, and the thought is repeated and amplified in the next phrase. — *fractus membra*: *broken in health*. The soldier, feeling old and worn, says, ‘I wish I had gone into business.’

6-8. *mercator*: a merchant who sails his own vessel on a business venture, as the merchants in the China trade did a hundred years ago. He is therefore called, indifferently, either *mercator* or *nauta* (vs. 29), and the following lines deal only with the hardships of the sailor’s life. — *iactantibus*: the tense is important; he is in the midst of a gale. — *Austris*: the southerly winds are heavy and squally in the Mediterranean, and Horace generally uses *Auster* with an implication of storm, as ‘north-easter’ is used in English. — *Quid enim?* simply *why?* or *why then?* *enim* was originally a strengthening particle, and before it had acquired the meaning *for*, it formed compound phrases with conjunctions and particles (*at enim*, *non*

momento cita mors venit aut victoria laeta.'

Agricolam laudat iuris legumque peritus,

10 sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.

Ille, datis vadibus qui rure extractus in urbem est,  
solos felices viventis clamat in urbe.

*enim, quia enim*) in which the earlier meaning is preserved. There is no ellipsis here. — *Concurritur*: impersonal, expressing the brevity of the crisis in a soldier's life. — *horae momento*: the Romans did not measure short spaces of time with precision, and there is no Latin word for 'minute' or 'second.' *hora* is therefore somewhat vague, like the English 'the hour of victory'; cf. *puncto mobilis horae*, *Epist.* 2, 2, 172. — The second illustration is more detailed than the first, and the folly of the momentary desire to exchange occupations is more clearly suggested. The sailor's endurance is broken down by the long-continued storm, and he wishes for the short crisis of the soldier's life, forgetting alike the greater profits of a business career and the wearisome routine of garrison life.

9-10. *Agricolam laudat*: scarcely more than 'wishes he were a farmer.' — *ius* and *leges* are sometimes contrasted, — e.g., as the general body of law and the special legislative enactments, — but here the two contrasting terms are used together to express one general idea. — *peritus*: the *patronus*, to

whom friends and clients came at the early morning *salutatio* to ask advice on business and legal matters. There is a personal touch in this illustration, for Horace did not like to get up early (*ad quartam iaceo*, *Sat.* I, 6, 122).

11-12. *Ille*: the other, the farmer, of the class whose unembarrassed life the lawyer has just been praising. He is not quite identified with the *consultor*. — *dati vadibus*: not necessarily bail in a criminal action, but surety for his appearance as defendant in any legal case. In this second pair of illustrations Horace allows the absurdity of the discontent to appear plainly and comically. The lawyer, in his momentary annoyance at being called early in the morning, wishes he were a farmer, forgetting that the farmer is habitually an early riser. The lack of serious consideration on the part of the countryman is shown by the suddenness of his conversion; he has been dragged (*extractus*) against his will into the city, but once there he loudly proclaims (*clamat*) not only that the city is better than the country, but even that city people are the only persons who are happy.

Cetera de genere hoc, adeo sunt multa, loquacem  
 delassare valent Fabium. Ne te morer, audi  
 15 quo rem deducam. Si quis deus, 'En ego,' dicat,  
 'iam faciam quod vultis: eris tu, qui modo miles,  
 mercator; tu, consultus modo, rusticus: hinc vos,  
 vos hinc mutatis discedite partibus. — Heia!  
 quid statis?' — nolint. Atqui licet esse beatis.  
 20 Quid causae est, merito quin illis Iuppiter ambas

13. *Cetera de genere hoc*: Horace was familiar with Lucretius (see notes on 23, 117–119) and uses this common Lucretian phrase to give to the passage a burlesque air of philosophizing.

14. *Fabium*: the scholiast says that he was a man in public life who had written some volumes on Stoic philosophy. It is characteristic of Horace to put his personal satire, which is not very frequent or very severe, into such light touches as this, given in passing and merely by way of illustration. Cf. the allusion to Crispinus below, vs. 120. And these humorous attentions are often bestowed upon the Stoics, whose formalism and austerity were repugnant to a man of Horace's temperament, and led him to overlook their good qualities. With all their superficial defects, they were the most serious religious teachers in Roman life. — *Ne te morer*: *not to delay you*, 'not to be too long about it'; a parenthetic clause of purpose.

15 f. *quo rem deducam*: 'what my point is going to be,' 'what conclusion I am going to reach.' — *Si quis deus . . . dicat*: the apodosis is in *nolint*, 19. The god is at this point indefinite, but, as the scene becomes clearer, he is definitely named, vs. 20. — *En ego*: *here I am*; to be taken closely with *faciam*. Both *ego* and *iam* are emphatic; 'here I am, I will do your business for you on the spot.'

18. *mutatis . . . partibus*: exactly like the English *parts* in a drama; cf. *partes* of a political party. — *Heia*: a colloquial exclamation of surprise and dissatisfaction, as if the god was annoyed that his friendly offices were not acceptable.

19. *beatis*: dat. after *esse*, as if *eis* had been expressed after *licet*.

20. *causae*: partitive gen. with a neut. pron.; very common in colloquial Latin, Plautus, Terence, Cicero's Letters, Catullus.

iratus buccas inflet, neque se fore posthac  
tam facilem dicat, votis ut praebeat aurem?

Praeterea, ne sic, ut qui iocularia, ridens  
percurram, (quamquam ridentem dicere verum  
25 quid vetat? ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi  
doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima;  
sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria ludo;)  
ille gravem duro terram qui vertit aratro,  
perfidus hic caupo, miles, nautaeque per omne

21. buccas inflet: cf. Plaut. *Stichus*, 767, age, iam infla buccas, addressed to a flute player. *bucca* is a Low Latin word (French *bouche*), and the phrase is an intentional vulgarism to depict the burlesque expression of anger. — illis: dat. of disadvantage. The whole passage, 15–22, reads like a description of a *mimus*, in which a god suddenly appears upon the stage between the pairs of discontented men and, with bustling good nature, grants their wishes; then, as it appears at once from their looks that they do not really desire the change, his good nature changes to comic anger. From vss. 4 f., which are serious in expression and thought, to the final burlesque there is a gradual and skillful uncovering of the underlying absurdity of ascribing the discontent of men to their occupations or their lot in life.

23. Praeterea: a Lucretian word for passing to a new point. — ut qui iocularia: supply *percurrit*; 'like a writer for the comic papers.'

24. quamquam: and yet; corrective, not subordinating.

25. The kindergarten method of teaching children their letters by turning the work into play is alluded to by Quintilian (1, 1, 26), and Jerome advises a father to reward his daughter's efforts to learn to read by giving her *crustula*, cookies, and *mulsa*, sweet drinks. — olim: sometimes; a not uncommon meaning.

27. sed tamen: not exactly correlative to *quamquam*. The thought is twice reversed: "I will treat this matter seriously, not jokingly; and yet I might properly treat it jokingly, for a joke may sugar-coat a serious purpose, like the candies that teachers sometimes give to children; but, all the same (*tamen*), I prefer now to keep to my original plan and treat the matter seriously."

28. ille: demonstrative, to pair with *hic* below. — gravem duro: by way of emphasizing the severity of the labor.

29. perfidus . . . caupo: from

- 30 audaces mare qui currunt, hac mente laborem  
sese ferre, senes ut in otia tuta recedant,  
aiunt, cum sibi sint congesta cibaria : sicut  
parvola (nam exemplo est) magni formica laboris  
ore trahit quodcumque potest atque addit acervo,  
35 quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri.

this point the thought turns more directly toward the main subject of the satire—money-making—and, in the review of the four types of discontented men from this point of view, the *iuris consultus*, who serves for honor rather than fees, is omitted, and the *caupo*, *huckster*, *innkeeper*, is substituted; as a man of the town, he makes a good contrast to the farmer. For variety, the order also is changed.—*perfidus*: people of the better classes seldom used inns in traveling (compare *Sat.* I, 5), and the poor taverns frequented by slaves and laborers had a bad reputation for cheating and robbery.

30. *currunt*: this verb is used of sailing also in *Epist.* I, I, 45; I, II, 27 and perhaps in *Carm.* I, 28, 36. Cf. 'run before the wind.'—*hac mente*: *this is their object*, emphatic by position and explained in the clause *ut . . . recedant*.

31–35. These lines contain the explanation which men give of their apparent inconsistency in continuing in occupations which they themselves complain of as

dangerous or wearisome, and the words are carefully selected: *senes*, 'only when they are old'; *otia tuta*, 'freedom from labor and danger'; *recedant*, 'retire'; *congesta*, 'scraped together'; *cibaria, rations*, 'just enough to live on.' It is a reminder of the modernness of the Augustan Age that all these expressions find easy counterparts in the talk of men who are carrying the loads of life in our time.

32. *cum . . . sint*: subjunctive because it was a part of the indirectly quoted speech.

33. *parvola*: colloquial diminutive of *parvus*, to contrast with *magni*. — *exemplo*: dat.; 'for this is the pattern which they choose to follow.'—*magni . . . laboris*: *hard-working*. This genitive usually has a noun of general meaning with it (*animal, vir*), but the omission is not infrequent. The ant is occasionally referred to elsewhere in Latin literature as a model of industry (*e.g.* Verg. *Georg.* I, 186), but the frequency of the comparison in modern literature is doubtless due to *Proverbs* 6, 6.

Quae, simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum,  
 non usquam prorepat et illis utitur ante  
 quaesitis sapiens; cum te neque fervidus aestus  
 demoveat lucro, neque hiems, ignis, mare, ferrum,  
 40 nil obstat tibi, dum ne sit te ditior alter.

Quid iuvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri  
 furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?

36. *Quae*: not exactly = *at ea*. The reply rather accepts the ant as a model, and criticises those who have chosen it as a model for not following their pattern closely enough. 'Yes, the ant is a good model, for it provides against a time of want and, when the time of want comes, it uses . . .' *sapiens*, 38, is thus an emphatic repetition of *haud ignara . . . futuri*. — *inversum*: the year is thought of as a circle, which turns back into itself, and this figure finds expression in many forms, *περιτελλόμενος*, *vertens*, *volvitur*. — *Aquarius*: the sign of the Zodiac which the sun enters in January, the severest part of the Italian winter.

37. *utitur*: the important word; it not merely gathers, but also *uses*.

38. *sapiens*: emphatic by its position at the end, where it is placed to make a strong contrast with *te* at the beginning of the next clause; 'like the philosopher it is; while *you* haven't even ordinary sense.'

39. *hiems . . . ferrum*: conventional obstacles. Cf. the variation

in *Sat.* 2, 3, 54 ff., and the English 'to go through fire and water.'

40. *dum . . . alter*: 'as long as any other man is richer than you are.' Lit., *provided that no other*. With these words the true subject of the satire is reached, the foolish complaints and false pleas of discontented men having been pushed aside. At this point, too, the dialogue form and the direct address (*te*, *tibi*, *te*) become more distinct. Vss. 28–35, which contain the plea in defence, begin descriptively, then fall into informal indirect quotation, and close (*sicut parvola*) with what is in effect a direct quotation. And the reply, 36–40, in which the plea is shown to be false, continues and accentuates the directness of dialogue, and thus emphasizes the point toward which the discussion has been tending. The whole introduction, 1–40, is a good example of the manner of Horace.

41–42. These lines depict, with a heaping-up of epithets (*immensum*, *furtim*, *defossa*, *timidum*), the conventional figure of the miser, already familiar to Latin lit-



‘Quod si comminuas, vilem redigatur ad assem.’

At ni id fit, quid habet pulchri constructus acervus?

45 Milia frumenti tua triverit area centum,

erature in the *Aulularia* of Plautus. The man of business in the Augustan Age had his investments and his varied money interests and no more buried his coin in a hole in the ground than the cautious investor of our time keeps his money in an old stocking. The verses really constitute an argument in the form of a suggested comparison: ‘What is the good of it all to you? You’re no better than a regular miser.’

43. *Quod*: usually taken to be the pron., = *at id*, as *quae*, 36, is taken. But it is, I think, the ordinary adversative *quod si*, which is freely used by Horace; cf. *Epist.* I, 3, 25, *Epod.* 2, 39, and see examples in Kühner, II, 872. In this usage *quod* conj. has diverged only slightly from *quod* pron., and when a possible antecedent can be found before it (here *pondus*), it may easily be mistaken for the pron. But the thought is really general: ‘but if you once begin the breaking-up process, your money is soon gone.’ These words are not the reply of a real miser, but a perfectly sound maxim of prudence — ‘if you once begin to dip into your capital, it will soon be gone’; but it is misused by the man of acquisitive temperament to disguise to himself and to others his innate

love of money. In answering (44–51) Horace does not stop to discriminate between the truth and the error, but strikes at the heart of the matter: ‘the ultimate value of money is in its use, not in its acquisition.’

44. *At ni id fit*: but if you don’t do it, that is, begin to use it. — *quid* . . . *pulchri*: the neut. gen. of the adj. with a neut. pron. instead of the abstract noun. Very common in colloquial Latin. — *acervus*: with a reminiscence of the ant, 34.

45–46. The figure is from Lucilius, 555 f. (Marx): —

milia ducentum frumenti tollis medimnum,  
vini mille cadum.

— *triverit*: this should be called a fut. perf., to correspond to the fut. *capiet*, but in many uses of these forms the Latin did not make the sharp distinction between indic. and subj. which we make in our systematic grammar. The phrase is in paratactic relation to *capiet*, expressing a hypothetical concession; cf. I, 3, 15; I, 10, 64; 2, 6, 48, and many places in the Satires and Epistles. — *area*: so *teret area*, Verg. *Georg.* I, 192, with a slight personification of the threshing floor.

non tuus hoc capiet venter plus ac meus; ut si  
 reticulum panis venalis inter onusto  
 forte vehas umero, nihilo plus accipias quam  
 qui nil portarit. Vel dic, quid referat intra  
 50 naturae finis viventi, iugera centum an  
 mille aret? 'At suave est ex magno tollere acervo.'  
 Dum ex parvo nobis tantundem haurire relinquo,  
 cur tua plus laudes cumeris granaria nostris?

46. hoc: on this account; so  
 1, 3, 93; 1, 6, 110, and often, especially with comparatives. — ut, si: to be taken separately; just as, if you should carry . . . you would receive. . . .

47. inter: prepositions of two syllables are often placed after the noun in Horace.

48. accipias: pres.; when the train of slaves halts for the noon-day lunch. — portavit: perf.; on the march, now past.

49. intra naturae finis: this limitation, a doctrine of Stoic philosophy, is necessary to the argument, which is directed, not against great fortunes in themselves, but against the accumulation of unused wealth.

50. viventi: with *refert* the person interested is expressed by the gen. and no good parallel to this dat. is known. Yet the general sense is such that the dat. is perfectly intelligible.

51. At suave . . . acervo: the reply is not very effective and it is, in fact, scarcely more than an interjected remark: 'it's rather

nice to have a large bank account to draw upon.' The argument in 52 ff. continues the thought of *intra naturae finis viventi*, with a side reference to *ex magno acervo*.

52. tantundem: 'as much as one would take from the great heap.' — haurire: properly of drawing off a liquid, used here in anticipation of the next illustration. — relinquo contains both the suggestion of 'leave to me in spite of your desire to get everything' and the meaning *concede, permit*, and in the latter sense takes the infin. *haurire*.

53. cumeris granaria: *cumerae* are described by the scholiast as small bins of wickerwork or large earthenware jars, used for storing small quantities of grain. The word is somewhat rare, but is used again by Horace (*Epist.* 1, 7, 30) and was perhaps familiar to him from the management of his own small farm. It is, of course, set in contrast to the *granaria* of the large estate, and the sentence really repeats the idea of 45-46 and of 49-51.

ut tibi si sit opus liquidi non amplius urna,  
 55 vel cyatho, et dicas, ' Magno de flumine mallem  
 quam ex hoc fonticulo tantundem sumere.' Eo fit,  
 plenior ut si quos delectet copia iusto,  
 cum ripa simul avolsos ferat Aufidus acer;  
 at qui tantuli eget quanto est opus, is neque limo  
 60 turbatam haurit aquam, neque vitam amittit in undis.  
 At bona pars hominum, decepta cupidine falso,

54. *ut . . . si*: *just as if*, 'that is as if'; to be taken together, not like *ut si*, 46, where *ut* has its own verb. — *liquidi*: here, as in so many cases, Horace begins with the general and advances to the specific; *liquidi*, instead of *aquae*, gives a sense like 'something to drink.' So *magno de flumine* is general, *Aufidus*, 58, is specific. — *urna*: a pitcher, *cyatho*, a glass, the precise measurements not being in mind here.

55. *mallem*: *I should have preferred*. The man is thought of as standing near the little spring (notice *hoc*) and wishing, contrary to the fact, that he were near a river.

56. *fonticulo*: diminutive of contempt, to contrast with *magno*.

57. *plenior . . . iusto*: *more than he ought to have*; the whole sentence must be rendered freely. — *ut*: with *ferat*.

58. *cum ripa simul*: *bank and all*. The Aufidus, a rapid river in Horace's native Apulia, would undermine its banks in flood time and be turbid with mud.

59. The distinction here made between *eget*, *wants*, *desires*, and *opus est*, *needs*, is fundamental to the whole argument; it repeats *intra naturae finis*, 49f., and is the opposite of *plenior si quos delectet*, 57.

60. *turbatam, vitam amittit*: these ideas merely carry the thought on into vivid details which make the folly of the device more evident, as, in the triumph of using a successful comparison in argument, one is easily tempted to carry it beyond the likeness. Horace does not mean that the money of the rich man was muddy or 'tainted'; that thought was not Roman; nor is he at this point thinking of the loss of real life in over-absorption in business.

61. *At*: to introduce the reply or counter-argument contained in vs. 62. — *bona pars*: like the English 'a good many.' — *cupidine*: masc., as always in Horace and sometimes in other writers.

'Nil satis est,' inquit, 'quia tanti quantum habeas sis.'  
 Quid facias illi? Iubeas miserum esse, libenter  
 quatenus id facit; ut quidam memoratur Athenis  
 65 sordidus ac dives, populi contemnere voces  
 sic solitus: 'Populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo  
 ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arca.'  
 Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat  
 flumina. . . . Quid rides? Mutato nomine, de te  
 70 fabulá narratur; congestis undique saccis

62. From Lucilius, 1119 f. (Marx): —

aurum atque ambitio specimen virtutis utrique est:  
 tantum habeas, tantum ipse sis tantique habearis.

— Nil satis est: 'there is no such thing as the *enough* of which you speak.' This is a denial of the foundation of the preceding argument as expressed in vss. 49–51 and 59 f. — sis: subjv. of the indef. 2d pers.

63 f. illi: *for such a man*, individualizing the subject of *inquit*. — Iubeas miserum esse: *iubeo* is used to represent the impv. of the direct *miser esto*; so *iubeo valere* for the direct *vale*. — quatenus: always *since* in Horace. — 'The only thing one can do for a man so wrong-headed is to let him go his own way, since he will have it so (*libenter . . . facit*), though one may know that it leads to misery. He is as fixed in his error as the man in the Greek story, who, when

he looked at his money bags, was indifferent to public opinion.'

65–66. voces, sibilat: the people on the streets hooted at him and hissed him. — plaudo: for the contrast with *sibilat*.

68. Tantalus: Horace follows here the Homeric version of the Tantalus story.

69 ff. Quid rides? he laughed because he did not think the old story had any bearing upon his own case. The reply is that the picture tallies exactly, that, with a change of name, it corresponds even in details. — undique: with *congestis*; 'which you have got together by raking and scraping everywhere.' — indormis: *sleep upon*; because he cannot be parted from them. Cf. Lucilius, 243–246 (Marx): —

cui neque iumentum est nec servus  
 nec comes ullus:  
 bulgam, et quidquid habet nummorum,  
 secum habet ipse,  
 cum bulga cenat, dormit, lavit, omnia  
 in una  
 sunt homini bulga: bulga haec devincta lacerto est.

indormis inhians, et tamquam parcere sacris  
cogeris, aut pictis tamquam gaudere tabellis.  
Nescis quo valeat nummus, quem praebeat usum?

75 Panis ematur, holus, vini sextarius, adde  
quis humana sibi doleat natura negatis.  
An vigilare metu exanimem, noctesque diesque  
formidare malos fures, incendia, servos,  
ne te compilent fugientes, hoc iuvat? Horum  
semper ego optarem pauperrimus esse bonorum.

— **inhians**: the involuntary physical sign of ardent desire. Such expressions sound exaggerated to us because in modern life we repress the signs of strong emotion. — **tamquam . . . sacris**: he can make no more use of them than if they were put out of his reach by being consecrated to the gods. — **pictis . . . tabellis**: 'the only pleasure you get from them is the pleasure of looking at them,' and that pleasure could be just as well enjoyed by looking at a picture of a pile of money as by looking at the money itself. These details, like those above, 41 f., must not be supposed to be descriptive; they are intended to make the complete devotion to business contemptible by dwelling upon the inherent likeness between the money-maker and the conventional figure of the miser.

73 ff. **quo valeat**: *what money is good for*; repeated in another form in *quem praebeat usum*. In harmony with the preceding thought the question here implied

is answered both positively and negatively: 'money will buy the simple necessities of life (74-75), but you, by making it an object of pursuit in itself, are buying for yourself a life of constant anxiety and trouble' (76-78). — **quis**: *quibus*; with *negatis*. The comment of Porphyrio gives the sense correctly: 'non autem ea vult intellegi, quae ad delicias vitae pertinent, sed quae ad utilitatem, ut quae frigori aut fami repellendae et commodiori mansioni sunt necessaria aliaque similia.'

76 ff. The dangers of life in Rome are often alluded to; cf., e.g., *Epist.* 2, 1, 121 f. and Catullus, 23, 8-10, on the freedom of the poor man from such terrors: —

nihil timetis,  
non incendia, non graves ruinas,  
non furta inopia, non dolos veneni.

— **compilent fugientes**: *plunder you and run away*. The *fugitivus* is a frequent figure in the pictures of ancient society, and the difficulty of recovering a runaway

- 80 At si condoluit temptatum frigore corpus,  
aut alius casus lecto te adflixit, habes qui  
adsideat, fomenta paret, medicum roget, ut te  
suscitet ac gnatis reddat carisque propinquis.  
Non uxor saluum te volt, non filius; omnes  
85 vicini oderunt, noti, pueri atque puellae.  
Miraris, cum tu argento post omnia ponas,

slave, in a population so miscellaneous, was very great. — **Horum**: emphatic, with *bonorum*; 'if these are what you call the good things of life, I wish I might always remain a poor man.'

80 ff. These lines are all addressed by Horace to his imagined interlocutor, the over-anxious man of business, the direct dialogue form being resumed only in vs. 101. But vss. 80–83 (beginning with *at*, the usual introduction to a counter-argument) contain in substance a reply to vss. 76–78. The thought is, 'You are dwelling too much upon the anxieties which my money brings and are forgetting its real benefits; for instance, its value in a time of illness.' — **temptatum**: almost a technical term of the attack of illness; *Epist.* 1, 6, 28. — **frigore**: the chill of malaria. — **corpus**: not *body*, but *health, strength*. Cf. *fractus membra*, vs. 5. — **adflixit**: *has dashed one down upon his bed*. — **adsideat, roget**: *sit by your bedside, call in*; ordinary, almost technical terms.

84 ff. The defence closes with

a note of false pathos, — 'My money protects my life, which is precious to my family.' The reply of Horace, vss. 84–91, takes up this suggested point, passing by vss. 80–83 as, in reality, unimportant. 'Your life precious to your family! On the contrary, you are an object of universal dislike. Your pursuit of money not only makes no friends for you, but even checks the natural affections of your relatives.' — **non uxor**: the reply begins without an adversative particle; cf. 36, 52, and below, 102.

85. **vicini, noti** (*acquaintances*), **pueri atque puellae**: specific expansions of the general term *omnes*. Cf., on the last, *Sat.* 2, 3, 130, *insanum te omnes pueri clamentque puellae*. 'Without distinction of age or sex' (Greenough).

86. **post . . . ponas**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 92, *positum ante*; 1, 6, 58, *circum . . . vectari*. — **omnia**: obj. of *ponas*. — **ponas, praestet, merearis**: the subj. all hang together. They are not dependent upon *si*, for *miror si* takes the indic., but are more vaguely hypo-



si nemo praestet, quem non merearis, amorem?

At si cognatos, nullo natura labore

quos tibi dat, retinere velis servareque amicos,

90 infelix operam perdas, ut si quis asellum

in campo doceat parentem currere frenis.

Denique sit finis quaerendi, cumque habeas plus,

pauperiem metuas minus, et finire laborem

incipias, parto quod avebas, ne facias quod

thetical, — ‘do you wonder that no one should wish to give you . . . ?

— *merearis*: not exactly *deserve*, but *earn*, *buy* (by giving love in return), an old sense of *mereor*.

88–91. Vss. 84–85 contain a bare statement of fact, without argument, and vss. 86–87 are an interjected remark (‘it is quite just and natural’); the essence of the reply is in vss. 88–91, and *at*, the particle of retort, is therefore postponed to this point. The reply is, ‘Why, on the contrary, instead of winning affection, you have so distorted your character that you would be incapable of retaining the love of your nearest relatives, if you should now choose to attempt it. You have made yourself a beast of burden, unfitted for the finer uses of life.’ [A good summary of the arguments on this disputed passage may be found in Palmer’s edition. The decisive reason, in my judgment, for rejecting *an* is that it is incompatible with the emphasis laid

upon *operam perdas* by the comparison which follows.]

89. *retinere velis*: an expansion of *retineas*, to express more clearly the idea of choice. So *ponas*, 86, might have been *ponere velis*. — *amicos*: predicate.

91. *in campo*: in the Campus Martius, on the race track. — *parentem* . . . *frenis*: the heavier draught animals were driven with a goad; bits and reins were used only for racing or in driving for pleasure.

92 ff. A conclusion, driving home the lesson of the preceding arguments. — *plus*: the standard of comparison is left vague (‘more than you once had,’ ‘more than most people’) to balance *minus*, to which a standard (‘less than you have done’) is easily supplied.

94. *incipias*: ironically understating the case; ‘take just one step toward reasonable moderation.’ — *parto*: abl. abs. with the antecedent of *quod*. — *facias*: *per* *fare*.

- 95 Vmmidius quidam. Non longa est fabula: dives,  
ut metiretur nummos, ita sordidus, ut se  
non umquam servo melius vestiret, ad usque  
supremum tempus, ne se penuria victus  
opprimeret, metuebat. At hunc liberta securi  
100 divisit medium, fortissima Tyndaridarum.  
‘Quid mi igitur suades? ut vivam Naevius? aut sic

95. **Vmmidius**: the name does not occur in the extant fragments of Lucilius, but the story may well have been Lucilian. — **Non longa**: the details are therefore given with an appearance of haste; this motive leads also to the use of *dives* with an *ut*-clause of degree without *tam* (or *ita*, as with *sordidus*). Other instances occur in Horace, *Sat.* 1, 5, 33; 1, 7, 13; 2, 7, 10, etc.

96. **metiretur**: instead of counting them; proverbial of great wealth.

98. **supremum tempus**: to the very last, to the end of his life. — **victus**: gen.

99. **At**: but matters turned out very differently; after spending his life in providing against one danger, he met with a wholly unexpected end and had, as it were, wasted his life in misdirected prudence.

100. **divisit medium**: chopped him in two, an intentionally short and brutal way of putting it, followed, in order to brighten the sordidness of the story, by a burlesque allusion to a great tragic legend. — **fortissima Tyndarida-**

**rum**: *i.e.* as brave as any of the line of Tyndareus; with special reference to Clytemnestra, who killed Agamemnon with an ax.

101 f. The man of business has still one line of defence left, — ‘Your reasoning, carried to its legitimate conclusion, leads to sheer waste and the dissipation of property.’ To which the answer is obvious, — ‘Do not carry it so far; do not rush from one extreme to the other, but keep the wise middle course.’ — **Naevius, Nomentanus**: these names are used as well-known representatives of a class — the spendthrifts. A Naevius is mentioned in *Sat.* 2, 2, 68 as a man who was too easy-going in his housekeeping, and this characteristic would fit well enough with carelessness in money matters. Of a L. Cassius Nomentanus, a contemporary of Sallust and notorious for his prodigality, Porphyrio gives a circumstantial account. Nomentanus is also a Lucilian character, and a Nomentanus, apparently a different one, is mentioned in *Sat.* 2, 8, 23, 25, 60. Precise identification is impossible.

ut Nomentanus ?' Pergis pugnancia secum  
frontibus adversis componere ? Non ego, avarum  
cum veto te fieri, vappam iubeo ac nebulonem.

105 Est inter Tanain quiddam socerumque Viselli.

Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,  
quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.

Illuc, unde abii, redeo, qui nemo ut avarus

102-104. Pergis: often used without an interrogative particle in half-exclamatory sentences.—*pugnancia secum, frontibus adversis, componere*: these three expressions combine to suggest from different sides the figure of two gladiators, matched (*componere* is the technical word) against one another. So the argument of vss. 101 f. sets up the figure of the *vappa ac nebulo* to destroy the effect of the figure of the *avarus*, as described in the body of the satire.

105. The reference is probably to some Greek saying, then well enough known to make a mere allusion intelligible; at any rate, the names represent two widely separated extremes.

107. *ultra citraque*: the safe 'middle ground' is the only place where the right (*ὀρθόν*) can find a sure standing place.

108 f. *Illuc, unde abii, redeo*: this is not perfectly accurate. To return precisely to the opening question, 'What is the source of our discontent?' would be absurd, since the whole satire has

been spent in setting forth the answer to that question. But a repetition of the text is a very suitable way of bringing the sermon to its conclusion. Horace therefore repeats the opening words (*qui nemo se probet* = *qui fit ut nemo contentus vivat*), attaching them somewhat forcedly to the leading clause *illuc redeo* and inserting the substance of the answer in the brief phrase *ut avarus*, which is taken up more fully in vss. 110 ff. The obscurity produced by using *qui nemo* instead of *qui fit ut nemo* and by making it depend upon *illuc redeo* is increased by the use of *ut avarus* (= 'because of the love of money'; cf. *ut male sanos*, *Epist.* 1, 19, 3; *ut capitis minor*, *Odes* 3, 5, 42), which is easily mistaken for a repetition of the *ut* in *qui fit ut*. The obscurity of the passage has led copyists into making various changes in the text, *nemo ut, nemon ut*. The true reading was found only in a single manuscript. 'I come back to my starting point, the discontent of men, which comes from their love of money and their envy.'

se probet ac potius laudet diversa sequentis,  
 110 quodque aliena capella gerat distentius uber,  
 tabescat, neque se maiori pauperiorum  
 turbae comparet, hunc atque hunc superare laboret.  
 Sic festinanti semper locupletior obstat,  
 ut, cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,  
 115 instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum  
 praeteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.  
 Inde fit, ut raro, qui se vixisse beatum  
 dicat, et, exacto contentus tempore, vita  
 cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus.

110. A mean and petty illustration is chosen intentionally.

112. *hunc atque hunc*: 'first one and then another.' The adversative idea, as often in Latin, is left unexpressed.

113. *Sic*: with *festinanti*; 'one who is in such haste to be rich.'

114 ff. The figure of the chariot race is used with a serious effect which suits the tone of vss. 111-119. It is a natural comparison, often used in Latin literature, and it is not necessary to suppose that this passage is either copied from or imitated in Vergil, *Georg.* I, 512 ff.: —

Vt cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae,  
 addunt in spatia et frustra retinacula tendens  
 fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas.

The only similarity is in the use

of technical terms. — *carceribus*. the stalls in which the chariots stood ready to be started (*missos*) by the raising of the barrier. — *rapit ungula*: so *quatit ungula*, Ennius, *Ann.* 224 Vahl., Verg. *Aen.* 8, 596, in the same place in the verse. — *illum*: *the one*. — *extremos inter*: cf. *venalis inter*, 47, n.

117-119. *Inde fit*: this also, like vs. 108, is a return to the beginning of the satire, *qui fit*, but with a more sober restraint (*raro* instead of *nemo*) and with an effective use of the figure of the satisfied feaster. This is another reminiscence of Lucretius, 3, 938: —

Cur non ut plenus vitae conviva  
 recedis,  
 aequo animoque capis securam, stulte,  
 quietem?

Compare also the closing lines of Bryant's *Thanatopsis*.

120      Iam satis est.    Ne me Crispini scrinia lippi  
                 compilasse putes, verbum non amplius addam.

120-121. It is thoroughly characteristic of Horace to turn abruptly from grave to gay, — *ridentem dicere verum*, — and the very abruptness of the change is often an effective enforcement of the moral. Several of the *Satires* will be found to close with a jest. Cf. also the close of some of the *Odes*; 1, 6; 2, 1; and especially 3, 3, *quo, musa, tendis*. — *Crispini*: said by

Porphyrio to be Plotius Crispinus, a writer of much verse (cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 14) and a teacher of Stoic doctrines (*Sat.* 1, 3, 139; 2, 7, 45). — *scrinia*: cylindrical boxes in which the papyrus rolls were kept. — *lippi*: personal peculiarities or defects, of which we should think it discourteous to speak, were frequently matter for ridicule to the ancients.

## 2

This satire was written before 3, since the death of Tigellius, which is there (vs. 3 ff.) referred to as having occurred some time before, is here spoken of as a quite recent event, and before 4, where (in vs. 91) a line of this satire (vs. 27) is quoted. It is therefore to be placed in the group of early satires, with 7 and 8, written before the introduction to Maecenas in 39 or 38 B.C.

The announced subject of the satire is the tendency of men to run to extremes, their inability to keep to the golden mean. Of this tendency the first part, down to vs. 28, gives various illustrations, not lacking in humor and unobjectionable in tone. But the particular illustration which is treated in detail, and which occupies the rest of the satire, is excess in sensual indulgence, and especially the vice of adultery, which had become rife in the Ciceronian period and was still increasing in Roman society.

The satire betrays in various ways the immaturity of the writer. It is the most personal of Horace's writings; it is coarse in expression, and it is intentionally sensational in manner. These characteristics are in part the result of a too close adherence to the manner of Lucilius, in part of a desire to attract attention, in part of the bitter and rebellious feeling of the writer. Yet it is not difficult to find in it, as undoubtedly Vergil and Varius did, the indications of what the writer was later to become.

- Ambubaiarum conlegia, pharmacopolae,  
mendici, mimae, balatrones, hoc genus omne  
maestum ac sollicitum est cantoris morte Tigelli:  
quippe benignus erat. Contra hic, ne prodigus esse  
5 dicatur metuens, inopi dare nolit amico,  
frigus quo duramque famem propellere possit.  
Hunc si perconteris, avi cur atque parentis  
praeclaram ingrata stringat malus ingluvie rem,  
omnia conductis coëmens obsonia nummis,  
10 sordidus atque animi quod parvi nolit haberi,  
respondet. Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis.  
Fufidius vappae famam timet ac nebulonis,

1. *Ambubaiarum*: *flute-girls*, like the *copa Syrisca* of Vergil's poem, whose associations are called *conlegia*, *guilds*, with a touch of derision.

2. *mendici*: the organizations of begging priests. — *mimae*: women were not allowed to act in the more respectable dramas, but only in the farces called *nimi*. — *balatrones*: cf. the use of this name for a parasite as a proper name in *Sat.* 2, 8, 21 and 40.

3. *Tigelli*: see note on *Sat.* 1, 3, 4.

4. *benignus*: *kind, generous*; the word is used as if in quotation. — *hic*: *this other man*, the meaning being made plainer by *contra*.

7. *Hunc*: a third person, not the same as *hic*, 4. Whatever slight confusion is caused by the use of the same pronoun is dispelled by the next line, which

shows that this man was a spendthrift.

8. *ingrata*: *unprofitable*, that gives no adequate return for the money spent upon it. — *stringat*: *strips*, as leaves from a tree.

9. *omnia . . . obsonia*: *all kinds of dainties*, everything that his appetite suggested. — *conductis*: *hired*, i.e. *borrowed* at interest.

10. *animi . . . parvi*: *mean*; the opposite of *benignus*, 4.

11. *his, illis*: *one side, the other side*, people who are of the same or of the opposite opinion.

12. *Fufidius*: a well-known family name, but the individual here referred to is unknown. He is a money-lender who combines in himself the extreme of great wealth — which he gets by discreditable methods — with the extreme of stinginess in the spending of money upon himself.



[dives agris, dives positis in faenore nummis];  
 quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat, atque  
 15 quanto perditior quisque est, tanto acrius urget;  
 nomina sectatur modo sumpta veste virili  
 sub patribus duris tironum. 'Maxime' quis non  
 'Iuppiter!' exclamat, simul atque audivit? 'At in se  
 pro quaestu sumptum facit hic.' Vix credere possis  
 20 quam sibi non sit amicus, ita ut pater ille, Terenti  
 fabula quem miserum gnato vixisse fugato  
 inducit, non se peius cruciaverit atque hic.

Si quis nunc quaerat, 'Quo res haec pertinet?' illuc:

14. **quinas . . . mercedes**: the usual rate of interest was one per cent a month, but Fufidius collected five times this rate. — **capiti**: from the principal. — **exsecat**: the verb is chosen to express the severity of the demand; *cuts off* beforehand, as in discounting. In all such matters the methods of Roman business were less systematized than the banking of modern times.

15. **perditior**: nearer to ruin.

16 f. **nomina**: names, but with a suggestion of 'accounts,' as in English. — **tironum**: young men who had just put on the *toga virilis* and whose fathers still kept them on small allowances would be the natural prey of the unscrupulous money-lender.

19. **pro quaestu**: in proportion to his gains; the supposed exclamation of some one who hears of his great income. This suggests at once the strangeness of the contrast between his wealth and his

meanness, which is carried out in the next phrase, *vix credere possis*.

20. **quam . . . non . . . amicus**: not exactly the same as *quam inimicus*, but 'how far he is from being kind to himself.' — **pater ille**: a father in the play of Terence, the *Heautontimorumenos* (*Self-tormentor*), who, because he thinks that his harshness has driven his son away from home, refuses himself all comforts until the son returns.

22. **inducit**: 'brings on the stage,' but used like a verb of saying with the infin. *vixisse*; *represents as having lived*. — **cruciaverit**: a repetition of the word *timorumenos*, in the title of the play.

23. **Quo . . . pertinet**: what's the point of all this? Cf. *Sat.* I, 1, 15 f., *quo rem deducam*, and *Sat.* 2, 7, 21. — **illuc**: the answer to the question, which is then explained in the next line.

- dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt.
- 25 Malthinus tunicis demissis ambulat; est qui  
 inguen ad obscenum subductis usque facetus.  
 Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum.  
 Nil medium est. Sunt qui nolint tetigisse nisi illas,  
 quarum subsuta talos tegat instita veste;
- 30 contra alius nullam nisi olenti in fornice stantem.  
 Quidam notus homo cum exiret fornice, 'Macte  
 virtute esto,' inquit sententia dia Catonis.  
 'Nam simul ac venas inflavit taetra libido,  
 huc iuvenes aequum est descendere, non alienas
- 35 permolere uxores.' 'Nolim laudari,' inquit,  
 'sic me,' mirator cunni Cupiennius albi.  
 Audire est operae pretium, procedere recte  
 qui moechos non voltis, ut omni parte laborent;  
 utque illis multo corrupta dolore voluptas

25-27. Two illustrations of excess, each described in a line, followed by two other extremes condensed into a single line. Vs. 27 is quoted in *Sat.* 1, 4, 92 as an example of jesting that is really harmless and in fact it is not likely that any of the names was meant to designate an individual.

29. *instita*: a border sewed on to the *stola* of the married woman, so that the garment came down to the ankles.

30. *contra alius*: cf. *contra hic*, 4.

31 f. *Macte virtute esto*: a colloquial phrase of approval; *well done!* *that's right*. — *sententia dia Catonis*: formal and epic; Lucilius, 1316 (Marx), has *Valeri sententia dia*, and Horace frequently

uses this kind of periphrasis in parody of the heroic style, e.g. *Sat.* 2, 1, 72.

35. *laudari*: the old form of the infin. pass., used also in 78 and 104 with intentional archaism.

36. *Cupiennius*: identified by the scholiast with a certain C. Cupiennius Libo, a friend of Augustus. But it is much more likely that the name is selected for its suggestion of *cupio*. — *albi*: of the white dress of married women, in contrast to the dark toga worn by prostitutes.

37 f. A parody of a line of Ennius (454 Vahl.), *audire est operae pretium, procedere recte | qui rem Romanam . . . voltis*, with emphatic insertion of *non*.

- 40 atque haec rara cadat dura inter saepe pericla.  
Hic se praecipitem tecto dedit; ille flagellis  
ad mortem caesus; fugiens hic decedit acrem  
praedonum in turbam; dedit hic pro corpore nummos;  
hunc perminxerunt calones; quin etiam illud  
45 accidit, ut quidam testes caudamque salacem  
demeteret ferro. 'Iure,' omnes; Galba negabat.  
Tutior at quanto merx est in classe secunda,  
libertinarum dico, Sallustius in quas  
non minus insanit, quam qui moechatur. At hic si,  
50 qua res, qua ratio suaderet quaque modeste  
munifico esse licet, vellet bonus atque benignus  
esse, daret quantum satis esset nec sibi damno  
dedecorique foret. Verum hoc se amplectitur uno,  
hoc amat et laudat, 'Matronam nullam ego tango.'  
55 Vt quondam Marsaeus, amator Originis ille,

40. *rara*: with *haec* (*voluptas*) in a predicate use, contrasting with *saepe*. — *dura*: with *pericla*.

43. *pro corpore*: paid a ransom to save himself from the penalty which might have been inflicted on him.

46. *Galba*: this may be a reference to a known person, a jurist who is said by the scholiast to have been himself caught in adultery. This would explain the point of *negabat*; as a jurist he dissented from the general judgment. But the story of the scholiast may have started with *negabat*.

48. *Sallustius*: not the historian. It may have been his nephew and heir, but this is not easily reconciled with the fact

that Horace addressed a friendly ode (*Carm.* 2, 2) to him.

50. *res, ratio*: the two leading motives for self-restraint, care for his property and good sense.

51. *licet*: the verb itself expresses by its meaning the shading which in *suaderet* is expressed by the mode. — *bonus atque benignus*: as if quoted from those who would receive the money. Cf. *benignus*, vs. 4.

53. *hoc . . . uno*: explained in the words *matronam . . . tango*.

55. *Originis*: said by the scholiast to have been a *mima* (cf. vs. 2) of Cicero's time. Marsaeus is unknown and this is therefore an apparent personality, which in reality refers to a long-past scandal.

- qui patrium mimae donat fundumque laremque,  
 ' Nil fuerit mi,' inquit, ' cum uxoribus unquam alienis.'  
 Verum est cum mimis, est cum meretricibus, unde  
 fama malum gravius quam res trahit. An tibi abunde  
 60 personam satis est, non illud, quidquid ubique  
 officit, evitare? Bonam deperdere famam,  
 rem patris oblimare, malum est ubicunque. Quid inter-  
 est in matrona, ancilla peccesne togata?  
 Villius in Fausta Sullae gener, hoc miser uno  
 65 nomine deceptus, poenas dedit usque superque  
 quam satis est, pugnīs caesus ferroque petitus,  
 exclusus fore, cum Longarenus foret intus.  
 Huic si mutonis verbis mala tanta videntis  
 diceret haec animus ' Quid vis tibi? Numquid ego a te  
 70 magno prognatum depono consule cunnum  
 velatumque stola, mea cum conferbuit ira? '  
 quid responderet? ' Magno patre nata puella est.'  
 At quanto meliora monet pugnanciaque istis

59. *fama, res*: the same combination (in reversed order) that is used in *damno dedecorique*, vs. 52 f., to express from both sides the consequences of excess.

60. *personam*: the character, the rôle, of a *moechus*, contrasted with *illud* . . . *officit*, the results of excess, which come in any case (*ubique*).

62. *ubicunque*: repeating *ubi-*  
*que*; 'whatever *persona* you may assume.'

63. *togata*: cf. note on *albi*, 36.

64-67. This is also a reference to a scandal of Cicero's time.

Fausta was the daughter of Sulla and the wife of Milo. Villius was one of her lovers, called *Sullae gener* in derision, and Longarenus was another lover. — in *Fausta*: in the case of *Fausta*, with the verbal phrase *poenas dedit*. — *hoc* . . . *uno*: abl. with *miser deceptus*, with *nomine* (i.e. the noble name *Fausta*) in apposition. — *fore*: abl. with *exclusus*.

68-72. *si* . . . *diceret*: the conclusion is *responderet*, 72.

73. *meliora* . . . *pugnancia*: after *monet*, the subject of which is *natura*. — *pugnancia istis*: 'opposite to what you have said,' i.e.

- dives opis natura suae, tu si modo recte  
75 dispensare velis ac non fugienda petendis  
immiscere. Tuo vitio rerumne labores,  
nil referre putas? Quare, ne paeniteat te,  
desine matronas sectarier, unde laboris  
plus haurire mali est quam ex re decerpere fructus.  
80 Nec magis huic inter niveos viridisque lapillos,  
sit licet hoc, Cerinthe, tuum, tenerum est femur aut  
crus  
rectius, atque etiam melius persaepe togatae est.  
Adde huc, quod mercem sine fucis gestat, aperte  
quod venale habet ostendit, nec, si quid honesti est,  
85 iactat habetque palam, quaerit quo turpia celet.  
Regibus hic mos est: ubi equos mercantur, opertos  
inspiciunt, ne, si facies, ut saepe, decora  
molli fulta pede est, emptorem inducat hiantem,  
quod pulchrae clunes, breve quod caput, ardua cervix.

to magno patre . . . est. Cf. *pugnancia secum*, Sat. 1, 1, 102.

74. dives opis natura suae: a doctrine of Epicurean philosophy, stated by Cicero, *de Fin.* 1, 13, 45 . . . 'ipsa natura divitias, quibus contenta sit, et parabiles et terminatas habet.' The figure is carried on in *dispensare*, 'to deal out' like a careful steward.

75. fugienda petendis: used again in Sat. 1, 3, 114, as equivalent to *bona diversis*.

76. Tuo vitio rerumne: cf. Sat. 1, 10, 57 f., *num illius, num rerum . . . natura*.

80-82. huic: the *matrona*; contrasted with *togatae*, 82. —

sit . . . tuum: although this may be your judgment, i.e. that the adornment of the married woman adds to her attractions. Cerinthus is unknown.

84. honesti: used of physical charms for the contrast with *turpia*.

86-89. opertos: i.e. they cover those parts of the horse which by their beauty might attract the purchaser — *emptorem inducat* — the parts specified in vs. 89, in order to examine with the more coolness of judgment the parts which might be unsound, *molli . . . pede*. The custom, if there ever was such a custom, is not elsewhere alluded to.

- 90 Hoc illi recte : ne corporis optima Lyncei  
contemplere oculis, Hypsaea caecior illa,  
quae mala sunt; spectes. O crus! O brachia! Verum  
depygis, nasuta, brevi latere ac pede longo est.  
Matronae praeter faciem nil cernere possis,  
95 cetera, ni Catia est, demissa veste tegentis.  
Si interdicta petes, vallo circumdata, nam te  
hoc facit insanum, multae tibi tum officient res,  
custodes, lectica, ciniflones, parasitae,  
ad talos stola demissa et circumdata palla,  
100 plurima, quae invideant pure apparere tibi rem.  
Altera, nil obstat: Cois tibi paene videre est  
ut nudam, ne crure malo, ne sit pede turpi;  
metiri possis oculo latus. An tibi mavis  
insidias fieri pretiumque avellier ante  
105 quam mercem ostendi? 'Leporem venator ut alta  
in nive sectetur, positum sic tangere nolit,'

90 f. *Lyncei*: famous for his power of sight; cf. *Epist.* I, I, 28, *non p̄s is oculo quantum contendere Lynceus*. — *ne* . . . *contemplere*: a parenthetic clause of purpose. — *Hypsaea*: unknown except by a note in the scholia, which does not really explain the allusion.

96 f. *vallo circumdata*: figurative, as an amplification of *interdicta*, and itself further amplified in vs. 98–100. — *facit insanum*: the fact that there are difficulties in the way.

98. The attendants of a great lady, either in the streets (*custodes*, *lectica* — with the bearers) or in

her house (*ciniflones*, hairdressers, *parasitae*, at the table); which made it difficult to find her alone.

100. *invideant* . . . *apparere*: the construction is unusual, but it is found in Plautus, e.g. *Bacch* 543. Cf. the infin. after *prohibere*

101. *Altera*: without a verb, to give a conversational tone; the thought is easily filled out from *pure apparere* and from the rest of vs. 101. — *Cois*: abl. neuter. A transparent kind of silk made originally in the island of Cos.

105–108. *ut*: *how*; the clause depends upon *cantat*. These verses give the substance of an epigram of Callimachus (*Anth. Pal.*, xii,



cantat et apponit : ' Meus est amor huic similis ; nam transvolat in medio posita et fugientia captat.'

Hiscine versiculis speras tibi posse dolores

110 atque aestus curasque gravis e pectore pelli?

Nonne, cupidinibus statuatur natura modum quem,

quid latura sibi, quid sit dolitura negatum,

quaerere plus prodest et inane abscindere soldo?

Num, tibi cum fauces urit sitis, aurea quaeris

115 pocula? Num esuriens fastidis omnia praeter pavonem rhombumque? Tument tibi cum inguina, num, si

ancilla aut verna est praesto puer, impetus in quem

continuo fiat, malis tentigine rumpi?

Non ego: namque parabilem amo venerem facilemque.

120 Illam, ' Post paulo,' ' Sed pluris,' ' Si exierit vir,'

Gallis, hanc Philodemus ait sibi, quae neque magno

stet pretio neque cunctetur, cum est iussa venire.

102) in which the lover is compared to a hunter; the game that he prefers is that which costs him trouble in the pursuit and capture.

— **aponit**: the point of the epigram is here added in direct quotation and in a very close paraphrase, almost a translation of the original. The comparison was probably common enough. Ovid (*Amor.* 2, 9, 9) has compressed the whole into a single line.

109-110. **versiculis**: 'do you think that such verses are a healing charm which will cure your troubles?'

111. **natura modum**: the same thought is in *Sat.* 1, 1, 49 f., 59, 73.

112. **dolitura negatum**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 75.

113. **inane**: the *void* or *space* of Epicurean physics, in which the *atoms* or *matter* (*solidum*) moved. But here figuratively, like the English *substance* and *shadow*; 'to distinguish the mere appearance from the reality.'

116. **pavonem rhombumque**: the fashion which dictated the use of certain fish or fowls as a part of every formal dinner is directly ridiculed in other satires, esp. *Sat.* 2, 2, 23 ff., and 48 ff.

120-122. A reference to an epigram of Philodemus, an Epicurean of Cicero's time. This particular

Candida rectaque sit, munda hactenus, ut neque longa  
nec magis alba velit, quam dat natura, videri.

125 Haec ubi supposuit dextro corpus mihi laevum,

Ilia et Egeria est : do nomen quodlibet illi,  
nec vereor, ne, dum futuo, vir rure recurrat,  
ianua frangatur, latret canis, undique magno  
pulsa domus strepitu resonet, vepallida lecto

130 desiliat mulier, miseram se conscia clamet,  
cruribus haec metuat, doti deprensa, egomet mi.

Discincta tunica fugiendum est ac pede nudo,  
ne nummi pereant aut puga aut denique fama.

Deprendi miserum est; Fabio vel iudice vincam.

epigram is not extant, but the construction reflects the colloquial tone; "that one (the *matrona*) for the *Galli*, this one (the *libertina*) for me," says Philodemus."

123. *munda*: neat, but with the suggestion that adornment may be carried too far. — *hactenus*: only so far.

129. *vepallida*: the prefix is here intensive, *very pale*; elsewhere it is negative, as in *vesanus* = *insanus*.

130. *conscia*: the slave-woman who was the accomplice.

134. *Fabio*: probably the Stoic philosopher referred to in *Sat.* I, I, 14. The Stoic doctrine was that no evil could befall the true philosopher. The point therefore is that the misfortune of being caught is so great that not even a Stoic, in spite of his doctrine, could deny that it was *miserum*.

### 3

The only indication of the date of this satire is the allusion in vs. 64, which implies a considerable degree of intimacy with Maecenas, to whom Horace was introduced in the year 38. In style and thought it is one of the more mature satires of the First Book.

"Musical people are odd. Look at Tigellius, a bundle of inconsistent absurdities. "Very fine," says some one, "but how about you, who criticize others with so much penetration? Are you faultless yourself?" "Not at all," answers the critic, "but, frankly, I don't think

my faults are as bad as his." No, you do not, and your self-satisfied attitude is a proper subject for a satire.

\* Your habit of criticism brings its natural result, that others criticize you, and both you and they, seizing upon some trifling fault, fail to see the finer and nobler qualities and, still worse, make no effort to correct your own faults.

\* I wish that we might rather be as blind to the faults of a friend as a lover is to the defects in the face of his mistress or, if see them we must, might treat them with the indulgent tenderness of a father toward his child, interpreting bluntness as frankness and a hot temper as only an excess of high spirit.

\* But we follow just the opposite course and turn good qualities into faults, modesty into stupidity, prudence into trickiness. A fairer judgment would show us that virtues are more common than vices and would teach us to exchange pardon rather than censure.

\* A reasonable philosophy for a world of faulty men should not be over-strict. To break a friendship for some trifling breach of good manners is to lose all sense of proportion between crime and penalty.

\* The Stoics, to be sure, teach in their paradoxical way that all faults are sins and deserve the heaviest penalty. But this doctrine is repugnant to our best feelings and opposed to all that we know of the gradual evolution of the moral code. A real understanding of the source of our moral sense makes it unreasonable to punish the slightest error with death, as the Stoic says he would do, if he were king. "And how now, my Stoic friend? Wishing that you were king? I thought another of your Paradoxes proved that you are a king already." "No, no, you don't understand. That means a potential king, not a king *de facto*." "Potential? What's that?" "Why, like Hermogenes, who doesn't need to be singing all the time to prove that he's a singer. Even when he isn't singing, he's a potential singer. In the same way I'm a king, potentially." "Very well, I won't argue with you, but I don't think much of Your Majesty, hustled by street boys on your way to the cheap baths. I will remain a private citizen and forgive as I hope to be forgiven."\*

It is not probable that the subject of this satire was suggested by any particular set of circumstances. Roman society was censorious, and Horace was himself an object of criticism, but this is neither a satire, in the proper sense, nor an argument in self-defence. It is a broadly human plea for generosity toward one's friends. The treatment of the Stoics is not to be taken seriously, and it would not be fair to press too far the obvious modern analogies.

Thackeray's Roundabout Paper called *On a Chalk-mark on the Door* is an excellent companion piece to this satire in its general tone and especially in the manner in which the subject is introduced.

Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus, inter amicos  
ut numquam inducant animum cantare rogati,  
iniussi numquam desistant. Sardus habebat  
ille Tigellius hoc. Caesar, qui cogere posset,  
5 si peteret per amicitiam patris atque suam, non  
quicquam proficeret; si collibuisset, ab ovo

1-2. *vitium*: not *vice*, but *defect*, *fault*. — *rogati*: contrasted with *iniussi*, both predicate.

3. *Sardus*: with contemptuous emphasis. The Sardinians were in bad repute at Rome; cf. the saying, *Sardi venales, alter altero nequior*.

4. *Tigellius*: a musician of the Ciceronian period, several times alluded to in Cicero's letters and in the scholiasts. Cicero speaks of him always as *Sardus Tigellius*, but his name was *Hermogenes Tigellius*, and it is unlikely that *Sardus* was accepted by him as a cognomen. He was an acquaintance of many persons of prominence, Julius Caesar, Cleopatra, Cicero, and the younger Caesar, but not, apparently, on terms of equality. He had died shortly before the second satire was written. He is to be distinguished from another *Hermogenes Tigellius*, still alive, also a musician and probably a freedman or adopted son of the former. The tone of

Horace toward the elder *Tigellius* is not hostile, though not respectful; toward the younger he is distinctly hostile (*Sat.* 1, 4, 72; 1, 10, 18, 80, 90). There are two places where the reference might be to either (1, 3, 129; 1, 9, 25). — *habebat . . . hoc*: *had this way, habit*; *hoc* does not refer grammatically to *vitium*. — *Caesar*: the young Octavius took this name immediately after the death of his great-uncle, in 44. The title *Augustus* was not given to him till 27. He is always referred to by Horace as *Caesar*, never as *Octavianus*, which could not be used in hexameter. — *qui cogere posset*: the words are not meant literally, but as a complimentary recognition of his position and influence.

5. *patris*: Julius Caesar, his adoptive father. — *si peteret*: a future condition, put into past time.

6. *collibuisset*: an impf. in force.

usque ad mala citaret 'Io Bacche!' modo summa  
voce, modo hac resonat quae chordis quattuor ima.

Nil aequale homini fuit illi; saepe velut qui

10 currebat fugiens hostem, persaepe velut qui  
Iunonis sacra ferret; habebat saepe ducentos,  
saepe decem servos; modo reges atque tetrarchas,  
omnia magna loquens, modo, 'Sit mihi mensa tripes et  
concha salis puri et toga, quae defendere frigus,

6-7. *ab ovo usque ad mala*: eggs were a usual part of the preliminary *gustatio* (cf. *Sat.* 2, 4, 12), and fruit was served as a dessert at the end of the dinner.

7-8. *Io Bacche*: the opening words or the refrain of a drinking song. The final *e* should be short, but may be explained as having been lengthened in the song by its position at the end of a musical phrase. — *summa*, *ima*: the accompanying reference to the lyre shows that these words are used of the position of the strings, not of the tone. As the lyre was held, the bass string was uppermost. The Romans used *summus* and *imus* also of the tones of the voice in the same sense as the English *high* and *low*.

9. *aequale*: *consistent*.

10. The expression is somewhat condensed; in full it would be *saepe currebat velut qui fugiens hostem (curreret), persaepe (incebat or some similar verb) velut qui . . . ferret*.

11. *Iunonis sacra*: the *κατηφόροι*, who in religious processions

carried the offerings and sacred vessels in baskets on their heads and would naturally walk with dignity.

11-12. *ducentos . . . decem*: one number suggests domestic profusion, the other a quiet dignity; neither is to be interpreted literally. Horace himself, in speaking of the easy simplicity of his own life, says that he was waited on at supper by three slaves (*Sat.* 1, 6, 116).

12. *reges atque tetrarchas*: that is, at one time he talked of court life and Oriental monarchs, at another time his attitude was that of a true philosopher who had reduced his desires to the bare necessities.

13-14. *tripes, concha*: the Roman gentleman regarded a handsome dining table, supported upon a central pedestal, as necessary to a properly furnished dining room, and even poor people had a silver salt cellar; cf. *Carm.* 2, 16, 13 f., *Vivitur parvo bene cui paternum | splendet in mensa tenui salinum*. — *puri*: salt was sometimes perfumed or flavored.

- 15 quamvis crassa, queat.' Deciens centena dedisses  
 huic parco, paucis contento, quinque diebus  
 nil erat in oculis. Noctes vigilabat ad ipsum  
 mane, diem totum stertebat. Nil fuit umquam  
 sic impar sibi. — Nunc aliquis dicat mihi: 'Quid tu?  
 20 nullane habes vitia?' Immo alia et fortasse minora.  
 Maenius absentem Novium cum carperet, 'Heus tu,'  
 quidam ait, 'ignoras te, an ut ignotum dare nobis  
 verba putas?' 'Egomet mi ignosco,' Maenius inquit.

15. Deciens centena: sc. *millia sestertium*, a million sesterces. — dedisses: a paratactic condition, without *si*. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 45.

16. parco, paucis contento: these words summarize the professions of Tigellius in 13-15. The substance of the passage therefore is: 'But if you had taken this ascetic philosopher at his word and given him a million or two, he would have turned spendthrift in a week.'

17. erat: the whole passage is a description of a man who had been dead some years, and all the tenses are past, impf.; perf., plupf.; in present time it would have been *dederis . . . erit*: 'Suppose you gave him a million; a week afterward you look in his pocketbook — nothing there!'

18. Nil: the neuter is colloquial and more sweeping than the more exact masculine. Cf. Catullus, 9, 11, *quid me laetius est beatius-ve?*

19. impar sibi: = (*in*) *aequale*, 9. — Nunc: at this point in the talk. — aliquis, mihi: merely the two conventional figures that Horace often employs to enliven his Satires with bits of dialogue. — Quid tu? *how about yourself?*

21-23. These verses repeat in brief, with the added point of a double pun, the essence of 1-20. Maenius corresponds to the critic, Novius to Tigellius, *heus tu* to *quid tu? ignoras . . . putas?* is a slight expansion of *nullane habes vitia?* and *egomet mi ignosco* is a neater variation upon *immo . . . minora*. The pun upon *ignotas, ignotum, ignosco* gains force from the double question: 'Which is it, Maenius, *igno-ras* or *igno-tum?*' 'Neither,' says Maenius; 'it's *igno-sco*.' The scholiast gives a long account of a Maenius, but it has no point here, nor is it important to identify Novius with one of the persons mentioned in *Sat.* 1, 6, 121; the names are only more vivid substitutes for *aliquis* and *mihi*, vs. 19.



Stultus et improbus hic amor est, dignusque notari.

25 Cum tua pervideas oculis mala lippus inunctis,  
cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum  
quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius? At tibi contra

24. *hic amor*: such satisfaction as this, that is, as has been exhibited in the preceding verses.—*dignusque notari*: ‘a proper subject for a satire.’

Verses 1–24 introduce the subject of the satire with an easy skill which Horace has nowhere surpassed. The passage reads like the talk of a group of men sitting about the fire at a club. There is no attempt to reproduce the exact form of dialogue, and the suggestion of dialogue in the introduction is intended only as an interpretation of the spirit of the passage. Some chance has brought up the oddities of musical people, of which Tigellius affords an excellent illustration. The mention of his name leads easily to the amusing and not ill-natured analysis of the character of this much-flattered and extravagant musical artist. But the characterization, though not really ill-natured, illustrates the inconsistency of censuring others for failings which we excuse in ourselves, an inconsistency which is even more clearly apparent in the Maenius–Novius anecdote, and which furnishes a subject for the satirist.

25–27. *mala*: stronger than

*vitiis*, in the next line.—*lippus*, *inunctis*: there are frequent references to this inflammation of the eyelids and to the use of eye-salve (*Sat.* 1, 5, 30; *Epist.* 1, 1, 29); both the disease and the remedy obscured for the time the power of vision.—*aquila*, *serpens*: the eagle is still used in literature as a symbol of acuteness of sight; the attributing of the same quality to the serpent, common in Greek literature, was due to a supposed connection between δράκων and the stem of δέρκομαι, *to see*.—*Epidaurius* refers to the story of the bringing of a sacred serpent from the temple of Aesculapius in Epidaurus to Rome. This is the use, frequent in Horace, of the definite and particular for the general.—*pervideas*: taken by many editors to mean *examine sharply*, making an intentional oxymoron with *lippus*. But *pervidere* usually means only *to look at*, and is here contrasted with *cernis acutum*, as *mala* is with *vitiis* and *lippus inunctis* with *aquila* and *serpens*.

27–28. *contra, rursus*: *i.e.* when their turn comes.—*illi*: not referring precisely to *amicorum*, but more general, — ‘when the criticized turn critics.’

evenit, inquirant vitia ut tua rursus et illi.

‘Iracundior est paulo, minus aptus acutis

30 naribus horum hominum; rideri possit eo, quod

rusticius tonso toga defluit, et male laxus

in pede calceus haeret.’ At est bonus, ut melior vir

non alius quisquam, at tibi amicus, at ingenium ingens  
inculto latet hoc sub corpore. Denique te ipsum

35 concute, num qua tibi vitiorum inseverit olim

natura aut etiam consuetudo mala; namque

neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris.

29-30. A single fault in two forms, *iracundior*, *quick-tempered*, and *minus aptus* . . ., *impatient of criticism*, the general followed by the particular.—*acutis naribus*: from the instinctive turning up of the nostrils at a disagreeable odor. The phrase is a slightly inaccurate combination of the descriptive (*acutis*) with the figurative (*naribus*).—*horum*: *nowadays*, with a side-reference to literary criticism; cf. *Sat.* 1, 10, 67-71.

30-32. *rideri possit*: ‘people may laugh at him,’ *i.e.* he exposes himself to possible ridicule.—*tonso*: dat.; *sc. ei*. The two distinct criticisms are better expressed in English by two verbs: ‘because his hair is cut by a country barber and his toga isn’t properly creased.’—*defluit*: *hangs loose*, instead of being creased in folds across the chest.—*male*: with both *laxus* and *haeret*; *is loose and ill-fitting*. On these lines cf.

*Epist.* 1, 1, 94 ff., and *Quint.* 11, 3, 137, ‘et toga et calceus et capillus tam nimia cura quam negligentia sunt reprehendenda.’

34. *inculto* . . . *corpore*: *is hidden beneath this careless exterior*.

35. *concute*: from shaking the loose folds of the garments to see whether anything was concealed in them. Cf. *Plaut. Aul.* 646 f., *agedum, excutedum pallium* . . . *ne inter tunicas habeas*. The implied notion of searching governs the indirect question, *num* . . . *inseverit*.—*olim*: *once, i.e.* at your birth, with reference to *natura* only.

36-37. *consuetudo*: added as an after-thought, to remind the overcritical censor that he has not only faults which were in-born, but also faults which are due to his own carelessness.—*neglectis*: almost ‘for if you are careless.’—*filix*: a common pest to the Italian farmer, which he got rid of by burning over the fields.

Illuc praevertamur: amatorem quod amicae  
turpia decipiunt caecum vitia, aut etiam ipsa haec  
40 delectant, veluti Balbinum polypus Hagnae:  
vellem in amicitia sic erraremus, et isti  
errori nomen virtus posuisset honestum.  
At pater ut gnati, sic nos debemus amici  
si quod sit vitium non fastidire; strabonem

38-54. 'As the lover finds in the defects of his mistress only added beauties, and as the father calls his boy by a pet name which minimizes his physical weaknesses, so we should try to see the better side of our friends' qualities.'

Horace is here strengthening his argument by appealing to two well-recognized traits. The blindness of the lover was a commonplace of philosophy (Plato, *Rep.* 5, 474 d; Lucretius, 4, 1160-1169; Ovid, *Ars Am.* 2, 657 ff.) and the giving of nicknames based upon physical peculiarities was so common among the Romans that most of their family names, including those used in this passage (*Paetus*, *Pullus*, *Varus*, *Scaurus*), are derived from this custom.

38. *Illuc praevertamur, quod: let us turn rather to this fact, that . . . ; i.e.* 'let us prefer to imitate the lover's blindness.'

39. *decipiunt: are unnoticed by.* Cf. *fallere, latere*, with acc. of the person.

40. *Balbinum: unknown.—Hagnae: (Ἀγνή) a common libertina name.*

41. *vellem . . . erraremus: I wish that we made the same mistake; the unfulfilled form of velim . . . erremus; there is no implied condition.*

42. *virtus: ethics, ethical philosophy.* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 2, 17 ff., *Phraaten . . . numero beatorum eximit virtus.—honestum: creditable, honorable.* Though such blindness to obvious facts may be an error, yet it is so generous an error that philosophers, especially the Stoics, should have given it a name which would recognize its nobler side.

43-48. This passage cannot be exactly translated; modern English, in which physical deformities are ignored or relegated to the scientific vocabulary of surgeons, has no equivalents for *paetus*, *pullus*, *varus*, *scaurus*. Each of these words designates in an extenuating way deformities which are more broadly described by the corresponding words *strabo*, *male parvus* and *abortivus*, *distortis cruribus*, *pravis . . . talis*.

43. *At: adversative to the main thought of 29 ff., not exclusively*

- 45 appellat paetum pater, et pullum, male parvus  
 si cui filius est, ut abortivus fuit olim  
 Sisyphus; hunc varum distortis cruribus; illum  
 balbutit scaurum pravis fultum male talis.  
 Parcius hic vivit: frugi dicatur. Ineptus  
 50 et iactantior hic paulo est: concinnus amicis  
 postulat ut videatur. At est truculentior atque  
 plus aequo liber: simplex fortisque habeatur.  
 Caldior est: acris inter numeretur. Opinor  
 haec res et iungit, iunctos et servat amicos.

to what immediately precedes. The expression is somewhat condensed, for *ut pater gnati vitium non fastidit, sic nos debemus amici vitium non fastidire*.

47. *Sisyphus*: a dwarf kept by Antony.

48. *balbutit*: properly *lisps*, *i.e.* the father speaks the word *scaurus* in gentle tones, in a kind of baby talk, so that it is a pleasant nickname to the child.

49-54. These lines contain the application of the foregoing illustrations. Each of the four qualities mentioned may be regarded as a fault, but each has its good side, so that it may, upon a generous interpretation, be considered a virtue. The words which express the overcritical interpretation are in the comparative degree, as if to suggest that the faults are only exaggerations of good qualities.

49. *Parcius*: *too stingy*.—*frugi*: *economical*, 'careful in money matters.'

49-51. 'He sometimes thrusts

himself forward too much (*iactantior*) and really makes an ass of himself (*ineptus*), but it is in the effort (*postulat*) to be entertaining.' The best commentary on these qualities is in Cicero, *de Orat.* 2, 4, 17, 'qui aut tempus quid postulet non videt aut plura (*too much*) loquitur aut se ostentat (= *iactantior*) . . . aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus est, is ineptus dicitur.' This sense of *postulare*, *to expect, desire*, almost = *velle*, is common in Plautus and should have fuller treatment in the Lexicons.

51-52. 'Too much inclined to be overbearing, and more free in speech than he ought to be.' On its good side this quality should be regarded as merely frankness and fearlessness.

53. *Caldior*: = *calidior*; cf. *soldum*, *Sat.* 2, 5, 65; *hot-tempered*.—*acris*: *high-spirited*.

54. *haec res*: *i.e.* this way of treating the qualities of our friends, this generous interpretation.

55 At nos virtutes ipsas invertimus, atque  
sincerum cupimus vas incrustare. Probus quis  
nobiscum vivit, multum demissus homo: illi  
tardo cognomen, pingui damus. Hic fugit omnis  
insidias nullique malo latus obdit apertum,  
60 cum genus hoc inter vitae versetur, ubi acris  
invidia atque vigent ubi crimina: pro bene sano  
ac non incauto, fictum astutumque vocamus.  
Simplicior quis et est, qualem me saepe libenter  
obtulerim tibi, Maecenas, ut forte legentem

55-56. 'But we follow a course exactly the opposite of this; instead of looking for the virtues which underlie faults, we seek for the faults that accompany virtues.' Of the two figures by which this is expressed, the first, *invertimus*, is quite general; the second is derived from the soiling of a clean (*sincerum*) jar by the incrustation deposited from sour wine. — *cupimus*: *i.e.* we find pleasure in it.

56-58. The opposed interpretations are expressed by pairs of adjectives, put together without a connective. — *Probus*: *honest*; *demissus*: *modest, quiet*. Cicero uses the two words together (*de Orat.* 2, 43, 182), contrasting them with *acres, pertinaces*. — *pingui*: somewhat stronger than *tardo*.

58-62. The *virtus* of these lines is less obvious than the preceding, and is therefore described more at length, before the point is reached in the pairs of contrasting adjectives. — *nulli malo*: masc. — *latus*: *flank*, the figure being from the

military vocabulary. — *inter*: see note on 1, 1, 47. — *invidia, crimina*: many allusions in the *Satires* show that Horace was himself exposed to envy and criticism by reason of his friendship with Maecenas. — *sano, non incauto*: *a man of sense and not without prudence*. — *fictum*: *insincere*; cf. *Cic. Lael.* 8, 26, where *simulatus* is used as a parallel.

63-66. The quality here described, perhaps suggested by contrast with the 'prudence' of 58-62, is that single-mindedness and absence of self-consciousness which is at times a most engaging characteristic, but at other times may become annoying thoughtlessness. — *et*: connecting *simplicior* with *talis*, implied by *qualem*. — *libenter*: *in my eagerness*; it is essentially the same as *simplicior*, 'with my thoughts fixed too intently upon some one idea.' — *quovis sermone*: *with some unimportant remark*, not referring to *molestus... caret*. — *Molestus*: *he's*

- 65 aut tacitum impellat quovis sermone: 'Molestus; communi sensu plane caret,' inquit. Eheu, quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam! Nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur; optimus ille est qui minimis urgetur. Amicus dulcis, ut aequum est, 70 cum mea compenset vitiis bona; pluribus hisce (si modo plura mihi bona sunt) inclinet, amari si volet; hac lege in trutina ponetur eadem. Qui ne tuberibus propriis offendant amicum postulat, ignoscet verrucis illius; aequum est 75 peccatis veniam poscentem reddere rursus. Denique, quatenus excidi penitus vitium irae,

*a nuisance.* — *communi sensu*: not 'common sense,' but *ordinary tact*, almost *common politeness*; cf. Seneca, *de Ben.* 1, 12, 3, *sit in beneficio sensus communis; tempus, locum observet.*

67. *temere*: *hastily, thoughtlessly*, not seeing that the law condemns ourselves also (*in nosmet*) and is unjust besides.

69. *urgetur*: *i.e.* has the smallest load of faults to carry. The thought suggests the figure of weights balanced in the scales, which is more elaborately worked out in the following lines; so *inseverit*, 35, suggests vs. 37.

70. *cum*: prep. governing *vitiis*; *will set my good qualities over against my faults.* Cf. Cic. *de Fin.* 2, 30, 97, *compensabatur cum summis doloribus laetitia.* — *hisce*: *i.e.* the *bona*.

71. *inclinet*: as if he were himself the scales.

72. *hac lege*: *on this condition.*

73-74. *tuberibus*: *wens*; larger than *verrucae*, *warts*. On the Roman freedom of speech about such defects, cf. 44 ff. and notes. — *postulat*: as in vs. 51.

75. *poscentem*: with the subj. of *reddere*. — *veniam*: obj. of *poscentem*, but to be supplied also with *reddere*.

76 ff. 'In short, since we are born with faults (68) which no philosophy can wholly eradicate, it is reasonable that we should recognize the difference between the lighter and the heavier, and should not condemn all with an equal severity.'

The figure of the scales (70-72), in which faults may be weighed against virtues, suggests the weighing of one fault against another, and this recalls the Stoic doctrine that all faults are alike in heinousness. Against this doc-



cetera item nequeunt stultis haerentia, cur non ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur, ac res ut quaeque est, ita suppliciiis delicta coercet?

80 Si quis eum servum, patinam qui tollere iussus semesos piscis tepidumque ligurrierit ius in cruce suffigat, Labeone insanior inter sanos dicatur. Quanto hoc furiosius atque maius peccatum est: paulum deliquit amicus,

trine the rest of the satire is directed, at first with an assumed humility and an ironical seriousness, but finally with open parody and humor.

76. *vitium*: subj. of *nequit*, to be supplied from the next line. — *irae*: this particular fault, already mentioned in vss. 29 and 53, is singled out because Horace was conscious of the failings of his own temper.

77. *item*: this supplies the place of a connective between *vitium irae* and *cetera (vitia)*. — *stultis*: the technical Stoic word for all men except the ideal *sapiens*; its use at this point gives a double meaning to *ratio* (78) — either 'the logical deductions of the Stoics' or 'the common sense of mankind' — and prepares the way for the more open attack in 96 ff.

79. *ut . . . ita*: do not try to render literally; 'make the penalty fit the crime.'

80-81. *tollere*: *remove* from the table at the end of the course. — *semesos*: the fragments left on the

platter. — *tepidum*: already growing cold and unpalatable. These details are added to lighten the offense.

82. *in cruce*: the extreme penalty. But it is to be remembered that it had none of the associations now connected with it; it was oftener threatened than carried out, and is frequently alluded to in the humorous slang of Latin comedy. — *Labeone*: it is not clear whether this was a Labeo who was tribune in the year 131 or the Labeo who fought in the army of Brutus, or his son, a free-spoken opponent of Augustus. It is clear, however, that the allusion is not at all to some act of extreme cruelty or of serious misjudgment, but to some notorious extravagance of conduct which would be recalled with humorous appreciation by readers familiar with the gossip of Rome.

83. *Quanto . . . furiosius*: not, of course, to be taken seriously. — *hoc*: subj. of *est*, referring to what follows.

- 85 quod nisi concedas, habere insuavis, acerbus :  
 odisti, et fugis, ut Rusonem debitor aeris,  
 qui nisi, cum tristes misero venere Kalendae,  
 mercedem aut nummos undeunde extricat, amaras  
 porrecto iugulo historias captivus ut audit.
- 90 Comminxit lectum potus, mensave catillum  
 Evandri manibus tritum deiecit ; ob hanc rem,  
 aut positum ante mea quia pullum in parte catini  
 sustulit esuriens, minus hoc iucundus amicus

85. **quod nisi concedas**: *i.e.* a fault so trifling that only a man of the most irritable temper would take offense at it.

86-89. **odisti**: the construction is intentionally abrupt; in full it would be, 'but you, instead of pardoning the slight fault, turn your friendship into dislike and avoidance.' — **fugis, ut**: the natural conclusion would be 'as hard as you can,' but for this general comparison Horace substitutes a special allusion which has a point of its own. Ruso, unknown except from this reference, is a money-lender, keen in collecting his interest, but with a weakness for writing histories. His clever debtor, unable to meet his notes, pretends an interest in Ruso's writings and so gets easy terms from the flattered author. But the histories are so dull that to listen to them is as painful as to stand with outstretched neck awaiting the blow of the executioner, and Ruso's debtors therefore avoid him even more persistently than

other debtors avoid their creditors. — **Kalendae**: the first of the month was one of the dates for collecting money. Cf. *Epod.* 2, 69 f. — **mercedem**: the interest; **nummos**: the principal. — **undeunde**: the duplication makes it indefinite; cf. *quisquis, utut*, etc. — **captivus ut**: *like a prisoner of war*, about to be executed.

91. **Evandri**: a king in the mythical time before the coming of Aeneas to Latium. — **manibus tritum**: the owner would point to the handle and remark that it had been worn smooth by the hands of the good king. The craze for collecting old pottery and bronzes and claiming for them a fabulous antiquity is ridiculed again in *Sat.* 2, 3, 20 ff.

92. **positum ante**: = *antepositum, served*. — **mea in parte**: the food was served in a platter placed in the middle of the table and each guest helped himself, taking naturally that portion which was nearest to him.

93. **esuriens**: his hunger being

95 sit mihi? Quid faciam si furtum fecerit, aut si prodiderit commissa fide sponsumve negarit?

Quis paria esse fere placuit peccata, laborant cum ventum ad verum est; sensus moresque repugnant atque ipsa utilitas, iusti prope mater et aequi. Cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,

a partial excuse for the breach of etiquette. — **minus** . . . **mihi**: the same as *odisti et fugis*, 86.

94. **furtum fecerit**: as in the Twelve Tables, *furtum factum sit*.

95. **fide**: the old dative form. — **sponsum**: a promise made by the formal *sponsio*. As many business transactions were ratified only by oral formulas, without written evidence, the failure to keep a verbal promise in such matters was regarded as an especially serious crime.

96 ff. The Paradoxes of the Stoics were doctrines which, though they transcended ordinary experience, were held to express essential truths. There is a brief review of them in Cicero, *pro Mur.* 29, 60 ff., where the particular Paradox here discussed is stated thus: 'omnia peccata esse paria; omne delictum scelus esse nefarium, nec minus delinquere eum qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum qui patrem suffocaverit.' Against this Horace sets the results of actual observation, enforced by a condensed history,

from Epicurean philosophy, of the development of the ideas of right and wrong. The Stoic teaching is not unlike the Calvinistic doctrine of sin — that the sinfulness of an act lies in the violation of the law of God, the particular details or consequences being immaterial — while the attitude of Horace is that of the believers in evolutionary ethics.

96. **Quis**: the old dat. form for *quibus*. — **fere**: with *paria*. — **placuit**: technical; ἀπέσκει; transl. *those who hold*.

97. **ad verum**: 'to the test of actual experience.' — **sensus moresque**: so Cicero, *de Fin.* 4, 19, 55, arguing against this doctrine, says that *sensus cuiusque et natura rerum atque ipsa veritas* cry out against it.

98. **utilitas**: in the broader sense, 'the common good,' not individual advantage. The utilitarian philosophy has a prominent place in modern thought. — **prope**: qualifies the figurative *mater*; 'which may almost be called the mother of the sense of justice.'

99. The following account of the evolution of society is Epi-

- 100 mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter  
 unguibus et pugnīs, dein fustibus, atque ita porro  
 pugnabant armīs, quae post fabricaverat usus,  
 donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,  
 nominaque invenere; dehinc absistere bello,  
 105 oppida coeperunt munire et ponere leges,  
 ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter.  
 Nam fuit ante Helenam cunnus taeterrima belli  
 causa; sed ignotis perierunt mortibus illi,  
 quos venerem incertam rapientis more ferarum  
 110 viribus editior caedebat, ut in grege taurus.  
 Iura inventa metu iniusti fateare necesse est,  
 tempora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi.

curean; compare Lucretius, 5, 780-1457. — **prorēpserunt**: from the earth which gave them birth. — **animalia**: living creatures, but not yet men.

100. **mutum**: lacking the power of articulate speech. — **turpe**: still shapeless, not of human form. — **glandem atque cubilia**: food and shelter no better than that of animals.

101-102. **unguibus et pugnīs, fustibus, armīs**: various steps in a civilization to which we are still engaged in making contributions.

103-104. **verba**: ῥήματα, *verbs*; **nomina**: ὀνόματα, *nouns*; technical terms of grammar, somewhat less precise than the corresponding English words, together standing for the whole of speech. — **voces sensusque notarent**: 'might

give meaning to their cries (*voces*) and express their feelings.'

106. **adulter**: it is a touch of sensationalism that leads Horace to select this particular sin for detailed illustration in the next four verses.

107. **ante Helenam**: cf. *Carm.* 4, 9, 25, *vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*. Recorded history is thought of as beginning with the Trojan war.

108. **sed ignotis**: emphatic by position at the beginning and in caesura; 'but we know nothing of all that went before.'

109. **incertam**: *promiscuous*, before the recognition of the institution of marriage.

110. **viribus editior**: *a stronger*; a very rare figurative use of *editus*.

111-112. A restatement of the point to be proved (*iura inventa*

Nec natura potest iusto secernere iniquum,  
 dividit ut bona diversis, fugienda petendis;  
 115 nec vincet ratio hoc, tantundem ut peccet idemque  
 qui teneros caules alieni fregerit horti,  
 et qui nocturnus sacra divom legerit. Adsit  
 regula, peccatis quae poenas irroget aequas,  
 ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello.  
 120 Nam, ut ferula caedas meritum maiora subire  
 verbera, non vereor, cum dicas esse pares res

*metu iniusti = utilitas iusti mater*), which is now regarded as demonstrated to one who will read the history of the race (*si fastos velis evolvere*).

113-114. A conclusion from the preceding argument, which in a logical form would be introduced by *ergo*: 'there is therefore no natural instinct which distinguishes between right and wrong.' — *bona*: not in the moral sense, for that would contradict the whole argument, but *agreeable, pleasant*, further defined by *petendis*, as *diversis* (*their opposites*) is by *fugienda*.

115-117. A further conclusion: 'Therefore — since the distinction between right and wrong is neither innate nor absolute — there is no such thing as sin *per se*, but each error or fault must be judged separately, according to its effect upon the common advantage.' — *nec vincet ratio*: *nor will philosophy* (i.e. the Stoics) *succeed in proving*. — *tantundem*: *quantitative*; *idem*: *qualitative*; *in the*

*same degree and kind* (Greenough). The two kinds of theft here named are said to have been specifically mentioned in the laws of Draco as deserving the same punishment. — *sacra legerit*: an old legal formula, preserved in the compound *sacrilegus*.

118. *regula*: *a scale*. — *aequas*: *just, fair*, proportioned to the offense.

119. *scutica*: *the whip*. — *flagello*: *the scourge*, a knout or cat-of-nine-tails, a much more dreadful instrument of punishment than the *scutica*.

120-124. *Nam*: 'we need a scale of sins which shall prevent you from inflicting too severe a penalty; for that you, a Stoic, with your overstrict laws, should inflict too light a penalty is highly improbable.' — *ferula*: *a cane*, such as was used by schoolmasters; substituted for *scutica* for variety. — *ut caedas . . .*, *non vereor*: the regular construction would be *ne caedas . . .*, *non vereor*, but the underlying thought

furta latrociniiis, et magnis parva mineris  
 falce recisurum simili te, si tibi regnum  
 permittant homines. Si dives qui sapiens est,  
 125 et sutor bonus et solus formosus et est rex,  
 cur optas quod habes? 'Non nosti quid pater,' inquit,  
 'Chrysippus dicat: sapiens crepidas sibi numquam  
 nec soleas fecit, sutor tamen est sapiens.' Qui?

here does not call for a verb of fearing. Expressed without irony the verb would be *non verisimile est* or something like that, and the *ut*-clause conforms to the underlying thought and all the more easily because the *ut*-clause comes first. But Horace has substituted for the simple expression the ironical *vereor*, which in this connection ceases to be really a verb of fearing. — *pares res*: = *paria*, 96. — *magnis*: after *simili*; a condensed construction for *falce simili qua falce magna*. — *recisurum*: as a farmer prunes the vines. — *si tibi regnum . . .*: with *dicas*, 121, begins a quotation in indirect form of the purpose of the Stoic philosopher: 'I would do thus and so, if I had the power.' But the last thought is carelessly expressed in the common phrase, 'if I were king,' and Horace seizes upon this phrase to turn the rest of the satire into a humorous flouting of Stoic doctrine.

124-126. This Paradox is thus stated by Cicero, *pro Mur.* 29, 61: 'solos sapientes esse, si dis-

tortissimi, formosos, si mendicissimi, divites, si servitutem serviant, reges; and is referred to by Lucilius, 1225 f. (Marx). The fundamental truth which underlies the Paradox is that character makes the man, that character is the essential and circumstances are the accidents, a truth which Horace in other places (*e.g.* *Carm.* 2, 2, 17 ff.) fully recognizes; here it suits his purpose to ridicule the exaggerated form in which the doctrine was expressed.

127. *Chrysippus*: next to Zeno the chief of Stoic philosophers, called *pater* as a term of honor.

128. *sutor*: this particular illustration, which tends to make the whole doctrine ridiculous, was selected partly with reference to the story of Alfenus, 130, partly to illustrate the dogged persistence with which the Stoics defended their Paradox, even in its most extreme applications. — *Qui?* an exclamation of bewilderment: 'how is that? I don't see it.'



‘Vt, quamvis tacet Hermogenes, cantor tamen atque

- 130 optimus est modulator ; ut Alfenus vafer, omni  
abiecto instrumento artis clausaque taberna,  
sutor erat ; sapiens operis sic optimus omnis  
est opifex solus, sic rex.’ Vellunt tibi barbam  
lascivi pueri ; quos tu nisi fuste coerces,  
135 urgeris turba circum te stante miserque  
rumperis et latras, magnorum maxime regum !

129-133. ‘The ideal man, the *sapiens*, is potentially master of all arts and crafts, though he may not actually practice them, just as Hermogenes is a singer even when he is not singing.’—*Hermogenes*: see on vs. 4.—*modulator*: a more technical word than *cantor*.—*Alfenus*: apparently, as the scholiast says, the famous jurist (*vafer* is used of the law in *Sat.* 2, 2, 131) Alfenus Varus, consul in 39. He is said to have been in early life a cobbler at Cremona, and the argument of the Stoic is that he remained potentially a cobbler even after he became a great man.—*instrumento*: collectively; ‘the tools of his trade.’—*sic*: ‘in this sense,’ as Alfenus was potentially a shoemaker; not = *ergo, therefore*.—*solus*: the Stoic’s argument, even if it be accepted at its best, does not prove that only the *sapiens* is an ideal craftsman; in fact, it proves just the contrary. But *solus* was used in the Paradox, and is therefore added by the Stoic in a triumphant tone, as if

he had now proved his whole point.

133 ff. As often, Horace makes no direct answer to the argument, but turns to other matters which form in the end a most conclusive, though indirect, reply. ‘Very well, you seem to have proved that you are a king, but appearances are against you, and certainly you are a very odd kind of king.’—*barbam, fuste*: philosophers of the stricter sect sometimes chose to distinguish themselves from other men by wearing a long beard (cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 35, *iussit sapientem pascere barbam*) and by carrying an old-fashioned staff.—*rumperis et latras*: i.e. ‘make yourself hoarse with howling.’—This exaggerated use of *rumperere* was colloquial; cf. *Epist.* 1, 19, 15 and Plaut. *Capt.* 14. *latras* suggests the Cynic school (from κύων, *dog*), with which the Stoics were connected.—*magnorum maxime regum*: as if it were a formal title of respect, ‘Your Most Gracious Majesty.’

Ne longum faciam, dum tu quadrante lavatum  
 rex ibis, neque te quisquam stipator ineptum  
 praeter Crispinum sectabitur, et mihi dulces  
 140 ignoscent, si quid peccaro stultus, amici,  
 inque vicem illorum patiar delicta libenter,  
 privatusque magis vivam te rege beatus.

137. *Ne longum faciam*: cf. *ne te morer*, *Sat.* 1, 1, 14, and the more abrupt *iam satis*, 1, 1, 120. — *quadrante*: one fourth of an *as*, the price of admission to the public baths.

138–139. *stipator*: as an escort. — *ineptum*: with *Crispinum*, who is called *lippus* and otherwise derided in 1, 1,

120 f. — *et*: correlated with *-que*, 141.

140. *stultus*: in the Stoic use of the word. — With these verses Horace returns to the serious thought of the earlier part of the satire, which is in fact latent in his mind even while he is ridiculing the Stoic solemnity and Pharisaism.

## 4

There is no reference in this satire which fixes the date precisely, and we are obliged to fall back upon general indications. The criticisms to which it is a reply were called forth by the sensational and personal tone of the early seventh and eighth satires, and especially of the second; in particular, vss. 91 ff. show that this was written after the second and, probably, very soon after it. Maecenas is not mentioned in this satire, as he is not referred to in the other earlier ones, though a personal mention would have been natural in 8. 8 and 14. Nor is there any reference to the group of distinguished friends whose approval is in the tenth satire the final answer to the critics. This satire may therefore with probability be placed with 2, 7 and 8 of this book and with some of the *Epodes*, all written before Horace's introduction to Maecenas in 38.

The reference to Tigellius (vs. 72) is too vague to give any indication of the date (cf. note on 1, 3, 4).

'The great Athenian writers of comedy were the founders of satire. After them came Lucilius, not less keen than they, but too careless and too profuse. His faults I desire to avoid, for mere quantity is not a merit; but the spirit of his satire I shall attempt to preserve. I am

aware, however, that exposure of the weaknesses of men makes my writings unpopular, and I desire to say a word in self-defence.

· In the first place, I do not think that satire is poetry or should be judged by the standards of poetry. It lacks the imaginative inspiration and the lofty expression of poetry, and is, in this respect, like comedy, a mere reproduction in verse-form of ordinary talk on everyday subjects.

· The main question, however, is whether the satirist deserves to be regarded with dislike and suspicion. You compare him to a detective, not noticing that you thereby compare yourself to a criminal, but the comparison fails because my notes are not taken for use in a court or for publication. You say that the satirist is a man of meanly critical spirit, who finds pleasure in exhibiting the failings of others. But this also is untrue; my satire is no more personal or serious than the railery of a good talker at a dinner table. It is in fact only the exercise of a habit of observation taught me by my good father, who without knowing the philosophy of books instructed me in a practical philosophy founded on observation. The only fault you can find with me is that I write down my observations. But everybody nowadays writes; if you object to that, we'll unite to condemn you and the penalty shall be that you shall turn writer yourself.'

The connection of thought is less clearly indicated in this satire than in the first or third; there is occasional sharpness of retort and there is little of the mellow humor of the later work. These are the marks of immaturity. The sensitiveness to criticism, also, is of the kind that decreases with experience.

Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae,  
atque alii, quorum comoedia prisca virorum est,  
si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus ac fur,

1-2. The three most important writers of the Old Comedy (*prisca comoedia*), of whose works only the eleven plays of Aristophanes (444-388 B.C.) are extant. The names make a sonorous opening of the speech for the defendant. — **poetae**: to close the verse with emphasis; 'true poets, all of them.' — **virorum**: attracted into the rel-

ative clause and the genitive; cf. the corresponding verse, *Sat.* 1, 10, 16.

3. **dignus describi**: *deserved to be satirized*; cf. vs. 25, *culpari dignos*, and *Sat.* 1, 3, 24, *dignus . . . notari*. These are all various ways of saying, 'a suitable subject for satire.' — **malus ac fur**: the same as *malos fures*, *Sat.* 1,

- quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui  
 5 famosus, multa cum libertate notabant.  
 Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus  
 mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque, facetus,  
 emunctae naris, durus componere versus.  
 Nam fuit hoc vitiosus : in hora saepe ducentos,  
 10 ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno ;

I, 77, with no more difference than there is between 'rascals and thieves' and 'rascally thieves.'

5. **famosus** : in a bad sense, the common meaning in early Latin. — **libertate** : *with the utmost freedom of speech*. The extant plays of Aristophanes, in which public men are ridiculed with great license, abundantly support this statement.

6. **Hinc . . . pendet** : *upon them Lucilius is entirely dependent, i.e.* as the context shows, they were his predecessors and models in the open ridicule of individuals, his warrant for the use of personal satire. It does not mean that Roman satire, as a form of literature, was derived from or an imitation of Greek comedy. — **C. Lucilius** : see *Introd.* — **hosce** : = *hos*. In Plautus the forms in *-ce* are used only before vowels.

7. **mutatis . . . numeris** : Lucilius wrote partly in iambs and trochaics, but the verse which he used most frequently and which became the traditional verse for satire was the dactylic hexameter, which is not employed in the

drama. — **tantum** : not to be taken too strictly, for Lucilius of course did not use the dramatic form. The emphasis here is upon the satirical spirit. — **facetus** : originally 'brilliant or polished in speech' (from *fa-ri, to speak*), and this is the meaning always in Plautus; cf. also *Sat.* I, 10, 44, *molle atque facetum*, of Vergil's bucolic poetry. The meaning 'humorous,' 'facetious,' comes over into the adj. from the noun *facetiae*. It combines with *emunctae naris* to express the single idea 'keen in words and in thought,' 'sarcastic.' The same idea is expressed in *Sat.* I, 10, 3 f., *sale multo urbem defricuit*.

9. **hoc** : *in this*, referring to what follows, which is at the same time an expansion of *durus componere versus*.

10. **ut magnum** : 'considering it a great feat.' — **stans . . . uno** : apparently a proverbial expression for doing something without effort, but it does not occur elsewhere; Quintilian, 12, 9, 18, *in his actionibus omni, ut agricolae dicunt, pede standum est*, seems to be a reference to the opposite idea.

cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles;  
garrulus atque piger scribendi ferre laborem,  
scribendi recte; nam ut multum, nil moror. — Ecce,  
Crispinus minimo me provocat: 'Accipe, si vis,  
15 accipiam tabulas; detur nobis locus, hora,  
custodes; videamus uter plus scribere possit.'

11. *tollere*: *take out*, before using the water for drinking. The figure is that of a muddy stream; cf. the repetition in *Sat.* 1, 10, 50 f., *at dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem plura quidem tollenda relinquendis*, and the comment in Quintilian, 10, 1, 94, 'ego ab Horatio dissentio, qui Lucilium fluere lutulentum et esse aliquid quod tollere possis putat.' The scholiast thinks that *quod tollere velles* = *quod sumere optares*, but this is quite wrong.

12-13. *garrulus*: this must go back in agreement to 9-10, in spite of the verse between. It is a loose construction, but the whole passage is loosely hung together; *secutus* without *est*, *facetis*, *durus*, *vitiosus* with its own verb, *garrulus*, form a series of half-connected appendages to the noun, *Lucilius*. — *scribendi recte*: a corrective; 'of writing properly, I mean.' — *ut multum*: *sc. scripserit*. — *nil moror*: a common colloquialism, which usually means 'I don't care,' 'I don't bother about it.' The construction is properly acc. and infin., and the only way of explaining the *ut*-clause is to say that *nil moror* has here the meaning and con-

struction of *concedo*; 'for that he wrote much, I grant with indifference.' — *Ecce*: the mere mention of writing much brings forward Crispinus at once with a boast.

14. *minimo*: this must mean *offers me heavy odds*, i.e. will accept a bet in which Horace puts up the smallest possible pledge. There is no precise parallel to this use of *minimo*, but cf. Sueton. *Iul.* 50, *amplissima praedia . . . minimo addixit*; Catull. 44, 4, *quovis Sabinum pignore esse contendunt*; Verg. *Ecl.* 3, 31, *tu dic, mecum quo pignore certos*. The scholiasts appear to know the expression: 'minimo provocare dicuntur hi qui in sponsione plus ipsi promittunt quam exigant ab adversario,' but the explanation that it is *minimo digito*, with a gesture, is a mere guess. — *Accipe*: *sc. tabulas*. — *si vis*: less formal than 'if you please'; often used in colloquial language of comedy in the shortened form *sis* to lessen the abruptness of the bare impv. Cf. *sodes*, *Sat.* 1, 9, 41 n., and the enclitic *-dum*.

15 f. *detur custodes*: arrangements for a formal contest, with supervisors.

Di bene fecerunt, inopis me quodque pusilli  
 finxerunt animi, raro et perpauca loquentis ;  
 at tu conclusas hircinis follibus auras,  
 20 usque laborantis dum ferrum molliat ignis,  
 ut mavis, imitare. Beatus Fannius, ultro  
 delatis capsis et imagine, cum mea nemo  
 scripta legat, volgo recitare timentis ob hanc rem,  
 quod sunt quos genus hoc minime iuvat, utpote pluris

17. *Di bene fecerunt*: not merely a statement, but a colloquial expression of gratitude; *Thank Heaven*. Cf. *bene facis, you're very kind*; Plaut. *Amph.* 937, *iam nunc irata non es?* || *non sum*. || *bene facis*. — *quodque*: *quod* introduces the whole clause, after the verb of emotion; *-que* connects *inopis* and *pusilli*, but is attached to a word between them; so 115, below, *vitatu quidque petitu*; *Sat.* 1, 6, 44, *cornua . . . vincatque tubas*, and often in Horace.

18. *loquentis*: agreeing grammatically with *animi*, but in sense with *me*. The transfer of epithets is common in the *Odes* (e.g. 1, 4, 6 f., *aspera nigris aequora ventis*), and the attraction of *loquentis* from *me* to *animi* is made easier by the frequent use of *animus* for the whole man (1, 2, 69, *diceret haec animus*).

19 ff. 'Go and be a pair of bellows, a mere wind-bag, as is evidently your preference.' — *ut mavis*: *as you in fact prefer*, not 'since you so choose.'

21 ff. *Fannius*: mentioned also

in 1, 10, 80, with the adj. *ineptus*, as a follower of Hermogenes Tigellius, but otherwise unknown. There are five *scholia* attempting to explain the reference and the words *ultro . . . imagine*, but they are confused and only partially intelligible. The clause *cum . . . legat* contrasts the good fortune of Fannius with the unpopularity of Horace; *beatus* must therefore mean 'happy in his popularity' and *ultro . . . imagine* must contain a satirical reason for calling Fannius popular. The sense would then be 'The truly fortunate poet is neither Crispinus with his facile versification nor I with my satire, but Fannius; he *must* be popular, for he has of his own accord set up (in a public place, at the bookseller's?) his bookcases and portrait-bust, while, as to my writings, no one reads them.' But in addition to the obscurity of the allusions, the whole sentence is too condensed for clearness.

23 f. *timentis*: agreeing with the gen. implied in *mea*. — *genus hoc*: satire — *pluris*: acc., with *quos*.



25 culpari dignos. Quemvis media elige turba :  
aut ob avaritiam aut misera ambitione laborat ;  
hic nuptarum insanit amoribus, hic puerorum ;  
hunc capit argenti splendor ; stupet Albius aere ;  
hic mutat merces surgente a sole ad eum quo  
30 vespertina tepet regio ; quin per mala praeceps  
fertur, uti pulvis collectus turbine, ne quid  
summa deperdat metuens aut ampliet ut rem.  
Omnes hi metuunt versus, odere poetas.  
‘Faenum habet in cornu, longe fuge ; dummodo risum

26 f. ob avaritiam . . . ambitione: the variation in construction is intentional and is carried still further in the following lines — *hic . . . insanit, hunc capit, stupet* — until the last craze, the absorption in business, is reached ; this, as a most conspicuous and widespread folly, is given fuller description in 29–32. — *laborat*: a technical word, used of *suffering from* a chronic ailment.

28. argenti splendor: the craze for collecting silver plate was a common one in Rome, but Albius is a person of independent judgment who has a little special craze for bronzes. There are many references (e.g. *Epist.* I, 6, 17) to both of these ‘fads.’ — Albius: unknown. He cannot well be the man whose son was used by Horace’s father (below, vs. 109) to illustrate the folly of wastefulness. — *stupet*: so *torpes*, *Sat.* 2, 7, 95, in a colloquial slang, like the Engl. nouns ‘fad,’ ‘craze,’ ‘rage.’

29–32. The idea of passionate absorption in some single interest, which is expressed above by the verbs *laborat, insanit, capit, stupet*, is in these lines suggested by the elaborate detail of the description. — *surgente, vespertina*: ‘from the East to the West’ ; the Romans felt a kind of wonder at the extent of their business enterprises. — *praeceps fertur*: as if by a force stronger than his own will. — *ne . . . deperdat, ampliet ut*: in the proper sense of *ut* and *ne* after a verb of fearing.

33. *versus, poetas*: an intentional exaggeration ; the dread of being satirized leads them to fear all poetry.

34. *quando feriunt boves, horum in cornibus ligatur faenum*. Schol. The saying happens not to occur elsewhere, but is given in Greek form by Plutarch, *Crass.* 7, *Χότρον ἔχειν φησὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρατος*. Cf. also *Epod.* 6, 11, *cave, cave ; namque in malos asperrimus parata tollo cornua*.

- 35 excutiat sibi, non hic cuiquam parcet amico;  
 et quodcumque semel chartis illeverit, omnis  
 gestiet a furno redeuntis scire lacuque  
 et pueros et anus.' Agedum, pauca accipe contra.

Primum ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse poetas,  
 40 excerptam numero; neque enim concludere versum

34-38. Two indictments against the satirist, that he finds pleasure in inflicting pain (cf. *laedere gaudes*, 78) and that he violates the decent reserves of social intercourse by publishing his strictures upon individuals (repeated in 82-85). — *risum excutiat*: *raise a laugh*; *excutere* is used of causing tears (Plaut. *Capt.* 419, Ter. *Heaut.* 167) and disgust (Plaut. *Merc.* 576). — *illeverit*: *has smeared, scrawled*. — *furno*: the poorer classes had their baking done in public ovens and got their water from the public pools (*lacu*). At these places crowds of slaves (*pueros*) and old women (*anus*) would be gathered. The whole involves a comparison: the satirist is no better than a scandalmonger, who retails his gossip to the meanest of the public.

39-62. In these lines Horace gives the earliest indication of that interest in the theory of poetry which appears more plainly in *Sat.* 1, 10 and 2, 1 and in the *Epistles*, and which culminated in the *Ars Poetica*. For various reasons the passage deserves special attention. It contains the observations of a conscious artist upon the art which he was practicing with success,

and such observations are always interesting. At this period of his life Horace was writing both *Satires* and *Epodes*, and this passage reveals the effort that he was making to distinguish between the two forms and to assign to the *Epodes* those lyrical thoughts and emotions which he found incompatible with the conventional limitations placed upon satire by Lucilius. And, in themselves, the lines are an admirable illustration of the somewhat elusive and colloquial form of argument which Horace habitually employs. The sense, in brief, is this: 'Satire is verse, but not poetry, since it lacks the imaginative thought and the lofty expression which characterize true poetry and which remain even when the verse-form is destroyed.'

39. *poetas*: not attracted into the dative; cf. 1, 1, 19, *licet esse beatis*.

40. *concludere versum*: *to round out a verse*. Verse is conceived of as bound, as shut in within the limits of the metrical feet (cf. 1, 10, 59, *pedibus . . . claudere sentis*), while prose is thought of as relaxed (*oratio soluta* is the technical term; cf. *dissolvas*, 55; *solvas*, 60, below).

dixeris esse satis, neque si quis scribat, uti nos, sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poetam.

Ingenium cui sit, cui mens diviniore atque os magna sonaturum, des nominis huius honorem.

- 45 Idcirco quidam comoedia necne poema esset quaesivere, quod acer spiritus ac vis nec verbis nec rebus inest, nisi quod pede certo differt sermoni, sermo merus. 'At pater ardens saevit, quod meretrice nepos insanus amica  
50 filius uxorem grandi cum dote recuset, ebrius et, magnum quod dedecus, ambulet ante

42. *sermoni propiora*: things more truly like conversation. *Sermo* here and below, 48, is clearly defined by *Auct. ad Herenn.* 3, 13, 23, *sermo est oratio remissa et finitima* (= *propiora*) *cotidianae locutioni*.

43-44. *Ingenium, mens diviniore*: not two distinct characteristics, but two ways of describing a single characteristic, *an inspired imagination*. — *os magna sonaturum*: a noble style; expressed in a figure retained from the time when the poet sang his own verses.

45. *quidam*: the students of literary form, like the Alexandrian grammarians. Cicero, *Orat.* 20, 67, also refers to this discussion. — *comoedia*: the Attic New Comedy or the comedy of Plautus and Terence; the rule would not apply to *Midsummer Night's Dream*. — *necne*: the prose order would be *quaesivere* (*utrum*)

*comoedia poema esset necne*; cf. 63.

46. *acer spiritus ac vis*: lively and vigorous inspiration; the same thing as *mens diviniore* and *os magna sonaturum*, but the expression is intentionally ambiguous, to give an opening for the objection which follows.

48-52. 'But there is certainly *acer spiritus ac vis* in the angry reproaches which a father in the comedies frequently addresses to a wayward son.' — *nepos*: *prodigal*; used as an adjective. — *meretrice* . . . *insanus amica*: *mad with passion for a harlot mistress*; *meretrice* also is used as an adj. with *amica*. — *ambulet ante noctem*: a reference to the *comissatio*, a wild procession through the streets after a drinking bout. To indulge in such a revel before night would be particularly disgraceful. The whole situation here is Greek.

- noctem cum facibus.' Numquid Pomponius istis  
audiret leviora, pater si viveret? Ergo  
non satis est puris versum perscribere verbis,  
55 quem si dissolvas, quivis stomachetur eodem  
quo personatus pacto pater. His, ego quae nunc,  
olim quae scripsit Lucilius, eripias si  
tempora certa modosque, et quod prius ordine verbum  
est  
posterius facias, praeponens ultima primis,  
60 non, ut si solvas 'Postquam Discordia taetra  
belli ferratos postis portasque refregit,'  
invenias etiam disiecti membra poetae.

52. Pomponius: a name is used to point the retort, but it is quite unlikely that it refers to any definite person. — *istis*: 'the kind of talk you have just been describing.' — The argument is that the *acer spiritus ac vis* of comedy is merely the anger that any father in real life might express and is wholly different from the inspired imagination of the poet.

54. *puris . . . verbis*: in plain everyday language; the same as *sermo merus* and the opposite of *os magna sonaturum*.

56. *personatus . . . pater*: the father on the stage, the *pater ardens* of vs. 48. Masks (*personae*) were worn by actors in comedy in the time of Cicero. — *his*: neut., dat. after *eripias*.

58–59. *tempora certa modosque*: the fixed quantities and rhythms which make the hexameter. — *quod prius . . . primis*: i.e. change the

words from the order demanded by the versification to the order of prose.

60–62. *non*: with *invenias*. — *etiam*: with *disiecti*. The true poet would be a poet still, even though torn limb from limb. There is a side reference to the story of Orpheus. — *Postquam . . . refregit*: a quotation from the *Annales* of Ennius; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7, 622, *belli ferratos rupit Saturnia postis*. The thought might have been expressed in plain prose by *postquam bellum coortum est*; for this unadorned statement the poet has substituted the imaginative figure of Discord bursting open the gates of Janus and in the brief description has used, almost to excess, words charged with poetic suggestion, *taetra, ferratos, postis portasque*. The two essential qualities of poetry, *mens divini* and *os magna sonaturum*,

Hactenus haec : alias iustum sit necne poema,  
nunc illud tantum quaeram, meritone tibi sit  
65 suspectum genus hoc scribendi. Sulcius acer  
ambulat et Caprius, rauci male cumque libellis,  
magnus uterque timor latronibus ; at bene si quis  
et vivat puris manibus, contemnat utrumque.  
Vt sis tu similis Caeli Birrique latronum,  
70 non ego sim Capri neque Sulci ; cur metuas me ?  
Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos,  
quis manus insudet volgi Hermogenisque Tigelli :

would still remain, even though the verse-form were destroyed by changing the order of the words.

63. *alias*: *sc. quaeram*. This vague intention was never carried out, for the interest which Horace felt in satire came to an end with the publication of the Second Book in 30, and his later literary discussions deal with other forms of poetry.—*sit*: the subject is to be supplied from *genus hoc scribendi*.

64-65. *merito . . . suspectum*: *justly disliked, i.e.* 'whether your dislike (cf. vs. 33) is just.'—*tibi*: the satire had begun impersonally and the critics of satire are vaguely thought of (*sunt quos*, 24; *omnes hi*, 33), but from this point the critic is addressed directly and replies for himself; the monologue becomes dialogue.

65-66. *Sulcius, Caprius*: detectives, who got their living out of the fines collected on evidence furnished by them. Such men were a necessary part of the Ro-

man police system, but, like the *publicani*, they were held in ill repute and the implied comparison of the satirist to a detective was intentionally offensive.—*libellis*: *notebooks* in which the evidence was recorded.

69. *Vt sis tu*: *however true it may be that you are like a highwayman*. The honest citizen does not fear a detective, and the man who says that he dreads a satirist as he would a detective forgets that he is thereby comparing himself to a criminal.

70 ff. *sim, habeat*: 'I should not be like the detective, for my notes would not be published.' But the faint hypothetical shading passes over into the indicative.—*taberna*: *bookshop*, where books were apparently hung upon the posts (*pilae*, cf. *columnae*, *A. P.* 373) to be examined by purchasers, as second-hand books are now exposed for sale outside the bookshops.—*quis*: *quibus*.—*Tigelli*: cf. *Sat.* 1, 3,

- nec recito cuiquam nisi amicis, idque coactus,  
 non ubivis coramve quibuslibet. In medio qui  
 75 scripta foro recitent sunt multi, quique lavantes :  
 suave locus voci resonat conclusus. Inanis  
 hoc iuvat, haud illud quaerentis, num sine sensu,  
 tempore num faciant alieno. 'Laedere gaudes,'  
 inquis, 'et hoc studio pravus facis.' Vnde petitem  
 80 hoc in me iacis? Est auctor quis denique eorum  
 vixi cum quibus? 'Absentem qui rodit, amicum

4 n. — The declaration that the Satires were not written for publication seems at first sight irreconcilable with the fact that this satire is itself a reply to criticisms based upon a knowledge of the earlier Satires, especially the second. But the method of multiplying copies by hand made it possible to limit the circulation of a poem, so that it might be somewhat widely read without being offered for sale or put into general circulation. The collection and publication of the whole book was evidently a later decision.

73. *recito*: the habit of giving private readings from one's own works became later so common as to be ridiculous, and Horace here recognizes its possible exaggerations. But Vergil read parts of the *Aeneid* to Augustus and others, and Ovid (*Tristia*, 4, 10, 49) was present at a reading given by Horace.

75 f. *lavantes*: in the public baths, where men were at leisure; but Horace attributes the choice

of the location to the pleasure the reader had in hearing his voice reverberating from the arched ceiling (*locus . . . conclusus*).

76. *Inanis*: emphatic; men are fools to find pleasure in that.

78 f. *Laedere gaudes, studio*: the emphasis of this second accusation is upon the mean pleasure that the satirist finds in wounding the feelings of others. — *studio*: *intentionally*.

79–80. *Vnde . . . iacis?* *What is the source of this accusation that you are hurling at me?* This demand for his authority the critic meets indirectly by saying, in effect, 'I do not need to quote the testimony of others, for your own conduct — your criticism of your friends, your lack of decent reticence — proves that you are a deliberate defamer.'

81. *Absentem qui rodit*: *he who slanders a man behind his back*. — *amicum* goes with the following clause, as in all the other clauses a word or two precedes the relative.



- qui non defendit, alio culpante, solutos  
 qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis,  
 fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere  
 85 qui nequit, hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.<sup>7</sup>  
 Saepe tribus lectis videas cenare quaternos,  
 e quibus unus amet quavis aspergere cunctos  
 praeter eum qui praebet aquam; post hunc quoque potus,  
 condita cum verax aperit praecordia Liber.  
 90 Hic tibi comis et urbanus liberque videtur,  
 infesto nigris; ego si risi, quod ineptus

82. *defendit*: the final syllable is long under the ictus. Both Horace and Vergil frequently preserve the original long vowel in perf. forms like *figit*, *subiit*, but the vowel of the pres. 3d sing., 3d conj., was not originally long, and this instance and *agit* (*Sat.* 2, 3, 260) must be explained by false analogy. The few instances quoted from Plautus are doubtful.

84. *commissa tacere*: the Romans placed a peculiarly high valuation upon the ability to keep a secret; cf. *Epist.* 1, 18, 70, *nec retinent patulae commissa fideliter aures*.

85. *niger*: *black at heart*. So Catullus, 93, 2, says of Caesar, *nec (studeo) scire utrum sis albus an ater homo*. — *Romane*: *true Roman*, i.e. an honest gentleman. Such expressions of national pride are common; *echt Deutsch*, and, for the opposite, *un-English*, *un-American*. — *caveto*: formal in style, like an oracular utterance.

86. *tribus*, *quaternos*: the

usual number was nine, three on each couch, and the motive for specifying an unusual number is not clear. Perhaps it is connected with the emphasis upon *unus*; 'if you go a little beyond the usual number of guests, you will find that you have included one, at least, who is witty at the expense of the rest.'

87 f. *aspergere*: *besprinkle* with personal jokes. The figure leads to the selection of the phrase *qui praebet aquam* (water for washing the hands) to designate the host.

88. *post*: adv. — *hunc*: *sc. aspergit*. — *potus*: absolute; cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 90.

89. An intentionally elaborate expression of the common idea *in vino veritas*.

90-93. 'Such conduct you consider, and rightly, mere friendly raillery; my little jokes, however, you are very ready to condemn.' — *infesto nigris*: i.e. 'you who call me *niger* in so hostile a tone.'

pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum,  
 lividus et mordax videor tibi? Mentio si qua  
 de Capitolini furtis iniecta Petilli  
 95 te coram fuerit, defendas, ut tuus est mos:  
 'Me Capitolinus convictore usus amicoque  
 a puero est, causaque mea permulta rogatus  
 fecit, et incolumis laetor quod vivit in urbe;  
 sed tamen admiror, quo pacto iudicium illud  
 100 fugerit.' Hic nigrae sucus loliginis, haec est  
 aerugo mera. Quod vitium procul afore chartis,

92. Quoted from *Sat.* 1, 2, 27. But it is quite unlikely that either of these persons, who were used to illustrate the extremes of foppishness and of neglect of cleanliness, is more than a mere name.

93 ff. An example of really malicious slander, to be distinguished from friendly banter, *comitas* and *libertas*.—*Mentio* . . . *iniecta*: if some one happens to mention.—*Petilli*: a Petillius was quaestor about 43 B.C. and was acquitted, apparently against the evidence, on a charge of peculation. The name Petillius Capitolinus is also found on coins. That the trial was well known and that the accused owed much to the skill of his lawyers is implied by the reference in *Sat.* 1, 10, 26 to the *dura causa Petilli*. But the further statement of the scholiast that Petillius had stolen the crown from the head of the Capitoline Jupiter is a mere confusion with a popular saying which is as old as Plautus (*Men.* 941, *Trin.* 83).

96. *convictore usus*: I have been a frequent guest of Capitolinus; cf. 1, 6, 47, where Horace calls himself a *convictor* of Maecenas.—This verse is hypermetric like 1, 6, 102, which also ends in an enclitic.

98. *incolumis* . . . *in urbe*: acquitted and not exiled.

99. *admiror*: in English the corresponding phrase would be 'but I can't help wondering how he managed to keep out of jail.'

100. *nigrae* . . . *loliginis*: the black ink of the cuttlefish, with transference of the adj. and a reference back to vs. 85.—*aerugo*: verdigris, copper rust, which was thought of as an eating poison. Together the two figures express the same quality as *lividus et mordax*, 93, and *niger*, 85, and the opposite of *comis et urbanus*, 90, just as in the preceding paragraph, 39–62, the qualities of poetry and prose are repeatedly defined and contrasted.

atque animo prius, ut si quid promittere de me  
possum aliud vere, promitto. Liberius si  
dixero quid, si forte iocosius, hoc mihi iuris  
105 cum venia dabis: insuevit pater optimus hoc me,  
ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quaeque notando.  
Cum me hortaretur, parce frugaliter atque  
viverem uti contentus eo quod mi ipse parasset:  
'Nonne vides Albi ut male vivat filius utque  
110 Baius inops? Magnum documentum ne patriam rem  
perdere quis velit.' A turpi meretricis amore

102. animo prius: *i.e.* he will first of all keep malice out of his heart, and then it will certainly not appear in his writings.—*ut si quid ... promitto*: a colloquial confusion of *ut ... promittere possum* and *si quid promittere possum*; 'I promise this as surely as I can promise anything.'

103-106. 'Malice I promise to avoid, but a considerable freedom of speech and jest (*liberius, iocosius*, with a reference back to vs. 90) you must permit (*hoc iuris dabis*) and pardon (*cum venia*).'  
—*hoc me*: double acc. after *insuevit*, which is here a verb of teaching. *hoc* is not precisely *liberius dicere*, but the humorously observant attitude of mind of which a habit of friendly bantering may be the expression. The structure of 106 is somewhat involved; *notando* is the leading word, *vitiorum quaeque* depends upon it, *exemplis* is an abl. of means with it, and *ut fugerem*

expresses its purpose. 'I owe my habit of observing the follies of men to my father; he used to point out all sorts of errors in concrete cases—in the conduct of individuals—in order to teach me to avoid them.'

107-108. The order is *uti parce atque frugaliter viverem*; the whole passage, 101-108, is somewhat confusedly written.

109. Albi: not the Albius of vs. 28. The point of the illustration—*ne patriam rem perdere quis velit*—would be spoiled if the father had wasted the property; *Albi filius* is the spendthrift son of a prosperous father, and so an excellent illustration (*magnum documentum*) of the conduct which Horace's prosperous father wished his own son to avoid. All these instances are reminiscences of Horace's boyhood (cf. 121) and the persons mentioned are unknown.—*male vivat*: *i.e.* in wretched poverty.

cum deterreret: 'Scetani dissimilis sis.'

Ne sequerer moechas, concessa cum venere uti  
possem: 'Deprensi non bella est fama Treboni,'

- 115 aiebat. 'Sapiens, vitatu quidque petitu  
sit melius, causas reddet tibi; mi satis est, si  
traditum ab antiquis morem servare tuamque,  
dum custodis eges, vitam famamque tueri  
incolumem possum; simul ac duraverit aetas  
120 membra animumque tuum, nabis sine cortice.' Sic me  
formabat puerum dictis; et sive iubebat  
ut facerem quid: 'Habes auctorem, quo facias hoc,'  
unum ex iudicibus selectis obiciebat;

115. *Sapiens*: a philosopher, a teacher of the theory of ethics, in contrast with *mi*, 116, the practical instructor of youth. — *quidque*: *quid vitatu petituque*; cf. vs. 17 n. The two words express the *malum* and *bonum* of philosophy, as these ideas are expressed in *Sat.* I, 3, 114, by *bona diversis, fugienda petendis*.

116. *causas reddet*: will explain, as a matter of theory.

118. *custodis, vitam famamque*: not only the character (*vitam*) but also the good name (*famam*) of a Roman boy of respectable family was carefully guarded up to the time when he assumed the *toga virilis*. Cf. *Sat.* I, 6, 82 ff., *puadicum . . . servavit ab omni non solum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi*, where *facto* corresponds to *vitam* and *opprobrio* to *famam*.

121 f. *sive*: the apodosis is,

grammatically, *obiciebat*, but this verb, preceded by the direct quotation, implies a verb of saying; 'when he advised a particular course of conduct, he used to say, "There is your example," pointing out . . . ' — *ut facerem*: depending on *iubebat*. Horace elsewhere uses the infin. with *iubeo*, but the construction with *ut* is perfectly good Latin (Plautus, Cicero, Livy). [To supply *aliquid*, duplicating *quid*, and to make *ut facerem* depend on *obiciebat* or the supplied verb of saying, is to resort to an artificial construction in order to avoid supposing that Horace in a single instance uses a good Latin construction which he elsewhere avoids.]

123. *iudicibus selectis*: the panel of *special jurymen* selected by the *praetor urbanus* to act in criminal cases. They were likely to be citizens of character and standing.

- sive vetabat: 'An hoc inhonestum et inutile factu  
 125 necne sit addubites, flagret rumore malo cum  
 hic atque ille?' Avidos vicinum funus ut aegros  
 exanimat, mortisque metu sibi parcere cogit,  
 sic teneros animos aliena opprobria saepe  
 absterrent vitiis. Ex hoc ego, sanus ab illis  
 130 perniciem quaecumque ferunt, mediocribus et quis  
 ignoscas vitiis teneor; fortassis et istinc  
 largiter abstulerit longa aetas, liber amicus,  
 consilium proprium: neque enim, cum lectulus aut me  
 porticus exceptit, desum mihi. 'Rectius hoc est.'  
 135 'Hoc faciens vivam melius.' 'Sic dulcis amicis  
 occurram.' 'Hoc quidam non belle; numquid ego illi

124 f. An: introducing the main question, *addubites*. The indirect question is (*utrum*) *inhonestum sit necne*; cf. 45 and 60, notes. — *hoc*: some forbidden act.

126 f. Avidos: *gluttons*, in the literal sense, whom the sight of death reminds of the consequences of self-indulgence. — *sibi parcere*: 'to take some care of their own health.'

129. Ex hoc: *as a result of this*, of such training by his father.

130 ff. quis ignoscas: *pardonable*; there was no adj. *ignoscibilis* in use in the time of Horace. *quis* is a dative. — *et istinc*: *even from these*, i.e. the slight and pardonable faults. — *liber*: *frank*; cf. *Sat.* I, 3, 52.

133 ff. consilium proprium:

'my own reflections' (Palmer), based upon such observations as those which follow. — *neque enim*: takes up *consilium proprium* and expands it, thus providing for the return of the thought to the subject of satire. — *lectulus*: *reading couch*. — *porticus*: *the public colonnade*, a place which would give opportunity to observe the conduct of others who were strolling there. — *hoc, hoc, sic, hoc*: each refers to some act of another person which attracts his attention and serves as an example to be followed or a warning. — *quidam*: *so and so*. — *belle*: a colloquial word; 'not pretty conduct of so and so.' — *numquid*: suggesting a negative; 'I hope I shall not sometime (*olim*) when I am off my guard (*imprudens*) do anything like that.'

imprudens olim faciam simile?' Haec ego mecum  
 compressis agito labris; ubi quid datur oti,  
 illudo chartis. Hoc est mediocribus illis  
 140 ex vitiis unum; cui si concedere nolis,  
 multa poetarum veniet manus auxilio quae  
 sit mihi (nam multo plures sumus), ac veluti te  
 Iudaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.

137 f. Haec agito: so I think to myself, recurring to the thought of *neque . . . desum mihi* and *consilium proprium*. — *compressis . . . labris*: i.e. 'I say nothing at the time, but wait till I get home and then write it down.'

139. illudo chartis: cf. *chartis illeaverit*, vs. 36. A jokingly apologetic way of describing the writing of satire. — *mediocribus*: referring back to vs. 130.

140. concedere: *pardon*; cf. I, 3, 85.

141 f. multa . . . manus, multo plures: with joking exaggeration he says that the poets are in the majority and can compel the critics to join their party, as it is sometimes said now 'everybody writes novels.' But it was a fact that light verse writing was a frequent amusement of educated

Romans — Pliny gives a long list of famous names — and that it was especially characteristic of the Augustan Age, when politics no longer offered a career.

143. Iudaei: the best commentary on this allusion is chap. 28 of Cicero's speech *pro Flacco*, in which he refers to the number and influence of the Jews in Rome (scis quanta sit manus, quanta concordia, quantum valeat in contionibus), to their religion (huic barbarae superstitioni) and their obstinate resistance to Roman ideals (istorum religio sacrorum a splendore huius imperii, gravitate nominis nostri, maiorum institutis abhorrebat). To a Roman, who admitted the gods of foreigners easily to his Pantheon, the desire of the Jew to make converts was wholly unintelligible.

## 5

The evidence for the date of this satire is found in vs. 27–29; Maecenas and Cocceius (L. Cocceius Nerva) were making the journey to Brundisium on an important mission, to reconcile friends who were at variance, a mission which they had performed before. The *aversi amici* (29) can be only the younger Caesar, and Antonius, whose re-



lations were never clearly defined and were in constant need of readjustment. In the year 40 B.C. an arrangement called the Treaty of Brundisium was made by Maecenas, representing Caesar, Asinius Pollio, representing Antonius, and Cocceius, as the friend of both sides. This explains *soliti componere* (29). In the following years, 39–38 B.C., Caesar was twice defeated by the fleet of Sextus Pompeius and was obliged to call upon Antonius for aid. Antonius came to Brundisium in the spring of 39, but Caesar did not meet him at that time, or, so far as is known, send representatives to a conference. But in the autumn of 38, the difficulties with Sextus Pompeius increasing, Maecenas was sent to Athens to confer with Antonius. With him went Fonteius Capito, as a friend of Antonius, and Cocceius, presumably to be a referee, as on the previous occasion, and the three ambassadors were accompanied on the overland journey to the port of Brundisium by a party of literary friends, Horace, Vergil, Plotius Tucca and Varius (the two friends to whom the publication of the *Aeneid* was intrusted after the death of Vergil), and a Greek rhetorician, Heliodorus. The satire was probably written soon after the date of the journey, late in 38 or early in 37.

The connection of thought is simple; the satire is a rather bare recital of the events of the journey, with some description of humorous episodes and adventures. The route can be easily followed on a map and the daily stages are for the most part indicated. But Horace was not writing a guidebook of the well-known route, and he has intentionally paraphrased the names of some places (24, 37, 45, 79 f., 87) and has used phrases which leave it uncertain whether the party spent a night at Anxur, at Capua, or at Beneventum. The journey was made partly on foot (though this is not certain), partly in a canal boat, but chiefly by riding or driving. The distance was about 340 English miles, the time from twelve to fifteen days.

The satire has a certain accidental interest from the glimpses it gives of the manner of traveling in the year 38 B.C., and it contains a few interesting personal allusions (27–29, 32–33, and especially 39–44), but it is for the most part made up of trivialities. It falls short to a surprising degree of the account which we should expect Horace to give of a fortnight's association with a group of men so cultivated and so eminent. There are two explanations of the limitations of the satire. In the first place, personal biography and reminiscence are modern; they had not made a place in ancient literature. The nearest approach to them would be in books like Caesar's Commentaries or Cicero's account of his consulship—both in reality political pamphlets—or in the

collection of Cicero's letters and of his witticisms. There are no true parallels in Latin literature to the many books of personal reminiscence which enrich modern literature. In the second place, Horace was deliberately attempting a very different task; he was writing a satire which was intended to be a close parallel to the similar description of a journey in the Third Book of Lucilius, and he has therefore been more closely bound by tradition in this satire than in any other. He was deliberately following a particular model and setting himself and his art in the closest possible comparison with the work of Lucilius. Unfortunately, the fragments of the satire of Lucilius are too scanty—about 50 verses, 98-147 in Marx—to enable us to follow the correspondence into details.

Egressum magna me accepit Aricia Roma  
hospitio modico; rhetor comes Heliodorus,  
Graecorum longe doctissimus; inde Forum Appi,  
differtum nautis cauponibus atque malignis.

5 Hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos  
praecinctis unum; minus est gravis Appia tardis.

1. *magna*: in contrast with the small town of Aricia and its modest inn.

2. *hospitio*: the well-to-do Roman had friends or connections in many places by whom he was received as a guest (cf. 38, 50), so that he was rarely obliged to depend upon the public inns, and the inns were in consequence rather humble places of entertainment (cf. 71 ff.).

3. *longe doctissimus*: a humorous and not unfriendly superlative; cf. vss. 39 and 50. A considerable part of the humor of the satire is in the form of obvious exaggerations of discomforts (4, 7, 80, 88, 91, 95).

4. *nautis*: *boatmen*, employed upon the canal which ran through the Pomptine marshes from Forum

Appi to Feronia. — *cauponibus* . . . *malignis*: cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 29. A propensity to dishonesty and stinginess is a traditional attribute of innkeepers.

5. *Hoc iter*: the stretch of nearly 40 English miles from Rome to Forum Appi. — *divisimus*: *i.e.* we made two day's journeys of it, stopping halfway at Aricia. — *altius* . . . *praecinctis*: cf. *εὐζωος* and the scriptural phrase 'to gird up the loins'; the opposite of *ignavi* and *tardis*. The words, however, might be used figuratively of any energetic traveler and do not quite prove that this part of the journey was made on foot.

6. *tardis*: *to those who travel slowly*. But the point of the remark is not quite clear. As the

- Hic ego propter aquam, quod erat deterrima, ventri  
indico bellum, cenantis haud animo aequo  
exspectans comites. Iam nox inducere terris  
10 umbras et caelo diffundere signa parabat;  
tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautae  
ingerere: 'Huc appelle!' 'Trecentos inseris!' 'Ohe,  
iam satis est!' Dum aes exigitur, dum mula ligatur,  
tota abit hora; mali culices ranaeque palustres  
15 avertunt somnos; absentem cantat amicam  
multa prolutus vappa nauta atque viator  
certatim; tandem fessus dormire viator

*via Appia* was one of the best of Roman roads, it seems necessary to take it as a general observation, carrying on the humorous confession of laziness in *ignavi*; 'traveling isn't so bad if you are not too energetic about it.'

8. *indico bellum*: parody of serious style. As the poor water had affected his digestion, he cut off the supplies, and his annoyance (*haud aequo animo*) at having to go without his dinner was increased by his being obliged to wait while Heliodorus and the slaves dined.

9-10. *Iam nox . . . parabat*: parody of the epic style; cf. 2, 6, 100 f., *iamque tenebat nox medium caeli spatium*, in the story of the Town Mouse and the Country Mouse.

11. *pueri*: the slaves of the embarking travelers.

12. *Huc appelle*: a cry from some slave on the bank, as the boat was picking up passengers from the various inns. The other

shouts are complaints of overcrowding from the passengers already on board. — *Trecentos*: of a round number, like *sescenti*, *ducenti*, 1, 4, 9.

14 ff. The experiences of the night are told in a series of unconnected sentences, without comment, as things that speak for themselves. [I have omitted the indefensible *ut* in 15, which was inserted by a copyist who did not understand the *asyndeta*.]

16 ff. *nauta, viator*: 'nauta in navi, viator vero qui mulam ducebat.' Acro. This is certainly the correct explanation, since a canal boat requires a steersman (*nauta*), as well as a driver on the towpath (*viator*). The driver is the first to get tired; he stops for a nap and the steersman jumps ashore, ties up the mule, and lies down with him. [The note of Porphyrio, in which *viatores* refers to the passengers on the boat,

- incipit, ac missae pastum retinacula mulae  
 nauta piger saxo religat stertitque supinus.  
 20 Iamque dies aderat, nil cum procedere lintrem  
 sentimus, donec cerebrosus prosilit unus  
 ac mulae nautaeque caput lumbosque saligno  
 fuste dolat; quarta vix demum exponimur hora.  
 Ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympa.  
 25 Milia tum pransi tria repimus, atque subimus  
 impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.  
 Huc venturus erat Maecenas, optimus atque  
 Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque

is usually taken as the starting point of the explanation of this passage; wrongly, I think.] — *retinacula*: occurs only in plur.; *the halter*.

20 ff. *Iam . . . aderat . . . cum . . . sentimus*: a good example of *cum inversum*, in parody of the epic style (Rolfe). — The meter of vs. 22 is jokingly suggestive of the repeated blows. — *saligno fuste*: *i.e.* with a cudgel which he gets from the willows along the bank. — *dolat*: slang, like 'polishes off,' 'trims up.' *dolare* is a slang term in Plaut. (*M. G.*, 938, *Men.* 859), though in a slightly different sense. — *quarta . . . hora*: about ten o'clock. — *vix demum*: an expression of annoyance at the discomforts of travel, as the modern traveler recalls the lateness of his train; while vs. 24 is a reminiscence of the comfort of a bath and breakfast after a wretched night.

24. *Feronia*: a goddess whose temple and fountain were near the end of the canal.

25 f. *subimus*: the regular verb for going toward a high place; Anxur was an old city on the hill, Tarracina the newer town at the foot of the hill. — *late candentibus*: cf. *Epod.* 1, 29, *superni villa candens Tusculi* and *Martial*, 5, 1, 6, *candidus Anxur*. The cliffs are of white limestone.

27. *Huc venturus erat*: the official members of the party had perhaps been in conference with the younger Caesar at some country house in the neighborhood. The tense of *venturus erat* means 'it had been arranged that he should come.'

28. *Cocceius*: L. Cocceius Nerva, consul in 36 B.C., the great-grandfather of the emperor Nerva. See also the introduction to this satire.

legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.

- 30 Hic oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus  
illinere. Interea Maecenas advenit atque  
Cocceius, Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem  
factus homo, Antoni, non ut magis alter, amicus.  
Fundos Aufidio Lusco praetore libenter  
35 linquimus, insani ridentes praemia scribae,  
praetextam et latum clavum prunaeque vatillum.  
In Mamurrarum lassi deinde urbe manemus,

30 f. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 25 n. The mention of this personal trifle, like the allusions to other details, gives the effect of a diary, and this is heightened by the use of the 'historical' infinitive. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 9, 9-10, and 66.

32 f. **Capito**: C. Fonteius Capito, consul in 33 B.C., the representative of Antonius in the conference.—**ad unguem factus homo**: the figure is said to be taken from the habit of testing the smoothness of a surface by passing the edge of the thumb nail over it. The expression was proverbial, like the English 'a polished gentleman' or 'a man, every inch of him,' and there is an intentional courtesy in the compliment to the representative of Antonius.—**non ut magis alter**: so Nepos, *Epam.* 2, *eruditus sic ut nemo Thebanus magis*.

34-36. As the distinguished travelers passed through Fundi, they were met by the mayor of the town in his robes of office.—**Aufidio . . . praetore**: a formal

expression, like *Caesare et Bibulo consulibus*, as if it fixed a date. It is not certain whether the chief magistrate of Fundi was properly called *praetor* or the word is used in derision.—**libenter**: the formal reception bored them.—**insani . . . scribae**: *i.e.* he had formerly been a clerk (cf. 66, below) and was too much elated by his rise in station.—**praetextam**: the toga with a purple border.—**latum clavum**: the purple stripe down the front of the tunic.—**prunae vatillum**: a pan or shovel of coals, for burning incense. The severity of this satirical allusion seems at first sight scarcely justifiable. Horace was, in fact, only a humble retainer of the great men to whom the honors were paid, and he was himself a *scriba*. But, like Thackeray, he had a keen eye for a snob.

37. **Mamurrarum urbe**: Formiae. Only one Mamurra is known to us, a knight of Formiae, who was *praefectus fabrum* (chief of engineers) under Julius Caesar, was enriched by him and



- Murena praebente domum, Capitone culinam.  
 Postera lux oritur multo gratissima; namque  
 40 Plotius et Varius Sinuessae Vergiliusque  
 occurrunt, animae, qualis neque candidiores  
 terra tulit, neque quis me sit devinctior alter.  
 O qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt!  
 Nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.  
 45 Proxima Campano ponti quae villula tectum  
 praebuit, et parochi quae debent ligna salemque.

made an offensive display of his ill-gotten money. He was attacked with especial bitterness by Catullus and, apparently, on good grounds. Nothing is known of his family (the scholia describe a later condition of things), and it seems likely that the calling of Formiae by his name and the use of the plural, as if there were many distinguished persons of the family, are satirical touches.

38. **Murena**: L. Licinius Terentius Varro Murena, brother of Terentia, the wife of Maecenas. *Carm.* 2, 10 is addressed to him. He was put to death in 22 B.C. for conspiracy. — **praebente domum**: the implication is that he was not himself occupying the villa at this time.

40. Plotius Tucca and L. Varius Rufus were Vergil's literary executors, and Varius and Vergil were the friends who had introduced Horace to Maecenas (*Sat.* 1, 6, 53). Varius was very highly esteemed, perhaps beyond his merits, by his contemporaries as a

writer of epic and of tragedy; he is mentioned by Horace more frequently than any other of his literary friends.

41. **qualis . . . candidiores**: the expression is perfectly logical — 'of which kind the earth has borne none fairer (than they)' — and it is used again in *Epod.* 5, 59 f.; *nardo . . . , quale non perfectius meae laborarint manus*; there is no similar idiom in English.

42. **tulit**: brought forth. — **quis**: dative.

44. **sanus**: while I am in my senses; so *Sat.* 1, 6, 89, *nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius*.

45 f. **quae villula**: *sc. est*. This was a public house, maintained by the government for the use of officials traveling on state business. The *parochi* (παρέχω) furnished the necessary supplies (*ligna salemque* are not to be taken quite literally, for Cicero, *ad Att.* 5, 16, 3, mentions also fodder); which were at this time designated by law; hence *quae debent*.



Hinc muli Capuae clitellas tempore ponunt.  
Lusum it Maecenas, dormitum ego Vergiliusque;  
namque pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudis.

50 Hinc nos Coccei recipit plenissima villa,  
quae super est Caudi cauponas. Nunc mihi paucis  
Sarmenti scurrae pugnam Messique Cicirri,  
Musa, velim memores, et quo patre natus uterque

47. *Hinc*: *i.e.* starting from this point. — *tempore*: *in good season*, so that there was time for exercise before supper.

49. *lippis*: Horace; cf. vs. 30. — *crudis*: Vergil, of whom Donatus says, 'plerumque a stomacho et a faucibus ac dolore capitis laborabat.'

50. *plenissima*: *well-stocked*. So Cicero, *Cat. Maior*, 56, says 'semper enim boni assiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, villaque tota locuples est, abundat porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle.' — *Caudi*: where the Romans were defeated by the Samnites in 321 B.C.

51-70. The custom of inviting semi-professional jesters to enliven the conversation of the dinner table, a custom which has prevailed more or less in all societies, is alluded to in many Roman writers from Plautus down. The jesters were of all degrees, from the buffoon or the mere butt of practical jokes to the more refined wit and story-teller. Examples of both kinds are mentioned in *Sat.* 2, 8, Porcius, who could eat whole

cakes at a gulp, and Vibidius and Balatro, hangers-on of Maecenas and leaders of the joking, but not buffoons.

This passage is the record of a contest of wits between two such parasites. Sarmentus is described at some length in a scholium to Juvenal, 5, 3, and was evidently a well-known person; he had been a slave, was perhaps at this time a freedman, had become a *scriba*, and was small and somewhat effeminate in appearance. He represents the type of *scurra*, the more polished wit. Messius Cicirrus (*κίκίρπος*, a fighting-cock) is the clown, an Oscan, large and clumsy, with his face disfigured by a scar. He is a countryman, brought in for the occasion to be pitted against the city-bred Sarmentus, who was in the train of Maecenas, perhaps as a secretary.

53-55. *Musa*: in epic style. — *quo patre natus*: as in Homer, before two heroes engage in fight, the genealogy of each is recited. But in this case the heroic demand (*quo patre natus*) cannot be met; 'of Messius the glorious lineage is — Oscan; of the family

- contulerit lites. Messi clarum genus Osci;  
 55 Sarmenti domina exstat: ab his maioribus orti  
 ad pugnam venere. Prior Sarmentus: 'Equi te  
 esse feri similem dico.' Ridemus, et ipse  
 Messius 'Accipio,' caput et movet. 'O, tua cornu  
 ni foret exsecto frons,' inquit, 'quid faceres, cum  
 60. sic mutilus minitaris?' At illi foeda cicatrix  
 saetosam laevi frontem turpaverat oris.  
 Campanum in morbum, in faciem permulta iocatus,  
 pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat;  
 nil illi larva aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis.  
 65 Multa Cicirrus ad haec: Donasset iamne catenam

of Sarmentus there survives only — his owner.' The Oscans were regarded by the Romans with special contempt, and a slave had, legally, no family.

56 f. Equi . . . feri: *a unicorn*. The comparison is suggested by the scar mentioned below, 60. This is clearly a variation on the verse of Lucilius, *dente adverso eminulo hic est | rinoceros* (Marx 117 f.), 'This is a rhinoceros with a tooth sticking out in front.'

58. Accipio: 'all right; so I am, and you will find me dangerous,' with a threatening shake of the head.

60. sic: both with *mutilus* and with *minitaris*; 'when, hornless as you are, you threaten so.' — At: explanatory, not adversative; *and*, *in fact*.

61. laevi: 'on the left side of his face.' [But the expression is awkward and the comparison to a

unicorn and, below, to the Cyclops requires that the scar should have been in the middle; the text must be regarded as quite doubtful.]

62. Campanum in morbum: some disease, not understood even by the scholiasts, which was thought to be the cause of the scar. *Campanus* contains the same kind of slur as *Osci*, 54.

63. saltaret . . Cyclopa: *should play the Cyclops* in a pantomimic dance; accus. of the inner object.

64. larva: because he was so ugly and the scar would represent the one eye of the Cyclops. — cothurnis: because he was so big and clumsy.

65 ff. The account is shortened by giving the substance of the retorts of Cicirrus without comment. They turn upon the fact that Sarmentus had been a slave and upon his small size and effeminate ap-

**ex voto** Laribus, quaerebat; scriba quod esset, nilo deterius dominae ius esse: rogabat denique, cur umquam fugisset, cui satis una farris libra foret, gracili sic tamque pusillo.

70 **Prorsus** iucunde cenam producimus illam.

Tendimus hinc recta Beneventum, ubi sedulus hospes paene macros arsit dum turdos versat in igni; nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam Volcano summum properabat lambere tectum.

75 **Convivas** avidos cenam servosque timentis tum rapere, atque omnis restinguere velle videres. Incipit ex illo montis Apulia notos ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus, et quos

pearance. — **ex voto**: as gladiators at the end of their professional career dedicated their arms (*Epist.* 1, 1, 4 f.) or as men who had escaped from shipwreck hung up their dripping garments in a temple (*Carm.* 1, 5, 13–16), so a slave who had escaped from slavery—perhaps by running away—might dedicate his chains to the gods who had helped him. — **scriba**: the emphatic position shows what the point is; ‘even though you have attained to the lofty position of a clerk, still . . .’ — **una farris libra**: the ordinary ration was four or five pounds and such a puny little man might have lived on a quarter of his allowance and bought his freedom with his savings, instead of running away.

70. **Prorsus**: with *iucunde*; ‘certainly it was a jolly supper . . . So *prorsus vehementer*,

*Cic. ad Att.* 16, 15, 2; *prorsus valde*, *ad Fam.* 6, 20, 2.

72. **paene . . . arsit**: almost set his house afire. So Verg. *Aen.* 2, 311 f., *ardet Vcalegon*. — **macros**: with *turdos* and *dum* with *versat*. It is possible that the confused order is meant to represent the confused efforts of the anxious landlord.

73–74. **vaga . . . veterem . . . Volcano**: parody of the alliteration in the epic style of Ennius. — **dilapso . . . Volcano**: the logs which were piled together on the raised hearth fell apart and were scattered on the floor.

76. **videres**: ‘then there was a pretty spectacle for you to see, of hungry guests and frightened slaves.’

78. **mihi**: they were approaching the region of Venusia, where Horace had passed his boyhood,

- numquam erepsemus, nisi nos vicina Trivici  
 80 villa recepisset, lacrimoso non sine fumo,  
 udos cum foliis ramos urente camino.  
 86 Quattuor hinc rapimur viginti et milia raedis,  
 mansuri oppidulo quod versu dicere non est,  
 signis perfacile est: venit vilissima rerum  
 hic aqua; sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra

and he began to recognize well-known landmarks. — *Atabulus*: a name for the *sirocco*, peculiar to Apulia and recalled by Horace as he approaches his old home. Gellius (2, 22, 25) calls it *Horatianus ille Atabulus*.

79. *erepsemus*: *erepsissemus*; such colloquial forms are used freely in the Satires, e.g., *surrexe* for *surrexisse*, I, 9, 73. — *nisi*: the expression is somewhat condensed, perhaps with humorous intention; 'we should never have crawled out, if we hadn't stopped,' meaning 'we should never have had the strength to crawl out, if we had not refreshed ourselves by a night's rest.'

81. *udos*: the emphatic word; 'because of the dampness of the fuel.' — *urente camino*: so *triverit area*, I, 1, 45. The *caminus* (cf. *Epist.* I, 11, 19) was an arrangement, other than the open hearth, for heating a room, but the details of its construction are unknown.

86. *raedis*: both *raeda* (or *reda*) and *petorritum* (or *petorritum*) are Gallic words (Quint. I, 5, 57), and this fact accounts for

the variation in spelling. The mention of carriages at this stage of the journey and the contrast between *rapimur* and *erepsemus* must certainly imply a change in the mode of traveling, from riding to driving.

87. *quod versu dicere non est*: so Lucilius (228 f., Marx) has 'servorum festus dies hic, | quem plane hexametro versu non dicere possis' of the feast of the *Sigillaria*, and Ovid (*ex Ponto*, 4, 12) jokes about the impossibility of bringing the name of his friend *Tutt-cānus* into elegiac verse. The name of the town is unknown, in spite of statements by the scholiasts.

88 ff. *signis*: by the indications which follow, the lack of good water and the excellence of the bread. — *venit*: from *veneo*; emphatic by position and by contrast with *vilissima*; 'they ask here for what can elsewhere be had for nothing — water.' — *ultra*: i.e. the traveler who knows what he is about (*callidus*) lays in a supply for the next stage of the journey. — *soleāt*: an early long

- 90 callidus ut soleat umeris portare viator :  
 nam Canusi lapidosus, aquae non ditior urna  
 qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim.  
 Flentibus hinc Varius discedit maestus amicis.  
 Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum  
 95 carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri.  
 Postera tempestas melior, via peior ad usque  
 Bari moenia piscosi; dein Gnatia lymphis  
 iratis exstructa dedit risusque iocosque,  
 dum flamma sine tura liquescere limine sacro  
 100 persuadere cupit. Credat Iudaeus Apella,  
 non ego; namque deos didici securum agere aevum,

quantity preserved here, as occasionally elsewhere in Horace and in Vergil and frequently in Plautus.—**umeris portare**: a general term, for most travelers would have slaves to carry their provisions.

91 f. **Canusi**: gen., not locative; *sc. panis*.—**lapidosus**: gritty.—**aquae**: gen. with *ditior*; so *dives artium*, *Carm.* 4, 8, 5; *dives opis*, *Sat.* 1, 2, 74.—**urna**: abl. of degree of difference.—The narrative hurries on here through uninteresting scenes and events and three distinct statements ('the bread of Canusium is gritty; water there is scarce; the town was founded by Diomed') are condensed into a single sentence. The intentional awkwardness expresses the haste of the story.

93. **Flentibus... amicis**: 'leaving his friends in tears'; a dative of separation. The exaggeration is intentionally humorous.

96. **tempestas**: *weather*, as frequently in early and classical Latin.

97 f. **piscosi**: Barium was on the coast.—**dein**: monosyllabic.—**lymphis iratis exstructa**: 'built under the frown of the water nymphs,' *i.e.* lacking in good water.

99. The 'miracle' was exhibited to the distinguished visitors. As described by Pliny, *H.N.* 2, 107, 240, it was the wood on the altar which took fire of itself.

100. **Credat Iudaeus Apella**: there were many Jews in Rome at this time and Horace had evidently some knowledge of their beliefs (*Sat.* 1, 4, 143; 1, 9, 66 f.; perhaps also 2, 3, 288 ff.), possibly even of their belief in this particular kind of miracle (*Levit.* 9, 24; *1 Kings* 18, 38).

101. **securum**: 'Careless of mankind,' Tennyson, *The Lotus*

nec, si quid miri faciat natura, deos id  
tristis ex alto caeli demittere tecto.

Brundisium longae finis chartaeque viaeque est.

*Eaters.* The verse is a quotation of Lucretius, 5, 82 — *nam bene qui didicere deos securum agere aevom* — and an expression of Horace's Epicurean skepticism.

102 f. *natura*: the working force which in the Epicurean philosophy

is sufficient to explain all phenomena, however strange. — *tristis*: in their anger. Early religions are, in general, rather a means of propitiating the wrath of the gods than an expression of gratitude or trust.

## 6

The date of this satire cannot be precisely fixed, but it was written between 38 and 33 B.C. The upper limit is fixed by the allusion in vss. 54 ff. to Horace's introduction to Maecenas, which was probably not earlier than 38 B.C. On the other hand, the second half of the satire would certainly have contained some allusion to the Sabine form, which came into Horace's possession in 33, if the satire had been written after that date.

'Your high position, my dear Maecenas, as a man of noble family, evidently does not seem to you to justify you in looking down upon other men, upon me, for instance, a freedman's son. On the contrary, your admission of all freeborn citizens to social equality seems to express your belief that character, not birth, is the proper basis of a claim to public recognition. And, in fact, even the ordinary voter, prone as he is to be dazzled by noble birth, sees this truth and acts upon it. But we, whose vision is clearer, ought to see still deeper and to distinguish between social recognition and political advancement. A political ambition, like that of Tillius, not improperly raises questions of family and of inherited fitness for public office. But, for me, I have no political ambition and the office which I once held in the army of Brutus came to me by mere chance; I will not even take the trouble to defend myself against the criticisms which it excited. But my friendship with you is no chance; two sponsors whom I am proud to name, Vergil and Varius, introduced me to you and after careful deliberation you accepted me as a friend, judging me not by my father's rank, but by my own character.

'And yet that very character which has won your esteem was my father's gift to me. He was a poor man, a freedman, yet he gave me



such an education as a knight or a senator might have given to his son, attending me himself to guard me against the dangers of the city, not deterred by the fear of educating me above my station. I should be mad to wish that I had had a different father. I will not even say, as some do, that I was not responsible for my humble parentage. On the contrary, I would not exchange my father for any other, not even for one who had sat in the curule chair and worn the purple.

‘For, after all, I prefer my quiet life. No bother about money, no formal calls to make, no swarm of servants, no fuss. I stroll about town as I please and watch the sights of the streets; I go home to a plain dinner and a good night’s sleep, untroubled by the thought of early business engagements in the morning. I read or write, I take a little exercise, I have a light lunch and an afternoon of leisure. That’s a great deal more comfortable than the life of the people who think they have a position to maintain.’

This satire belongs in subject and treatment with the third, the fourth, and the tenth. It springs directly out of the circumstances of Horace’s life at the time it was written and marks another step in his progress from the earlier years of rebellious obscurity to the assured position of the Second Book. His friendship with men of rank, his acceptance by Maecenas, and, in particular, the publication of the account of the journey to Brundisium had revived the old criticisms which his position in the army of Brutus had aroused and had given new grounds for suspecting him of social and political ambitions. The satire is in form a disclaimer of such ambitions, while in substance it is a defence of the friends who had accorded him social recognition and a very manly and dignified declaration of pride in his father’s wisdom and of contentment with his own quiet life.

Non quia, Maecenas, Lydorum quicquid Etruscos  
incoluit finis, nemo generosior est te,

1. **Non**: with *suspendis*, vs. 5, not with *quia*. The sentence is best translated by changing its structure: ‘although no one . . . , and although your ancestors . . . , you do not, for that reason, treat with contempt . . . ’—**quia**: not different in sense from *quod*, vs. 3, though *quia* is, in general, the

more colloquial.—**Maecenas**: the fact that Maecenas had publicly recognized Horace as a friend is the natural starting point of the argument.—**Lydorum**: there was a tradition that the Etruscan nobility was descended from Lydian colonists (Herod. 1, 94), as the Roman aristocracy claimed de-

nec quod avus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus,  
 olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent,  
 5 ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco  
 ignotos, ut me libertino patre natum.  
 Cum referre negas quali sit quisque parente  
 natus, dum ingenuus, persuades hoc tibi vere,  
 ante potestatem Tulli atque ignobile regnum

scent from Troy, and as many Italian cities were supposed to have been founded by Greek heroes; cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 92. The gen. plur. is a partitive gen. with *quicquid* (Catull. 3, 2, *quantum est hominum venustiorum*; 31, 14, *quicquid est domi cachinnorum*), but by its position it is made to serve also as a gen. for *nemo*.

2. *generosior*: more nobly born. There are various general references, like *Carm.* 1, 1, 1, *Maece-nas, atavis edite regibus*, to the nobility of the Cilnii, but it does not appear that the family had taken a conspicuous place in Roman public life.

3-4. *avus maternus* . . . : the reference is general, as the subjv. *imperitarent* shows, though the use of *maternus* may be an allusion to the Etruscan custom of reckoning descent through the mother's side.—*legionibus*: also general; *great armies*.

5. *naso suspendis adunco*: such phrases as this, which express an emotion by describing the instinctive distortion of the features which accompanies it, are common in Latin, and are found even in seri-

ous passages, as here; they are doubtless colloquial in origin, but they are much less undignified than the corresponding English phrases like 'turn up your nose at.'

6. *ignotos*: men of humble birth. Cf. vss. 24, 36, below; *notus* and *nobilis* are only partially differentiated in meaning.

7. *Cum referre negas*: in refusing to consider; the explicative use of *cum*; 'your refusal to consider . . . is, in reality, a declaration of your belief that . . .'

8. *ingenuus*: freeborn. *Mae-cenas*, like Augustus (Sueton. *Aug.* 74), admitted to social equality any man who was born in freedom, but did not extend such recognition to freedmen (*libertini*). Horace is here dwelling upon the liberality of the admission; the exclusion of freedmen seemed to him, as, indeed, it well might, a natural limitation, to be mentioned only incidentally.—*persuades . . . tibi*: you express your conviction.

9-17. In this somewhat difficult passage two distinct ideas are fused into one statement, and a third is appended which strictly

- 10 multos saepe viros nullis maioribus ortos  
et vixisse probos, amplis et honoribus auctos;  
contra Laevinum, Valeri genus, unde superbus  
Tarquinius regno pulsus fugit, unius assis  
non umquam pretio pluris licuisse, notante  
15 iudice, quo nosti, populo, qui stultus honores

belongs with the next sentence: (1) 'Your belief is that men of humble birth often deserve honor, and men of noble birth sometimes deserve to be obscure'; (2) 'this principle has often been illustrated in Roman history—plebeians have been elected to the consulship, and patricians have been nobodies'; (3) 'if the common voter can judge so correctly, then you and I should certainly not be misled by the accident of birth.' If Horace had been trying to use the forms of precise reasoning, only the first of these statements would have been subordinated to *persuades hoc tibi vere*; the second would have been put into an independent sentence, and the third would have been connected with vss. 17–18, to which it is a kind of protasis.

9. ante . . . regnum: *i.e.* even before the reign of Servius Tullius, who was traditionally held to be the son of a slave woman, and before the Servian reform of the constitution, which was regarded as the beginning of democracy in Rome.

11. et . . . probos . . . et . . . auctos: predicate with *vixisse*.

The sentence is paratactic; translate, 'because they lived upright lives, were honored with high offices.'

12. Laevinum: unknown. The statement of the scholiast adds nothing to what is implied in the context.—Valeri genus: *of the Valerian gens*, one of the great Roman families.—unde: = *a quo*, to be taken with *pulsus*. M. Valerius Poplicola aided Brutus in expelling Tarquinius Superbus, and was one of the consuls of the first year.

14. licuisse: *sold for*, *i.e.* was worth; from *liceo*.—pluris: gen. of indefinite value.—pretio: abl. after the comparative, with *unius assis* depending upon it.

14 f. notante iudice: abl. absolute; *iudice* is defined by *quo nosti* (by attraction from *quem nosti*) and by the appositive, *populo*. The defeat at the polls is like the judgment of the censors; either excludes from the Senate. . . .

15 ff. The indic. in this clause emphasizes its detachment from the indirect discourse.—famae servit: *i.e.* the judgment of the common people is, too often, taken captive by family reputation.—

saepe dat indignis et famae servit ineptus,  
 qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus. Quid oportet  
 nos facere, a volgo longe longequae remotos?  
 Namque esto populus Laevino mallet honorem  
 20 quam Decio mandare novo, censorque moveret  
 Appius, ingenuo si non essem patre natus:  
 vel merito, quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem.  
 Sed fulgente trahit constrictos Gloria curru  
 non minus ignotos generosis. Quo tibi, Tilli,

**imaginibus**: the waxen masks of ancestors who had held curule office. — **titulis**: the inscription under each mask enumerating the offices held by the original. The masks were hung in the *atrium*, and the possession of them indicated that the family was *nobilis*.

17-22. 'If the people, prone as they are to be dazzled by appearances, can sometimes see below the surface, then we, the intelligent classes, should be able to see still more deeply into the truth. For, whether the machinery of government favors the patrician or the plebeian, it is certainly true that, for such a man as I am, political ambition is folly. — **esto**: used frequently by Horace (*Sat.* 2, 1, 83; 2, 2, 30) to express a concession; here, in parataxis with *mallet*, it becomes almost a concessive conjunction, as in the English, 'granted the people might prefer . . . , yet . . . ' — **Decio . . . novo**: P. Decius Mus, a plebeian and *novus homo*, the first of his family to hold a curule office. He de-

voted himself to death in order to secure victory in the battle of Mt. Vesuvius in 340 B.C., and is frequently referred to as a type of heroic patriotism. — **censor** . . . **Appius**: Appius Claudius Pulcher, the brother of Clodius, censor in 50 B.C. He scrutinized the senatorial lists with great severity, excluding many nobles and all sons of freedmen.

22. **vel merito**: and rightly, too; i.e. 'I should deserve it for being such a fool as to be tempted by political ambition.' — **propria** . . . **pelle**: an allusion to Aesop's fable of the Ass in the Lion's Skin; cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 314-320; 2, 5, 56.

23 f. 'But most men do not see this deeper truth; Ambition drags them after her, chained to her chariot.' The same figure is used in *Epist.* 2, 1, 177, *ventoso gloria curru*. — **ignotos**: = *ignobiles*, as in vs. 6.

24 f. **Quo tibi**: regularly followed by an infin., as here; lit., 'to what end is it for you to . . . ?'

- 25 sumere depositum clavum fierique tribuno?  
 Invidia adcrevit, privato quae minor esset.  
 Nam ut quisque insanus nigris medium impediit crus  
 pellibus, et latum demisit pectore clavum,  
 audit continuo 'Quis homo hic?' et 'quo patre natus?'
- 30 Vt, si qui aegrotet quo morbo Barrus haberi  
 et cupiat formosus, eat quacumque, puellis  
 iniciat curam quaerendi singula, quali  
 sit facie, sura, quali pede, dente, capillo;  
 sic qui promittit civis, urbem sibi curae,
- 35 imperium fore et Italiam, delubra deorum,  
 quo patre sit natus, num ignota matre inhonestus,  
 omnis mortalis curare et quaerere cogit.

*what good does it do you . . . ?*—  
 Tilli: he had had the *latus clavus*,  
 the broad purple stripe which was  
 worn by senators on the tunic, had  
 for some reason lost it (*depositum*),  
 and was now proposing to  
 win it again (*sumere*) by being  
 elected *tribunus plebis* as a first  
 step toward a curule office. To  
 these inferences from the text the  
 scholiast (*recepit post Caesarum*  
*occisum; nam pulsus ante senatu*  
*fuerat*) adds little. The reference  
 may be to a brother of L. Tillius  
 Cimber.—tribuno: dat.; cf. 1,  
 1, 19.

27 f. nigris . . . pellibus: sena-  
 tors wore a shoe which was tied  
 by four black leather bands wound  
 crosswise about the ankle and up  
 the calf (*medium crus*).

29. continuo: immediately; cor-  
 responding to *ut, as soon as*.

30 f. aegrotet, morbo: figura-  
 tive, as in *Sat.* 2, 3, 306 f., *quo me*  
*aegrotare putes animi vitio?* The  
 following clause, *et cupiat*, explains  
 the nature of the disease.—Bar-  
 rus: the name occurs again in  
*Sat.* 1, 7, 8, but identification with  
 any known person is uncertain.—  
*haberi*: depends on *cupiat*.

32. iniciat: i.e. his evident be-  
 lief that he is handsome leads the  
 girls to consider his features in  
 detail (*singula*) to see whether he  
 really is all that he claims to be.

34 f. The promises of the candi-  
 date are intentionally exagger-  
 ated. No single official had so  
 wide a range of duties.

36. ignota, inhonestus: with  
 reference to birth, as elsewhere  
 in this satire, vss. 6, 24, 96.

37. curare, quaerere: repeating  
*curam quaerendi*, 32. The bit of

'Tune, Syri, Damae, aut Dionysi filius, audes  
deicere e saxo civis aut tradere Cadmo?'

40 'At Novius collega gradu post me sedet uno;  
namque est ille, pater quod erat meus.' 'Hoc tibi Paulus  
et Messalla videris? At hic, si plostra ducenta  
concurrantque foro tria funera magna, sonabit  
cornua quod vincatque tubas; saltem tenet hoc nos.

dialogue which follows expands the idea and makes it vivid.

38. These are ordinary foreign slave names; Syrus is used in the plays of Terence and Dama occurs in *Sat.* 2, 5, 18.

39. **deicere**: in three syllables. — **esaxo**: from the Tarpeian Rock. This old form of punishment was carried into execution by the tribunes, but it had fallen into disuse except as a figure of speech for an extreme penalty; cf. Cic. *ad Att.* 14, 15, 1. — **Cadmo**: *Cadmus carnifex illo tempore fuisse dicitur*. Schol.

40 f. **Novius**: this name is selected to suggest a derivation from *novus*, like Thackeray's *Newcome* or Henry James's *Newman*. — **gradu . . . uno**: not literally, for there was no assignment of special seats to freedmen; but figuratively, with an allusion to the law of Otho, 67 B.C., assigning to the knights fourteen rows of seats behind the senators. The law had made much talk and the distinction had passed into a kind of proverb. — **est ille, . . . meus**: *i.e.* 'he is himself a freedman,

while I am the son of a freedman.'

41 f. **Hoc**: abl., *for this reason* as in vs. 52, below. — **Paulus et Messalla**: the *cognomina* of two of the most distinguished noble families in Rome. The absurdity of the claim is heightened by the use of *et*, as if the man could suppose himself to be both at once.

42-44. **hic**: = *Novius collega*. 'Your claim to superiority is based upon an advantage so petty that it is more than counterbalanced by his having a big voice.' — **plostra**: the plebian form of *plaustra* (cf. *Claudius* and *Clodius*), employed here because the argument represents the view of the common people (*saltem tenet hoc nos*). — **magna**: with *funera*. [Neither *Sat.* 1, 4, 44, *os magna sonaturum*, nor Juv. 7, 108, *ipsi magna sonant*, justifies the taking of *magna sonare* as a standing phrase, *to shout loudly*. In neither passage is the plural force quite lost and the quality designated is loftiness of style, not mere loudness of voice.] — **quod**: the antecedent is the internal object of



- 45 Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum,  
quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,  
nunc, quia sim tibi, Maecenas, convictor, at olim,  
quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.  
Dissimile hoc illi est; quia non, ut forsit honorem  
50 iure mihi invideat quivis, ita te quoque amicum,  
praesertim cautum dignos assumere, prava

*sonabit.* — *-que*: connecting *cornua* and *tubas*; cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 17.

— This incidental picture of the Roman Forum, though it is intentionally exaggerated, is in harmony with what Juvenal says in his third satire of the dangerously crowded Roman streets. The Forum was the official center of all political and public life, the place where the funeral processions of great men, with their horns and trumpets, paused to listen to the *laudatio*, and it was at the same time the principal business center of the city. At this period great public works also were under construction, which necessitated the hauling of blocks of stone in heavy wagons.

45. *Nunc ad me redeo*: i.e. to vs. 6, as the repetition here of the last words of that line shows. The intervening verses are not altogether a digression; they meet the suspicion that Horace was ambitious of political influence, and thus enable him to pass lightly over that criticism (vss. 48-50) and to come to the main theme of the satire, the dignity and comfort of a quiet life.

47 f. *sim, pareret*: subjv., giving the reasons of the critics as expressed by themselves. — *convictor*: cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 95, *convictore . . . amicoque*. — *tribuno*: sc. *militum*. This curious episode in his life is briefly mentioned in the *Vita Horati* of Suetonius: *bello Philippensi excitus a M. Bruto imperatore tribunus militum meruit*.

49. *honorem*: office, as in the phrase *cursus honorum*, and often.

50. *iure*: it is, however, unlikely that the office was given to him without reason. Probably he had shown, even in his student years at Athens, those qualities of sanity and good judgment which made him in later life the valued friend of men of affairs. — *te*: obj. of *invidet*.

51 f. *cautum dignos assumere*: the friends whom Maecenas had already gathered about him were men of high standing and character, and, especially, men interested in literature rather than in politics. Admission to this circle was, of itself, evidence that Horace was not cherishing a political ambition. — *prava ambitione procul*:

ambitione procul. Felicem dicere non hoc  
 me possim, casu quod te sortitus amicum;  
 nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit: optimus olim  
 55 Vergilius, post hunc Varius dixere quid essem.  
 Vt veni coram, singultim pauca locutus  
 (infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari),  
 non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum  
 me Satureiano vectari rura caballo,

*men free from distorted ambition*; an amplification of *dignos*. The expression is lacking in clearness, but cf. *Carm.* 4, 1, 4-6, *desine . . . circa lustra decem flectere, a man of ten lustra*. The word *inambitiosus*, which is used once by Ovid, would not have expressed the thought, especially the effect of *prava*, and, in the lack of an article or a present participle of *esse*, some such periphrasis as this is necessary.

52-54. *Felicem*: the gossip which attributed the friendship of Maecenas to mere chance (cf. *Sat.* 2, 6, 49, '*Fortunae filius*,' *omnes*) is emphatically denied by the position of *felicem* and by *casu*, *sortitus*, *fors*. 'My acceptance by you is not due at all to luck, but to the kindness of my friends and to your deliberate choice.'

54 f. *optimus*: cf. *candida anima*, *Sat.* 1, 5, 42; *animae dimidium meae*, *Carm.* 1, 3, 8; *pius*, *Carm.* 1, 24, 11. These terms of respect and admiration are quite in accord with the account of Vergil's life and character in the *Vita*

of Donatus. — *olim*: *some time ago*; but the contrast with *post hunc* (cf. *olim . . . mox*) gives it a meaning like *first*.

57. *infans*: in the original sense, *speechless*, i.e. 'which made me tongue-tied.' The embarrassment is further indicated by the alliteration *p-udor p-rohibebat p-lura p-rofari*.

58 ff. *non ego . . . narro*: Horace's birth and circumstances were, of course, known to Maecenas, and his character had already been described by his friends (*dixere quid essem*). This sentence, therefore, does not mean that he did not attempt to deceive Maecenas, — which would have been absurd, — but that he spoke of himself frankly, with the modesty which befitted the son of a freedman and a poor man, and with a recognition of his own limitations of character (*quod eram*). — *Satureiano*: = *Tarentino* ('quia Satureia dicta est Tarentina civitas.' Schol.); the neighborhood of Tarentum was a particularly pleasant part of Italy

- 60 sed, quod eram, narro. Respondes, ut tuus est mos,  
 pauca; abeo, et revocas nono post mense iubesque  
 esse in amicorum numero. Magnum hoc ego ducō,  
 quod placui tibi, qui turpi secernis honestum,  
 non patre praeclaro, sed vita et pectore puro.
- 65 Atqui si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis  
 mendosa est natura, alioqui recta, — velut si  
 egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naevos, —  
 si neque avaritiam neque sordes nec mala lustra  
 obiciet vere quisquam mihi, purus et insons
- 70 (ut me collaudem) si et vivo carus amicis,  
 causa fuit pater his, qui, macro pauper agello,  
 noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere, magni  
 quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti,

(cf. *Carm.* 2, 6, 9 ff.) and was occupied by large estates (*rura*). — *caballo*: the low Latin word (for *equus*), from which the Romance words *cavallo*, *cheval*, are derived.

63. *turpi secernis honestum*: cf. *honestum* as a philosophical term, *Sat.* 1, 3, 42, and *iusto secernere iniquum*, *Sat.* 1, 3, 113. The adj. is in all these cases neuter and general; 'you who distinguish worth from unworthiness, not by the position of one's father, but by his own uprightness of character.'

65 ff. 'And yet that very uprightness of life and character, upon which my claim is based, is my father's legacy to me; it is to his training that I owe all that I am.' — *mediocribus*, *paucis*:

these express the modesty which is implied in *quod eram*, vs. 60; cf. also 1, 4, 139.

67. *reprehendas*: strictly, the comparison would be 'which are merely like slight defects in an otherwise handsome person,' but the idea of *reprehendas* expands the suggestion implied in *mendosa*; 'spotted by few faults, no more to be made a matter of censure than . . .'

68. *sordes*: low tastes and habits. — *mala lustra*: haunts of vice.

69 f. The order is *si purus et insons et carus amicis vivo*.

72 f. *Flavi*: the schoolmaster in Venusia. — *magni, magnis*: the families of veteran soldiers, to whom land had been assigned near Venusia, constituted a local aristocracy.

laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,  
 75 ibant octonos referentes Idibus aeris,  
 sed puerum est ausus Romam portare, docendum  
 artis quas doceat quivis eques atque senator  
 semet prognatos. Vestem servosque sequentis,  
 in magno ut populo, si qui vidisset, avita  
 80 ex re praeberi sumptus mihi crederet illos.

74. *loculos, tabulam*: the 'Greek' accus. with passive verb, like *inutile ferrum cingitur*, *Aen.* 2, 510 f. *loculi* (in the plur. only, in this sense), *satchel*; *tabula*, *slate* made of wood and covered with wax.

75. The general sense is clear; the boys carried their tuition money to the school at regular times. But the text is uncertain and the customs alluded to are not clearly known. Translate 'carrying their eight asses (*nummos* to be supplied) of money on the monthly pay-day.'

The amount would be small (ten or twelve cents) and the petty details—the limited curriculum, the carrying of slates and satchels by the children, the promptness in paying the tuition—are set in ironical contrast with the pretensions of the village magnates.

76. *est ausus*: a very pleasant recognition of the courage and independence shown by his father.

77. *artis*: the higher studies, which were not taught at Venusia; the study of early Latin poetry is

alluded to in *Epist.* 2, 1, 69 f. and the reading of the *Iliad* in *Epist.* 2, 2, 41 f.

79–80. *in magno ut populo*: *in the midst of the crowd*. [This is *ut* restrictive. Ordinarily it restricts an adj., as in the familiar passage in *Cic. Cato Maior*, 12, *multae etiam, ut in homine Romano, litteræ*; so in *Cic. Brit.* 102, *scriptor fuit, ut temporibus illis, luculentus*, and in the passages quoted by Schütz. Here it restricts *vidisset*, which is not simply *had seen*, but *had noticed*; this use is perfectly supported by two passages quoted by Orelli from *Ovid. Trist.* 1, 1, 17 f., *si quis, ut in populo, nostri non immemor . . . erit*, and *ex Ponto*, 4, 5, 11, *si quis, ut in populo, qui sitis et unde, requirer*.]—This passage does not mean that Horace's father encouraged him in an unsuitable display; the context forbids that understanding. The lines continue the thought of 76 ff.; as the father's foresight led him to give his son the best possible education, so it led him also to provide proper dress and attendance.

Ipsē mihi custos incorruptissimus omnis  
circum doctores aderat. Quid multa? Pudicum,  
qui primus virtutis honos, servavit ab omni  
non solum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi;

85 nec timuit sibi ne vitio quis verteret, olim  
si praeco parvas aut, ut fuit ipse, coactor  
mercedes sequeretur; neque ego essem questus; at hoc  
nunc

laus illi debetur et a me gratia maior.

Nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius, eoque

90 non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars,  
quod non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentes,

81. *custos*: i.e. as *paedagogus*, the slave who accompanied a properly cared-for boy in the streets. — *incorruptissimus*: who could not be bribed.

82 ff. 'In short, he kept me clean — and that is beginning and foundation of manliness — not only from vice itself, but also from the touch of scandal.'

85. *nec timuit*: the same thought as that in *est ausus*, vs. 76. He risked the possibility that he might sometime be reproached with having educated his son above the son's actual station in life. — *vitio verteret*: a standing phrase; 'should consider it an error on his part,' 'should reproach him.' — *olim*: of the future, as not infrequently.

86. *coactor*: the *Vita* of Suetonius says that Horace's father was *exactionum coactor* (a subor-

dinate official in the collecting of taxes) or, according to some Mss., *auktionum coactor*, a collector of money at auctions. The latter is consistent with *praeco*, an auctioneer, and with *parvas mercedes*. Either was a respectable and useful business, but one which did not require much education.

87. *hoc*: on this account, as in 41, 52. — *nunc*: 'as things have turned out.'

89. Cf. 1, 5, 44, *nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico*. — *huius*: qualitative; such a father.

90 ff. *ut . . . negat . . .*, sic . . . *defendam*: a condensed form of comparison; 'I will not defend myself as many do by saying that it wasn't my fault.' — *dolo*: a legal term, in full *dolus malus*. Technical definitions are quoted in the lexicon.

- sic me defendam. Longe mea discrepat istis  
 et vox et ratio: nam si natura iuberet  
 a certis annis aevum remeare peractum,  
 95 atque alios legere ad fastum quoscumque parentes  
 optaret sibi quisque, meis contentus, honestos  
 fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere, demens  
 iudicio volgi, sanus fortasse tuo, quod  
 nollem onus haud umquam solitus portare molestum.  
 100 Nam mihi continuo maior quaerenda foret res,  
 atque salutandi plures; ducendus et unus  
 et comes alter, uti ne solus rusve peregreve  
 exirem; plures calones atque caballi  
 pascendi, ducenda petorrita. Nunc mihi curto  
 105 ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum,

92 ff. *istis*: dat. masculine, referring to *magna pars*, with some suggestion of contempt. — *et vox et ratio*: both *my way of speaking and my way of thinking*. — *a certis annis*: *i.e.* if there were some natural law which obliged all men, upon reaching a certain fixed age, say twenty-one, to go back and start life again, with a free choice as to their parentage. The apodosis is *nollem*, 97.

96. *honestos*: *honored*; cf. 36; not as in vs. 63.

97. *fascibus et sellis*: with *honestos*; the insignia of curule office.

98. *iudicio . . . tuo*: the judgment referred to in the beginning of this satire, but with a reference also to the unwillingness of Maecenas to hold office; 'hoc ad

Maecenatem recte dicitur, qui, abhorrens senatoriam dignitatem, in equestris ordinis gradu se continuit.' Schol.

101. *salutandi plures*: the burden of making and receiving the formal morning calls became very oppressive and is frequently alluded to by later writers. — *ducendus et*: for *et ducendus*. The social proprieties required that a man of rank should take with him on a journey a retinue of servants and friends, as Maecenas did on the journey to Brundisium.

104. *petorrita*: a Gallic name for a four-wheeled traveling wagon; cf. *Sat.* I, 5, 86 n. — *Nunc*: cf. vs. 87. — *curto*: apparently in a general sense, like *curta res*, *Carm.* 3, 24, 64; *humble, plain, little*.



mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret atque eques armos;  
obiciet nemo sordes mihi quas tibi, Tilli,  
cum Tiburte via praetorem quinque sequuntur  
te pueri, lasanum portantes oenophorumque.

110 Hoc ego commodius quam tu, praeclare senator,  
milibus atque aliis vivo. Quaecumque libido est,  
incedo solus; percontor quanti olus ac far;  
fallacem circum vespertinumque pererro  
saepe forum; adsisto divinis; inde domum me

106. Areminiscence of Lucilius,  
1027 (Marx), *mantica cantheri  
costas gravitate premebat*. —  
ulceret: subjv., because the whole  
situation is hypothetical (*si libet*).

107 ff. Horace may travel the  
whole length of Italy alone, riding  
his mule and carrying his baggage  
behind the saddle, but a praetor  
must have a retinue to go only to  
Tibur and even then may be  
accused of meanness because his  
attendants are so few in number.  
— Tilli: the same man who is  
mentioned in vs. 24. — quinque  
. . . pueri: a number great enough  
to be an incumbrance, but not  
sufficient for real dignity according  
to Roman standards.

109. lasanum . . . oenopho-  
rumque: *camp kettle and wine  
basket*. But the exact uses of these  
utensils are not made clear and we  
can only guess whether the carry-  
ing of them is mentioned as evi-  
dence of a desire for display or  
as proof of *sordes*, because he  
wished to avoid the expense of  
an inn.

111. milibus atque aliis: *and  
in a thousand other ways*; corre-  
sponding to *hoc*. — libido est: =  
*libet*, as often in early Latin. —  
The picture of a day's round of in-  
terests and occupations, which oc-  
cupies the rest of the satire, begins  
with the middle of the afternoon  
and closes (vs. 128) with lunch  
and the afternoon *siesta*.

112. solus: without a trouble-  
some retinue, such as a senator  
would feel obliged to have. —  
percontor: not with the intention  
of buying, but in order to get into  
conversation with the hucksters.

113. fallacem circum: the Cir-  
cus Maximus was a gathering-  
place for all sorts of swindlers and  
street fakirs. — vespertinum: by  
the middle of the afternoon the  
courts had adjourned (cf. *Epist.*  
1, 7, 46-48, where the lawyer goes  
home *octavam circiter horam*),  
the main business of the day was  
over and the Forum was given up  
to idlers.

114. adsisto divinis: *I stop  
and watch the fortune tellers*. —

- 115 ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum.  
 Cena ministratur pueris tribus, et lapis albus  
 pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet; adstat echinus  
 vilis, cum patera guttus, Campana supellex.  
 Deinde eo dormitum, non sollicitus, mihi quod cras  
 120 surgendum sit mane, obeundus Marsya, qui se  
 voltum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris.  
 Ad quartam iaceo; post hanc vagor; aut ego, lecto  
 aut scripto quod me tacitum iuvet, unguor olivo,

These details are given to illustrate Horace's freedom from the embarrassment of social position; they illustrate also his humorous interest in all sides of life.

115. The Romans were not vegetarians, but they ate meat less often than the more northern races and regarded it as a luxury. Cf. *Carm.* I, 31, 15 f., where the 'simple life' is suggested by saying *me pascunt olivae, me cichorea levesque malvae*.

116-118. The details are further evidence of the unostentatious simplicity of his life. — *pueris tribus*: a moderate number for a Roman gentleman; cf. *Sat.* I, 3, 11 f., where an establishment of ten slaves is contrasted with one of two hundred to illustrate the extremes of simplicity and extravagance. — *lapis albus*: a slab of marble on three legs; cf. *Sat.* I, 3, 13 n. — *pocula . . . duo*: perhaps for two kinds of wine or two different mixtures of wine and water. — *cyatho*: the ladle for dipping the wine out of the mixing

bowl. — *echinus*: the scholiasts make various guesses as to the use of this unknown utensil. — *cum patera guttus*: *an oil bottle with its saucer*. — *Campana*: ordinary earthenware.

120 f. *obeundus Marsya*: *must go to meet Marsyas, i.e.* must go to the part of the Forum where the statue of Marsyas stood, to meet some early business obligation. The statement of Servius (on *Aen.* 4, 58) that statues of Marsyas with uplifted hand were erected in market places points to a Silenus figure and excludes a reference to the flaying of Marsyas by Apollo. The gesture is here humorously interpreted as an expression of dislike to the looks of the younger Novius, a banker whose stall stood in the neighborhood of the statue.

122. *Ad quartam*: somewhere about ten o'clock. A senator was expected to receive clients early in the morning; cf. I, I, 10 n.

123. *tacitum iuvet*: *i.e.* he finds pleasure in his reading or writing, without needing any com-

non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis.

- 125 Ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum  
admonuit, fugio campum lusumque trigonem.  
Pransus non avide, quantum interpellet inani  
ventre diem durare, domesticus otior. Haec est  
vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique;  
130 his me consolor victurum suavius ac si  
quaestor avus pater atque meus patruusque fuisset.

panion to express it to. — *unguor*: he is rubbed down with olive oil, preparatory to his regular exercise.

124. *Natta*: unknown. The oil which he stole from the lamps would be of poor quality.

126. *trigonem*: in appos. to *lusum*. The game was played by three persons (hence *τρίγωνος*), who stood at the corners of a triangle and 'passed' the ball, not using a bat.

127 f. *Pransus*: the *prandium*, lunch, was usually about one o'clock. — *domesticus otior*: a humorous expression; *domesticus* is not precisely the same as *domi*, and *otior*, of which the scholiast

says 'verbum finxit quod significat *otium ago*,' is used only once before this, in a joking quotation by Cicero (*de Off.* 3, 14, 58).

130. *his*: abl. neut., like *hoc*, 110, and *milibus aliis*, 111.

131. *quaestor*: the lowest office in the *cursus honorum*, election to which gave admission to the Senate. To have reached this office, however, without going beyond it, was not a great distinction, and the line therefore means 'than if my ancestors had barely squeezed into the Senate,' with a little good-humored scorn of men who prided themselves upon mere senatorial rank.

## 7

The event which is the subject of this satire occurred at Clazomenae in Asia Minor, while Brutus was acting as governor of Macedonia and Asia, either in 43 B.C. or in the first half of 42, before the battle of Philippi.

But the date of composition is less certain; the satire may have been written immediately after the incident or it may be a reminiscence of the campaign written out at any time between 41, when Horace returned to Rome, and 35 B.C., when the first book of satires was published. As the satire itself contains no specific allusions to fix the

date of composition, there is left only the rather uncertain method of adjusting its general tone to what may be supposed to have been Horace's attitude of mind at one date or another. These indications point to the earliest date; the tone toward Rupilius is different from his general attitude of loyalty toward his companions in that ill-fated campaign; the allusion in vs. 3 to the widespread circulation of the story would be pointless five years after the occurrence; the reference to Brutus in vss. 33 ff., which in any case seems flippant, is easier to understand if the lines were written before the battle of Philippi and left standing as a part of the record, than if we suppose them to have been written with deliberation after the tragic death of Brutus. And, in general, the tone of the satire is distinctly less mature and thoughtful than the tone of Satires 3, 4, 6. There is a certain crudeness and harshness in it, a certain sensationalism, a failure to reach the principles of conduct which underlie particular events; in these respects it is like Satires 2 and 8 and is to be classed with them as belonging to the earliest period of Horace's work. It is as an example of the work of that period — a better example than either Satire 2 or 8 — that it is here provided with a commentary.

The course of the thought is so simple as to need no paraphrase.

Proscripti Regis Rupili pus atque venenum  
hybrida quo pacto sit Persius ultus, opinor  
omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse.

1. P. Rupilius Rex of Praeneste had been an adherent of Pompey's party and was praetor at the time of Caesar's death. He was proscribed by Antony and Octavius and took refuge with Brutus, who gave him, as a man of some prominence, a place on his staff (vs. 25). The cognomen Rex was common in his family. — *Proscripti*: in contrast with *Regis*. — *Rupili pus atque venenum*: a parody of the epic phrases like *ἱερὸν μένος Ἀλκινόοιο*; cf. *virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli*,

*Sat. 2, 1, 72*; *the abusive and venomous Rupilius*.

2. *hybrida* . . . *Persius*: *the half-breed Persius*. He is said by the scholiasts to have been the son of a Greek father and a Roman mother; if this is correct, he had taken a Roman name. — *sit . . . ultus*: *punished, castigated*. The idea of *vengeance* in this word is much less prominent than the ordinary definitions make it.

3. *lippis, tonsoribus*: the shops of apothecaries and barbers were lounging places and centers of

Persius hic permagna negotia dives habebat  
 5 Clazomenis, etiam litis cum Rege molestas,  
 durus homo, atque odio qui posset vincere Regem,  
 confidens tumidusque, adeo sermonis amari,  
 Sisennas, Barros ut equis praecurreret albis.  
 Ad Regem redeo. Postquam nihil inter utrumque  
 10 convenit (hoc etenim sunt omnes iure molesti,  
 quo fortes, quibus adversum bellum incidit; inter  
 Hectora Priamiden animosum atque inter Achillem

gossip. The obvious words would have been *et medicis et tonsoribus*, but inflammation of the eyes was a frequent subject of ridicule and Horace substitutes the name of this one class of patients for the commoner phrase.

5. *etiam litis*: and likewise lawsuits, as if the lawsuits were an inevitable consequence of the large business interests. Rupilius had been the head of a syndicate of contractors for the taxes (*magister in ea societate [publicanorum]*, Cic. *ad Fam.* 13, 9, 2), a position which would easily give rise to lawsuits.

6. *odio . . . vincere*: surpass *Rex in making a nuisance of himself*. So Plaut. *Asin.* 446, *iam hic me abegerit suo odio*; Ter. *Phorm.* 849, *numquam tu odio tuo me vinces*.

8. *Sisennas, Barros*: unknown; the plural indicates the class; *men like Sisenna*. — *equis* . . . *albis*: white horses were proverbial for speed, so that the sense is 'with

perfect ease,' 'he could give odds to.'

9. *Ad Regem redeo*: this is a common formula for returning to the main point after a digression (cf. vs. 45 of the preceding *Satire*), but here there is no real digression and certainly no returning to Rex. The stock phrase is used partly with humorous intent, but chiefly to keep the name *Rex*, upon which the pun is to be made, before the reader's mind.

10 f. *convenit*: i.e. no compromise out of court could be made. The parenthesis, 10-18, explains, again in parody of epic style, why they would not compromise. — *hoc . . . incidit*: 'all nuisances (*molesti*) have just the same rights that mighty heroes (*fortes*) have, who meet in deadly fray.' *hoc iure* is the pred. of *sunt, omnes molesti* the subject; *hoc* is the antecedent of *quo* (sc. *iure*). — *adversum*: battle face to face; of the matching of two warriors against each other.

ira fuit capitalis, ut ultima divideret mors,  
 non aliam ob causam nisi quod virtus in utroque  
 15 summa fuit: duo si discordia vexet inertis,  
 aut si disparibus bellum incidat, ut Diomedi  
 cum Lycio Glauco, discedat pigrior, ultro  
 muneribus missis): Bruto praetore tenente  
 ditem Asiam, Rupili et Persi par pugnat, uti non  
 20 compositum melius cum Bitho Bacchius. In ius  
 acres procurrunt, magnum spectaculum uterque.  
 Persius exponit causam; ridetur ab omni

13. *capitalis*: *deadly*; expanded in the following clause. — *ultima*: *i.e.* death alone, death at the end.

14. *non aliam ob causam*: the higher motives, like Hector's patriotism, are intentionally ignored and, in parody of the heroic spirit, the heroes fight simply because they are fighters (*virtus . . . summa*).

15 f. *inertis*: *cowards*; contrasted with *fortes*, vs. 11. — *disparibus*: contrasted with *adversum*, vs. 11, which implies equality.

16 ff. Cf. *Il.* 6, 119 ff., where Glaucus refuses to fight Diomed because of the old friendship between them, and they part with an exchange of armor and gifts. This pleasing incident in the war is here, in continuation of the parody of heroic motives, intentionally misinterpreted into cowardice and the payment of a ransom.

18. *praetore*: Brutus was *praetor urbanus* in 44 and in 43-42 was holding Macedonia and Asia

Minor in a partially legalized way as *propraetor*. But the title *praetor* is especially suitable to him when he was holding court, as here.

19 f. *par*: *the pair*; a technical term, of two gladiators. — *pugnat*: grammatically the leading verb of *postquam . . . convenit*, 9-10. — *compositum*: also a technical word, of the matching of two gladiators; cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 103 n. — *cum Bitho Bacchius*: two well-known gladiators of the time of Augustus. The combined phrase (= *Bithus et Bacchius*) is the subject of *sit* to be supplied and *compositum* (sc. *par*) *melius* is the predicate, drawn into the subordinate clause as *candidiores* is drawn into the *qualis*-clause in *Sat.* 1, 5, 41 f. 'So matched that Bithus and Bacchius are not a better matched pair.'

21. *procurrunt, spectaculum*: these words carry on the metaphor from the arena.

22. *ridetur*: *impers.*; *laughter from the whole court.*



conventu ; laudat Brutum laudatque cohortem :  
 solem Asiae Brutum appellat, stellasque salubris  
 25 appellat comites, excepto Rege ; canem illum,  
 invisum agricolis sidus, venisse. Ruebat,  
 flumen ut hibernum, fertur quo rara securis.  
 Tum Praenestinus salso multoquo fluenti  
 expressa arbusto regerit convicia, durus  
 30 vindemiator et invictus, cui saepe viator  
 cessisset, magna compellans voce cuculum.

23. *conventu*: the regular term for the officials gathered to meet the praetor at the places in his circuit where he held court. — *cohortem*: the *staff* of a provincial governor; also called *comites*, as in vs. 25.

25. *canem*: Sirius, the Dog-star, which brought the heat and drought. The whole series of comparisons, which were meant to prejudice the court in favor of the speaker, are to be thought of as made from the standpoint of the native farmers.

27. *fertur quo rara securis*: *whither the ax of the woodcutter is seldom carried, i.e.* in the depths of the forest, as the snow of winter melts. The figure of a rushing torrent is common enough, but this phrase is too poetic for the context and sounds like parody.

28. *multo*: adj., but to be joined closely with *fluenti*; the two together are the dat. of the ptc. of *multus fluo* (cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 11, *cum flueret lutulentus*); *salso* and *multo*

*fluenti* agree with a dat. to be supplied after *regerit*.

29. *expressa arbusto*: lit., 'squeezed from the vineyard,' *i.e.* drawn from the vocabulary of the vinedresser, redolent of the vineyard, as the English 'billingsgate' is language from the fishmarket. The general idea is more specifically expressed in vss. 30-31. — *regerit*: *hurled back*.

30. *vindemiator*: in four syllables, *vindēmīator*. *Like a tough and invincible vinedresser*; without *ut*, as often in Horace.

31. *cessisset*: *i.e.* had been obliged to admit himself beaten in fluency of insult. — *cuculum*: the tradition given by the elder Pliny (*H. N.* 18, 66, 249) is that, since the pruning ought to have been finished in the early spring, before the cuckoo came, the passer-by would imitate the cry of the cuckoo to a vinedresser as an intimation that he was behind-hand in his work. But this sounds like the forced explanation of a grammarian; *compellans cuculum*

At Graecus, postquam est Italo perfusus aceto,  
 Persius exclamat: 'Per magnos, Brute, deos te  
 oro, qui reges consueris tollere, cur non  
 35 hunc Regem iugulas? Operum hoc, mihi crede,  
 tuorum est.'

means simply *calling him a cuckoo*.  
 [The Plautine passages are *Asin.*  
 923, 934, *Pers.* 282. *Ps.* 96, *Trin.*  
 245. They all antedate the ex-  
 planation given by Pliny.]

32. Graecus, Italo: in contrast.

34. qui . . . consueris: *since*  
*you have the habit of removing*  
*Kings*, with reference to his an-  
 cestor, who had driven out the

Tarquins, and to Brutus himself  
 as one of the *liberatores* who had  
 killed Caesar.

35. Regem: the same pun upon  
 the name of Q. Marcius Rex was  
 made by Cicero (*ad Att.* 1, 16,  
 10).—Operum . . . tuorum: pred.  
 gen.; 'this is just in your line,'  
 'just the proper kind of business  
 for you.'

## 8

There is no allusion in this satire definite enough to fix the date. The plot of ground which is the scene had been a burial-place, and was afterward acquired by Maecenas and used as the site for his palace and gardens. But the date when he acquired the land is not known. Nor is it clear that the land is in the possession of Maecenas either at the time when the events are represented as occurring or at the later time when the garden god tells the story. The spot cannot be thought of as still in use for burial, since the figure of Priapus stands there, and, on the other hand, the gathering of bones (vs. 22) and the selection of the spot by two witches as a place for incantations is scarcely compatible with its being a private garden. Apparently the events are thought of as having occurred while the transformation from burial-place to garden was still incomplete. Verses 14-16 allude to a later stage, but it is strange that there should be no direct allusion to Maecenas, to whom in later satires Horace refers with such evident pride and pleasure, if he already owned the land and had built his great house there.

The satire evidently belongs in the same period as Epodes 5 and 17, and seems to be referred to in vss. 47, 55 and 77 of the latter Epode. But neither of these poems can be dated with certainty. In the

absence of *data*, on the general grounds of tone and manner — the lack of real humor, the coarseness, the cynicism — the satire may be placed with 2 and 7 of this book in the group of earlier writings.

The fact that the speaker is the figure of the garden god Priapus gives to the satire a certain resemblance to the *Priapea*, of which we have a collection, but in substance this is a satire upon the kind of incantations described by Vergil in Eclogue 8. On the personal side it is an attack upon a certain Canidia, who is also savagely attacked in Epode 5 and ironically ridiculed in Epode 17, and who is mentioned in several places in the Satires and Epistles. The scholiast says that her real name was Gratidia, that she was a seller of drugs, a witch and a poisoner. How much of this is fact we do not know, but undoubtedly a real person is referred to under the name. The hostility with which Horace pursues her is distinctly unpleasant, and this poem and Epodes 5 and 17 reveal him on his least admirable side.

Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,  
cum faber, incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum,  
maluit esse deum. Deus inde ego, furum aviumque  
maxima formido; nam fures dextra coercet

5 obscaenoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus;  
ast importunas volucres in vertice arundo  
terret fixa vetatque novis considerare in hortis.  
Huc prius angustis eiecta cadavera cellis  
conservus vili portanda locabat in arca;

1. *Olim truncus eram*: the contrast between roughness of the figure and the fact that it was supposed to represent a god is not infrequently alluded to in Priapus poems. — *inutile*: the wood of the fig-tree splits easily.

2. *Priapum*: the statue was set up originally to represent the god of fertility, but was generally interpreted as a kind of scarecrow, who frightened away thieves and birds.

3. *Deus inde ego*: humorously emphasizing his claim to divinity, immediately after the acknowledgment that he owed it to a workman.

4. *dextra*: the right hand held a club or a sickle.

6. *arundo*: the reed was moved by the wind.

8-9. *angustis . . . cellis*: the small chambers which they had occupied while alive. — *conservus*: the master paid no attention to

- 10 hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulchrum,  
 Pantolabo scurrae Nomentanoque nepoti:  
 mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum  
 hic dabat, heredes monumentum ne sequeretur.  
 Nunc licet Esquiliiis habitare salubribus atque  
 15 aggere in aprico spatari, quo modo tristes  
 albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum;  
 cum mihi non tantum furesque feraeque, suetae  
 hunc vexare locum, curae sunt atque labori,  
 quantum carminibus quae versant atque venenis

the death of a slave.—*locabat*: not *placed*, but *contracted for* the burial with the undertakers.—*arca*: the box in which the body was carried to the burial-place.—These details are pathetic to the modern reader, but it is not likely that Horace felt the pathos or intended to express it. His tone is rather hard and cynical.

11. This verse is probably Lucilian, though the scholiast gives an account of the man who was called by the nickname Pantolabus.

12-13. *in fronte*; *in agrum*: technical terms in surveying, like the English '1000 feet front, 300 feet deep'; usage varies between the acc. and the abl. and Horace has used both cases.—*cippus*: a stone pillar on which the dimensions of the plot of ground were inscribed, followed often by the letters H. M. H. N. S., *hoc monumentum heredes ne sequatur* (or *non sequitur*), meaning that the

lot and tombstone shall not be considered a part of the estate and shall therefore not pass to the heirs, but shall remain perpetually a burial-place.

14. *salubribus*: predicate; it had been before especially unhealthy.

15. *aggere*: the Mound of Servius Tullius, the old wall of earth that surrounded the smaller early city.—*quo*: the absence of a preposition is perhaps to be explained by the nearness of *in aprico*; there seems to be no good parallel for *quo* in the sense of *ubi*.—*tristes*: predicate; *depressed* by the sight.

17. *cum*: *while* I, in contrast to their leisurely strolling (*spatari*), have only care and trouble.—*ferae*: the wolves and vultures (*Epod.* 5, 99 f.) that fed upon the unburied bodies.—*suetae*: in three syllables.

19. *quae*: the antecedent is the subj. of *sunt curae*, to be supplied.—*versant*: *affect, move*.

- 20 humanos animos. Has nullo perdere possum  
nec prohibere modo, simul ac vaga luna decorum  
protulit os, quin ossa legant herbasque nocentis.  
Vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla  
Canidiam pedibus nudis passoque capillo,  
25 cum Sagana maiore ululantem. Pallor utrasque  
fecerat horrendas aspectu. Scalpere terram  
unguibus et pullam divellere mordicus agnam  
coeperunt; cruor in fossam confusus, ut inde  
manis elicerent, animas responsa daturas.  
30 Lanea et effigies erat, altera cerea: maior  
lanea, quae poenis compesceret inferiorem;  
cerea suppliciter stabat servilibus, ut quae  
iam peritura, modis. Hecaten vocat altera, saevam

21. simul ac: at the time of full moon; the phases of the moon have always been considered potent in the working of spells.

22. ossa, herbas: for use in the magic rites.

23 f. Vidi egomet: with these words Priapus begins the story which is the real subject of the satire. The details of Canidia's dress and appearance are conventional, the gown girded up, the black robe, the bare feet and flowing hair. They are repeated in Ovid's description of Medea, *Metam.* 7, 182 f.

25. Sagana: mentioned again in *Epod.* 5, 25.—maiore: the elder of two sisters.—ululantem: regularly of the cries of women; *Aen.* 2, 488.—Pallor: the witches shared the horror of the scene.

26. Scalpere terram: to make the *fossa* into which the blood of the victim was allowed to flow.

27. unguibus, mordicus: these details are added to heighten the horrors of the rites.

29. responsa: in the scene in the lower world, Hom. *Od.* 11, 36 ff., the shades come to drink of the blood, and the Theban seer, Tiresias, prophesies to Odysseus. Cf. also the *Introd.* to *Sat.* 2, 5.

30-33. effigies: in Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 80 f., one of the figures is of clay, the other of wax. The one which is not affected by heat represents the person for whose benefit the rites are performed; the waxen image represents the person who is to be subdued and melted with love. The dominion of the one is expressed in *poenis compesceret*,

- altera Tisiphonen ; serpentis atque videres  
 35 infernas errare canes, Lunamque rubentem,  
 ne foret his testis, post magna latere sepulchra.  
 Mentior at si quid, merdis caput inquinare albis  
 corvorum, atque in me veniat mictum atque cacatum  
 Iulius et fragilis Pediatia furque Voranus.  
 40 Singula quid memorem ? quo pacto alterna loquentes  
 umbrae cum Sagana resonarent triste et acutum,  
 utque lupi barbam variae cum dente colubrae  
 abdiderint furtim terris, et imagine cerea  
 largior arserit ignis, et ut non testis inultus  
 45 horruerim voces Furiarum et facta duarum :  
 nam, displosa sonat quantum vesica, pepedi  
 diffissa nate ficus : at illae currere in urbem ;  
 Canidia dentes, altum Saganae caliendrum  
 excidere atque herbas atque incantata lacertis  
 50 vincula cum magno risuque iocoque videres.

the submission of the other in  
*inferiorem, suppliciter, servilibus*  
*modis* (like a slave), *iam peritura*.

35. *infernas*: of the lower  
 world, such as followed Hecate.

36. *magna . . . sepulchra*:  
 such great tombs as stood, and in  
 part still stand in ruins, along the  
 Appian Way, south of the city.

40 f. *alterna*: Sagana asked  
 questions and the shades an-  
 swered. — *acutum*: in the thin  
 voice of the dead, *Aen.* 6, 492 f.

42. *lupi barbam*: cf. *Macbeth*,  
 IV. 1, 'Fillet of a fenny snake,'  
 and 'Scale of dragon, tooth of  
 wolf,' which were put into the  
 witches' cauldron.

44. *largior*: the fire burned

brighter as the waxen image melted  
 into the flame.

48. *dentes*: *i.e.* false teeth. —  
*caliendrum*: a wig or structure of  
 false hair. The witches are rep-  
 resented as hags who tried to con-  
 ceal the ravages of age.

49. *incantata*: tied on with  
 magic rites; a formula had been  
 uttered as the bands were fastened  
 about their arms. This had not  
 been alluded to before, but *licia*,  
*threads*, were used in Verg. *Ecl.*  
 8, 73.

50. *risuque iocoque*: cf. *Sat.* 1,  
 5, 98, *dedit risusque iocosque*. —  
*videres*: indefinite second person,  
 especially frequent with this verb,  
*e.g.* *Sat.* 1, 5, 76.



9

This satire was written between 38 and 35 B.C., later than the first group, Satires 2, 7, and 8, but before Satire 1 and probably before 10. There is no allusion which makes a more precise dating possible and, as is usually the case where distinct allusions are lacking, there is nothing in the satire which would gain in interpretation if a more precise date could be fixed.

In form the satire is an account of a morning walk in which Horace was joined by a mere acquaintance, who desired to cultivate a closer intimacy with him, in order, as finally appeared, to secure through him an introduction to Maecenas. Various attempts to shake him off were unsuccessful and an appeal to a passing friend was without effect, until chance intervened to save the poet. In grace and lightness of tone the satire is equaled only by some of the odes. The struggle between politeness and the desire to be free, the humorous consciousness of the joke upon himself, the happily conceived dramatic form, reaching a climax in the encounter with Fuscus—all these make it unnecessary to look for an underlying purpose. But a secondary motive was doubtless the opportunity which the story afforded of returning to the theme of the sixth satire and of showing again how ill-founded was the suspicion that Horace was seeking social advancement through his acquaintance with Maecenas.

Ibam forte Via Sacra, sicut meus est mos,  
nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis:  
accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum,

1. **Via Sacra**: the principal street of the city, running from the Esquiline past the Palatine, along one side of the Forum. It was the street which Horace would naturally take in going from the residence part of the city to the Tiber.—**sicut . . . mos**: cf. 1, 6, 112, 122; with *ibam*, not with *meditans*.

2. **nugarum**: *verses*; almost a technical term for light lyric

poems, e.g. Catull. 1, 4.—**totus**: so *omnis in hoc sum*, *Epist.* 1, 1, 11.

3. **notus . . . tantum**: *i.e.* a mere acquaintance. The person cannot be identified, nor is it at all likely that Horace had in mind a definite individual or was recounting the events of an actual experience. His purpose was rather to draw a typical picture of the Social Struggler, without direct reference to any individual.

arreptaque manu, 'Quid agis, dulcissime rerum?'

5 'Suaviter, ut nunc est,' inquam, 'et cupio omnia quae vis.'

Cum adsectaretur, 'Numquid vis?' occupo. At ille  
'Noris nos' inquit; 'docti sumus.' Hic ego 'Pluris  
hoc' inquam 'mihi eris.' Misere discedere quaerens,

4. *arrepta*: seizing my hand, with a show of cordiality and intimacy. — *dulcissime rerum*: my dearest fellow; a very familiar form of greeting. *rerum* is frequently used as a generalizing addition, especially with a superlative. It is of the same nature as the use of a gen. plur. with a neut. sing. pron., *quidquid hominum*.

5. The reply is made up of polite phrases which, from the frequency of their use, are mere formulas with no more meaning than the English 'Very well, thank you; I hope you are well.' — *ut nunc est*: all things considered, as times go. — *cupio . . . vis*: a common phrase of politeness, which appears in various forms in dialogue.

6. *adsectaretur*: after speaking the words of vs. 5, Horace started to walk on. — *Numquid vis*: a common phrase used in taking leave of another person; *formula abeundi*, Donatus calls it. It is very frequently used in Plautus and Terence. — *occupo*: i.e. he got in the words *numquid vis?* before the other could reply, as a hint that he wished to go on.

7. *Noris*: = *noveris*. Ordinarily the phrase *numquid vis?* expects no reply, but occasionally (*Trin.* 192, *Capt.* 191, *M. G.* 575) the person addressed takes the question literally, as here, and replies with a verb in the subjv., as if with *volo*; 'yes, there is; I should like to have you make my acquaintance.' — *docti sumus*: I'm a literary man, 'I'm a man of culture.' *doctus* was used especially of the newer school of poets, those who followed the Alexandrian models; it became a kind of party cry, employed by the new school as a term of honor and by their opponents as a term of ridicule. Horace was distinctly of the opposite school (cf. *Sat.* 1, 10, 19) and the person is therefore represented as offering, as an inducement to further acquaintance, a reason which would, in fact, lead Horace to avoid him.

7 f. *Pluris hoc . . . eris*: I shall value you all the more for that, i.e. 'because you are *doctus*'; politeness struggles with irony.

8. *Misere*: awfully; so below, 14; a colloquialism, very frequent in Plautus and Terence.

- ire modo ocius, interdum consistere, in aurem  
 10 dicere nescio quid puero, cum sudor ad imos  
 manaret talos. 'O te, Bolane, cerebri  
 felicem!' aiebam tacitus; cum quidlibet ille  
 garriret, vicos, urbem laudaret. Vt illi  
 nil respondebam, 'Misere cupis' inquit 'abire;  
 15 iamdudum video; sed nil agis; usque tenebo;  
 persequar. Hinc quo nunc iter est tibi?' 'Nil opus  
 est te  
 circumagi; quendam volo visere non tibi notum;  
 trans Tiberim longe cubat is, prope Caesaris hortos.'  
 'Nil habeo quod agam, et non sum piger; usque se-  
 quar te.'  
 20 Demitto auriculas, ut iniquae mentis asellus,

10. *puero*: his attendant, *pedi-sequus*, to whom he pretends to give some private orders. — *dicere*: historical infin., as are *ire* and *consistere*. — *sudor*: as all his efforts to escape fail.

11. *Bolane*: a man of hot temper, who would not have been long restrained by a sense of courtesy. — *cerebri*: for the gen., cf. *integer vitae*; for the meaning, cf. *cerebrosus*, *Sat.* 1, 5, 21.

13. *vicos, urbem laudaret*: i.e. talked cheerfully about trifles, endeavoring to lead Horace into conversation.

14 ff. As Horace's lack of cordiality is too obvious to be ignored, the persistent man attempts to joke about it, hoping in this way to extract a disclaimer. — *nil agis*: colloquial; *it's no use*.

17 f. *circumagi*: of your being dragged around. — *visere*: to call upon. This is, of course, an invention of the moment, elaborated in the following words, in which the details are given in the order in which they occur to him: 'across the Tiber — a long way off — he's sick in bed, too — way over by Caesar's Gardens.' Cf. the similar embarrassed search for an excuse in *Catull.* 10, 28 ff. — *Caesaris hortos*: an estate on the Janiculum, left by Caesar's will to the Roman people, to be a public park.

20 f. *Demitto auriculas*: a condensed way of saying 'I felt like an ill-treated donkey, whose ears drop down when he is overloaded.' *dorso*: abl. with *subiit*, as in *Aen.* 2, 708, *subito umeris*. — *subiit*: the subj. is *asellus*; *onus* is the object.

cum gravius dorso subiit onus. Incipit ille :  
 ' Si bene me novi, non Viscum pluris amicum,  
 non Varium facies ; nam quis me scribere pluris  
 aut citius possit versus ? quis membra movere  
 25 mollius ? invidet quod et Hermogenes, ego canto.'  
 ' Interpellandi locus hic erat : ' Est tibi mater,

The final syllable is long, as frequently in the perf. indic. in Plautus.

22. Si bene me novi: a condition in form only; *as sure as I know myself*. — Viscum: there were two brothers of this name, both literary men and friends of Horace and Maecenas. They are mentioned with honor in *Sat.* 1, 10, 83 and one of them was a guest at the dinner described in *Sat.* 2, 8. — Varium: see note on 1, 5, 40.

23 ff. To any one who knew Horace well—and this satire is intended especially for the amusement of his intimate friends—it would be plain that the selection of these three accomplishments as recommendations to his favor was, like the mention of *doctus* in vs. 7, a most comical blunder. He particularly disliked rapid and profuse verse writing (cf. 1, 4, 11 ff., 17 f.); he regarded dancing as scarcely decent (*Sat.* 2, 1, 24 f.); and his opinion of singing in general and of Hermogenes in particular is plainly implied in *Sat.* 1, 3, 1 ff. — The prose order of the last phrase would be *ego canto quod et Hermogenes invidet*.

26 ff. Interpellandi locus: *here was my chance to break in*. The context shows that Horace had invented, as he hoped, a new expedient for getting rid of his persevering friend, but the exact nature of the plan is not at first sight apparent. The use of *interpellandi* shows that it was not connected with the remarks in vs. 22–25; the words *quis* [= *quibus*] *te salvo est opus* must mean that he was going to point out some serious danger which would be incurred in accompanying him, and the mention of dependent relatives is an elaborate provision to anticipate a possible declaration from the other that he did not fear danger. All these combine to indicate that Horace was preparing to say that the friend on whom he was going to call had a contagious disease, exposure to which would be almost certainly fatal. It is an added touch of humor that Horace represents himself as so discouraged by the first slight failure—for the dependent relatives were not essential to the plan—that he surrendered in despair.

cognati, quis te salvo est opus?' 'Haud mihi quisquam;  
omnis composui.' 'Felices! Nunc ego resto;

confice; namque instat fatum mihi triste, Sabella

30 quod puero cecinit divina mota anus urna:

"Hunc neque *dira* venena, nec hosticus auferet ensis  
nec laterum dolor aut tussis, nec tarda podagra;  
garrulus hunc quando consumet cumque; loquaces,  
si sapiat, vitet, simul atque adoleverit aetas."

35 Ventum erat ad Vestae, quarta iam parte diei  
praeterita, et casu tunc respondere vadato  
debebat; quod ni fecisset, perdere litem.

'Si me amas,' inquit, 'paulum hic ades.' 'Inteream, si

28-34. These lines express his emotions, but were of course not spoken aloud.

28. Nunc ego resto: *i.e.* 'my turn next; finish me off, too.'

29. Sabella: with *anus*. There are various references to the superstitions of the peasants in the mountains away from the influence of the city.

30. divina mota . . . urna: abl. abs.; *shaking the lots in her urn*, until one of them fell out.

31-34. The epic-oracular style is parodied in *dira*, the plur. *venena*, *hosticus*, *ensis*, in the transferred epithet *tarda*.—*laterum dolor*: *pleurisy*.—*quando . . . cumque*: *tnesis*; *some time or other*.

35 f. Ventum erat: the plupf. implies *by this time*, 'while all this was going on.'—*ad Vestae*; *sc. templum*, as in English *St. Paul's*, *St. Mary's*. The temple of Vesta was at the lower end of the Forum

and the law courts were near it.—*quarta . . . praeterita*: *i.e.* about nine o'clock. This has been held to be inconsistent with 1, 6, 122, *ad quartam iaceo*; *post hanc vagor*, but it is obvious that neither statement is meant to be taken precisely. The only reason for mentioning the hour here is to show that the courts were open for business and so to introduce the next scene in the little drama.—*respondere*: a technical term of law; *to appear in court*.—*vadato*: apparently an impersonal abl. abs. like *sortito*, *auspicato*; *under bonds*, *having given a bond*.

38. Si mē amas: monosyllabic hiatus with shortening of the long vowel; this is very common in Plautus, but only under the ictus. The words are a mere phrase of politeness to soften the urgency of the imperative; 'will you be so

- aut valeo stare aut novi civilia iura ;  
 40 et propero quo scis.' 'Dubius sum quid faciam,'  
     inquit,  
   'tene relinquam an rem.' 'Me, sodes.' 'Non faciam,'  
     ille,  
 et praecedere coepit. Ego, ut contendere durum est  
 cum victore, sequor. 'Maecenas quomodo tecum ?'  
 hinc repetit; 'paucorum hominum et mentis bene sanae.  
 45 Nemo dexterius fortuna est usus ; haberes

kind as to . . .'—*ades*: in the technical sense, to be present in court as a supporting friend and adviser, *advocatus*. The same request is made to Horace in *Sat.* 2, 6, 34 f.—*Inteream*: *I'll be hanged*. So Catull. 92, 4, *dispe-ream nisi amo*.

39. *valeo stare*: *am strong enough to stand*, as was customary in the praetor's court. The excuse is of course quite inconsistent with *propero quo scis*, but Horace represents himself as having reached a point where he was careless of either consistency or truth.

41. *rem*: *my case*, which would go by default, if he failed to appear.—*sodes*: = *si audes*, *please*, *if you please*, used like *sis* (= *si vis*, *Sat.* 1, 4, 14 n.) to soften an imperative. *Audeo* (from *aveo*, *avidus*, *avideo*) regularly means *to wish, desire*, in Plautus; the meaning *to venture, dare*, is later.

43. *Maecenas quomodo tecum*: *how do you and Maecenas get on together?* The pride which Horace felt in the friendship of Maecenas

and the strength of his determination that the friendship should remain disinterested render this question peculiarly offensive.

44. *hinc repetit*: *with this he begins again*, after the slight pause.—*paucorum . . . sanae*: *a man of few friends and of very sound judgment* (cf. Ter. *Eun.* 408 f., *sic homost*; *perpaucorum hominum*); there are various references to the care with which Maecenas selected the limited number of friends whom he admitted to intimacy; but the best commentaries on these words are *Sat.* 1, 6, 51 f., *praesertim cautum dignos assumere, prava ambitione procul*, with the account, which follows, of Horace's introduction, and the general remarks in *Sat.* 1, 3, 58 ff., summarized in *pro bene sano ac non incauto fictum astutumque vocamus*.

45. *Nemo . . . usus*: *i.e.* 'you've been very lucky and very skillful, too, in the way you have used your chances to get into the circle of his friends.' This is the same



magnum adiutorem, posset qui ferre secundas,  
hunc hominem velles si tradere; dispeream, ni  
summosses omnis.' 'Non isto vivimus illic  
quo tu rere modo; domus hac nec purior ulla est  
50 nec magis his aliena malis; nil mi officit, inquam,  
ditior hic aut est quia doctior; est locus uni  
cuique suus.' 'Magnum narras, vix credibile!' 'Atqui

suggestion that Horace vehemently repudiates in *Sat.* 1, 6, 52 ff.; *fortuna* here expresses briefly what is there emphasized in *felicem, casu, sortitus, fors*. But the idea in *dexterius usus* is an addition which prepares the way for the proposal in the next sentence: 'you have shown yourself a skillful wire-puller; now bring me into the game to help you and you'll complete your victory.'

[The difficulty which all commentators, beginning with the scholiasts, have felt in interpreting these lines and in assigning them to the speakers is due, I think, to the fact that Horace is not reporting the whole conversation, but is giving only the main points, omitting, especially in 44 f., the connecting links of the thought. This is a favorite method with him (*e.g.* *Sat.* 1, 4, 52 ff., 85 ff., 1, 6, 17-25) and it suits perfectly the informal style of the *Sermones*, but it sometimes leaves the thought insufficiently expressed. In this passage, between the desire to suggest the subject of the

remarks and the desire to suppress the details, with their low estimate of Maecenas and of himself, he has suppressed too much.]

46. *secundas*: *sc. partes*; the second actor on the stage should support the leading actor.

47. *hunc hominem*: colloquial for *me*; with jocular purpose like 'your humble servant,' 'the undersigned.' — *dispeream, ni* = cf. the line of Catullus, quoted above.

48. *summosses*: = *summo-visses*; cf. *surrexe*, 73. The plupf. looks forward to the completion of the process.

48-52. This is the longest speech that Horace makes in the whole conversation, as though he felt the insinuations in 44-48 to be unbearable without the most earnest and explicit denial. — *aliena*: *free from*; but *malis* is, grammatically, a dative. — *inquam*: *I tell you*; the insertion of this in the midst of his words adds to the earnestness.

52 f. *Magnum . . . credibile*: the offensive incredulity betrays the character of the speaker. — *Atqui sic habet*: *it's so, anyhow*.

- sic habet.' 'Accendis, quare cupiam magis illi proximus esse.' 'Velis tantummodo: quae tua virtus expugnabis; et est qui vinci possit, eoque difficilis aditus primos habet.' 'Haud mihi dero: muneribus servos corrumpam; non, hodie si exclusus fuero, desistam; tempora quaeram, occurram in triviis, deducam. Nil sine magno vita labore dedit mortalibus.' Haec dum agit ecce Fuscus Aristius occurrit, mihi carus et illum qui pulchre nosset. Consistimus. 'Vnde venis et quo tendis?' rogat et respondet. Vellere coepi et prensare manu lentissima brachia, nutans,

After permitting himself some warmth of expression, Horace falls back upon short answers.

54-56. *Velis tantummodo*: you have only to wish it. — *virtus*: with the underlying sense of 'impudence,' 'pushing determination.' Horace represents himself as returning from the earnestness of 48 ff. and the curtness of 52 f. to the ironical attitude, with a pleasant anticipation of seeing Maecenas attacked next. To further the joke he adds the encouraging words of 55 f.: 'if you find that he makes it a little hard at first, that will be only because he is conscious of his weakness.'

56. *dero*: = *deero*.

59 f. *deducam*: escort him from his house to the Forum, a mark of respect to men of eminence. Cicero mentions *deduci*, *reduci* among the attentions paid to old men. — *Nil . . . mortalibus*: a

maxim of proverbial philosophy, by which the social struggler encourages himself to renewed efforts.

61. *Fuscus Aristius*: *Carm.* 1, 22, *Integer vitae* and *Epist.* 1, 10, are addressed to him. He is mentioned in *Sat.* 1, 10, 83, among Horace's most valued friends. The varying tradition of the scholiasts calls him *grammaticus* (i.e. a literary critic) and a writer of plays.

62 f. *pulchre*: colloquial, like *belle*, *valide*, *misere*. — *qui . . . nosset*: a characterizing clause, parallel to the adj. *carus*; 'and perfectly well acquainted with my companion.' — *Vnde . . . tendis*: i.e. the usual questions are asked and answered. So *Sat.* 2, 4, 1, *unde et quo Catius?*

63 f. *vellere*: to pull his toga. — *lentissima*: unfeeling; i.e. Fuscus gave no sign that he understood what Horace wanted.

- 65    *distorquens oculos, ut me eriperet. Male salsus  
ridens dissimulare, meum iecur urere bilis.*  
‘Certe nescio quid secreto velle loqui te  
aiebas mecum.’ ‘Memini bene, sed meliore  
tempore dicam; hodie tricesima sabbata: vin tu  
70    *curtis Iudaeis oppedere?’* ‘Nulla mihi,’ inquam,  
‘religio est.’ ‘At mi; sum paulo infirmior, unus  
multorum. Ignosces; alias loquar.’ Huncine solem  
tam nigrum surrexe mihi! Fugit improbus ac me  
sub cultro linquit. Casu venit obuius illi  
75    *adversarius, et, ‘Quo tu, turpissime?’ magna*

65. *Male salsus*: the wretched joker. The *Integer vitae* is evidence that he loved a joke.

66. *ridens*: i.e. with the exasperating smile of a friend who perceived nothing unusual in the situation. The rest of the line points the contrast; ‘but I, for my part, was in a perfect fury.’—*iecur . . . bilis*: the supposed seat of the emotions, as the heart in modern times.

68. *Memini bene*: the reply is intended to show that Fuscus understood perfectly that Horace was inventing the engagement.

69. *tricesima sabbata*: this and the illusion to circumcision (*curtis*) show a surprising knowledge on Horace’s part of Jewish customs, but it is not possible to identify this with any known Jewish feast. Indeed, it would increase the humor of the solemn scruples of Fuscus, if we suppose the *tri-*

*cesima sabbata* to be an invention of the moment.

70 f. *oppedere*: insult. — *Nulla . . . religio*: in the eagerness of desperation Horace is willing to declare that he hasn’t a single religious scruple.

73. *surrexe* = *surrexisse*; the infin. in exclamation, either with or without *-ne*, is colloquial and is very common in Terence.

74. *sub cultro*: like a helpless victim under the uplifted knife of the priest.

75 ff. *adversarius*: his opponent in the suit which he had abandoned, vs. 41. If a party to a suit failed to appear, his opponent could summon him and, calling upon a bystander to act as witness, could take him by force into court. The law of the XII Tables was ‘si in ius vocat, ito, ni it (if he does not come), antestamino (call a witness); igitur, em (= eum) capito.’ The question *licet antestari?*

inclamat voce, et 'Licet antestari?' Ego vero  
oppono auriculam. Rapiť in ius; clamor utrimque,  
undique concursus. Sic me servavit Apollo.

is addressed to Horace and his assent was expressed, according to the legal procedure, by allowing the other person to touch his ear. The short sentences hurry the scene to its conclusion.

78. Apollo, as the guardian of poetry and poets. The satire thus closes with a reminiscence of its opening lines, *nescio quid meditans nugarum*.

## IO

There are many allusions in this satire to persons and events, but none sufficiently definite to fix the date of composition. Evidently it was written after *Sat.* 4 and therefore after 2, 7, and 8, somewhere between 38 B.C. and 35. The large circle of friends whose names are mentioned in the closing lines would indicate a late date, and the general tone is that of an epilogue to the whole collection, as the first satire is an introduction to the whole. This interpretation also harmonizes with the last line of the satire (see notes).

'It is quite true that I said that Lucilius was a rough verse writer. His power as a satirist I acknowledge, but that alone does not make a poet. Many other qualities are necessary to a poetic style, brevity, variety, wit, such polished wit as is found in the Old Comedy, of which, indeed, some of my critics seem never to have heard. The mingling of Greek with Latin in Lucilius is not a merit, but a defect; no serious Roman writer mixes the two languages or writes in Greek at all.

'The grand style I leave to others to attempt, successfully or not. My aim is less ambitious. The fields of comedy and tragedy, of epic and bucolic poetry, are well occupied and I have turned to satire, not, however, to be the rival of Lucilius or to lessen his glory. But it is true that I have mentioned his defects, as he had noticed the defects of Ennius and Accius. The copiousness of Lucilius and his lack of finish are real defects, which, if he were writing now, he would himself perceive and correct.

'For finish of style appeals to the only public worth considering. Hermogenes may not like my work, but if Plotius and Varius, Maecenas and Vergil, approve, I need no other defence and can publish this book of satires without misgivings.'

In the fourth satire Horace had defended himself against the charge that he was malicious and was seeking notoriety. The reply was in general direct and convincing, but in the course of his argument he happened to say (vss. 6-13) that his prototype, Lucilius, had written too profusely and with too little attention to finish. This chance remark — which is abundantly justified by the extant fragments of Lucilius — had brought upon him some censure from that school of literary critics in Rome whose cardinal doctrine was the excellence of the early Latin poetry, and had at the same time exposed him to the less sincere attacks of others who seized the opportunity to renew their personal and unfriendly criticisms. This satire is a reply to both classes. To the serious admirers of early Latin poetry he replies with a serious discussion of the nature and causes of the defects of Lucilius and with candid praise of his merits. To the little clique of personal enemies he scarcely replies at all, brushing them aside with contemptuous brevity and twitting them (17-19) with their ignorance of the very poetry about which they were pretending to be solicitous.

Prefixed to the text of this satire in some Mss. are eight verses: —

Lucili, quam sis mendosus, teste Catone,  
defensore tuo, pervincam, qui male factos  
emendare parat versos; hoc lenius ille,  
quo vir est melior, longe subtilior illo,  
qui multum puer et loris et funibus udis  
exhortatus, ut esset opem quæ ferre poetis  
antiquis posset contra fastidia nostra,  
grammaticorum equitum doctissimus. Vt redeam illuc:

These lines contain Horatian phrases (cf. *loris et funibus* with *Epod.* 4, 3, *Epist.* 1, 16, 47) and opinions (cf. vs. 7 with *Epist.* 2, 1, 18 ff.); the reference to P. Valerius Cato, though not exactly identical with the statement in Sueton. *de Gram.* 2, is a similar bit of grammatical tradition; the satirical allusion in vss. 5 ff. is obscure and contradictory, but comes evidently from the same school of literary and personal gossip; the phrasing is stiff (*hoc lenius ille, ille* and *illo* referring to different persons, the apposition of *doctissimus* to *qui*), and the joining of the lines to vs. 1 of the satire by the words *ut redeam illuc* is very awkward. These facts all point to one conclusion, that the verses were written by a grammarian who saw in the abruptness of *nempe dixi* an opportunity to perpetuate a bit of his own learned satire by prefixing it to the text of Horace.

Nempe incomposito dixi pede currere versus  
 Lucili. Quis tam Lucili fautor inepte est  
 ut non hoc fateatur? At idem, quod sale multo  
 urbem defricuit, charta laudatur eadem.  
 Nec tamen, hoc tribuens, dederim quoque cetera;  
 5 nam sic  
 et Laberi mimos ut pulchra poemata mirer.  
 Ergo non satis est risu diducere rictum

1. *Nempe*: yes, *I did say*, with intentional abruptness, as if in immediate reply to a critic.—*incomposito . . . pede currere*: the exact words are *durus componere versus*, *Sat.* 1, 4, 8, and *cum flueret lutulentus*, 1, 4, 11.

2. *fautor*: with a tinge of the meaning that it has in Plautus, *Amph.* 67, 78, *claqueur*, a man hired to applaud in the theater, so *partisan*. As a verbal noun in combination with *est* it takes the adv. *inepte*.—*tam*: with *inepte*.

3 f. *idem . . . eadem*: emphasizing the adversative connection expressed in *at*; so in English *but at the same time*.—*sale multo defricuit . . .* scoured down the city with strong brine. Individually the words are to be taken in their literal sense, but the phrase as a whole implies the common comparison of wit to salt.—*charta*: i.e. in the same satire; cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 104 and *membrana*, *Sat.* 2, 3, 2.

5. *sic*: on that principle, by such reasoning, i.e. if it were granted that wit alone made poetry.

6. *Laberi*: Decimus Laberius

was a knight, who had died some ten years before the date of this satire. He was one of two or three successful writers of mimes, popular farces which were put into literary form in the Ciceronian period. About 150 lines or fragments from Laberius are preserved (see Ribbeck, *Com. Rom. Fragm.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 279 ff.), including a large part of the prologue spoken by Laberius when he was compelled by Caesar to act in one of his own farces. Some of the lines of this are well known:—

Ego hīs tricenīs ānnīs actis sīne nota  
 Equēs Romanus ē Lare egressūs  
 meo

Domūm revertar mīmus.

Necesse est multos timeat quem multū  
 timent.

But such farces were of course not *pulchra poemata*.

7. *Ergo*: the mere mention of Laberius is enough to prove that witty verse is not necessarily poetry.—*diducere rictum*: a slightly contemptuous colloquialism; to make your hearer grin.



auditoris — et est quaedam tamen hic quoque virtus ;  
 est brevitatem opus, ut currat sententia neu se  
 10 impediatur verbis lassas onerantibus auribus ;  
 et sermone opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso,  
 defendente vicem modo rhetoris atque poetae,  
 interdum urbani, parentis viribus atque  
 extenuantis eas consulto. Ridiculum acri

8. *et . . . virtus*: a concession in the form of a parenthetical statement.

9 ff. In these lines Horace again discusses the nature of satire, as he had already done in *Sat.* 1, 4, 39-61. This argument, however, since its main purpose is to justify the criticism of Lucilius, is less general and only those qualities are mentioned in which it is implied that Lucilius was lacking. These are specifications under the general statement *durus componere versus* and are, in form, two in number — brevity and variety. But the idea of variety is expressed by contrasting two styles, the serious and the light, and the contrast is carried on through vs. 15; in a very general way *tristi, rhetoris atque poetae* and *acri* express one side, and *iocoso, urbani*, and *ridiculum* the other. The implication, however, is not merely that Lucilius was monotonous, but also and especially that he lacked the lighter and more polished forms of wit. The quality of *urbanitas* is therefore brought into greater promi-

nence both by the definition *parentis, extenuantis*, and by the carrying over of the thought into the next sentence. The reference to the Old Comedy, as a standard of polished wit, is then used to clinch the argument, as in *Sat.* 1, 4 it had been used to open it.

9. *brevitate*: that condensation of style which is secured by the selection of words that carry the meaning adequately (*ut currat sententia*) and by the avoidance of commonplace and meaningless phrases. The quality is admirably exemplified by Horace in the *Odes*, e.g. 1, 5; 1, 24; 1, 31.

12. *defendente vicem*: *playing the part*, using the dignified and serious style of the orator or poet. Horace has also *partes defendere*, *A. P.* 193 f., and *vice fungi*, *A. P.* 304. Strictly *defendente* should agree, not with *sermone* but with some word like *scriptore*.

13. *urbani*: first used as a technical term of rhetoric by Cicero. — *parentis viribus*: expressed in *Epist.* 1, 9, 9 by *dissimulatio operis propriae*.

- 15 fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.  
 Illi, scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est,  
 hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi; quos neque pulcher  
 Hermogenes umquam legit, neque simius iste  
 nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.
- 20 'At magnum fecit, quod verbis Graeca Latinis  
 miscuit.' O seri studiorum! quine putetis  
 difficile et mirum, Rhodio quod Pitholeonti

15. *secat*: *decides, settles*. Cicero, expressing the same thought (*de Orat.* 2, 58, 236), uses *dissolvit*.

16. An intentional repetition of 1, 4, 2, in order to remind the reader that Horace is maintaining the opinion there expressed.

17 ff. 'But the men who are pretending to be so disturbed by my criticism of Lucilius know nothing of the best standards or even of the earlier Latin writers.' — *pulcher*: the point of applying this adj. to Hermogenes is not known, but it is meant to contrast with *simius*. — *simius*: the scholiast says that this is Demetrius, mentioned also in vs. 90.

19. *Calvum*: C. Licinius Calvus, the orator and poet, an intimate friend of Catullus. He had a high, perhaps an exaggerated, reputation with his contemporaries. — *Catullum*: C. Valerius Catullus, one of the four great Roman poets, inferior to Horace in sanity and judgment, but superior in spontaneity and brilliancy. This is the only allusion to him in Horace, and, while the contempt is di-

rected against *simius iste*, it cannot be denied that the allusion is slighting in tone.

20. *Graeca Latinis*: to judge by the extant fragments the Greek words are sometimes technical terms, sometimes quotations, and only occasionally used for comic effect. Lucilius himself ridicules the use of Greek words in common conversation (vss. 88-94, Marx).

21. *seri studiorum*: a translation of ὀψιμαθῆς, men who have just learned something that everybody else has known before and who parade their new knowledge. — *qui-ne*: nom. plur. The appending of *-ne* to a relative is not unfrequent. Translate *oh, pedants, to think . . .* [I will not add to the mass of commentary on this passage, but will refer to *A.J.P.* XI, 1 (41), pp. 17-19, and Schmalz, *B. Ph. W.*, 1907, Sp. 1292.]

22. *Pitholeonti*: probably Pitholaus, a barely known writer of epigrams. The context supplies all that is necessary to understand the point; he used Greek words in his verse and yet was so poor a

contigit? 'At sermo lingua concinnus utraque suavior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est.'

- 25 Cum versus facias, te ipsum percontor, an et cum dura tibi peragenda rei sit causa Petilli?  
scilicet oblitus patriaeque patrisque Latini  
cum Pedius causas exsudet Poplicola atque  
Corvinus, patriis intermiscere petita

poet that the mere mention of his name is an argument. Cf. the similar condensed argument in vs. 6.

23 f. *concinnus*: *blended*; the word anticipates the following comparison. — *nota*: *label, brand*; the mark attached to the *amphora* to tell the vintage. — *Cnio, Falerni*: a slight flavor of the sweet Greek wines was thought to improve the native Falernian; cf. *Carm.* 1, 20, 2 f., where Horace speaks of putting his wine into a jug that had held Greek wine.

25 f. 'Are you not thinking too exclusively of verse writing? Would you mix Greek with Latin if you were arguing a difficult case at law?' That is, the use of an occasional Greek word is an artifice of style which no one would employ in serious speech; cf. *vicem rhetoris*, vs. 12. — *versus facias*: *in your verse making*, with a slight tone of depreciation. The subjv. is used because the omitted main clause would be subjv., — *num sermo . . . suavior sit*. — *causa Petilli*: see note on *Sat.* 1, 4, 94.

27. *patrisque Latini*: *Father Latinus*, from whom our language gets its name. Cf. the reference to Quirinus, vs. 32.

28. *Pedius Poplicola*: perhaps a brother of Messalla (vs. 85), who had been adopted by Q. Pedius, a nephew of Julius Caesar. Almost nothing is known of him, but Horace uses him here as a type of the great lawyer.

29. *Corvinus*: M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, the friend of Tibullus and one of the important personages of the Augustus period, distinguished as an orator. It is known that he took special pains (*exsudet*) to preserve a pure Latin style, excluding Greek derivatives. — *intermiscere*; *to thrust in among*. This is the proper meaning of *intermiscere* with the dative, not merely *to mix together*; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 5, *sic tibi*, . . . *Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam*, 'not intermingle her waters with yours'; Livy, 4, 56, 3; 10, 20, 8. The sense is, 'would you actually be so forgetful of the very name of your country that, when Pedius and Corvinus are working

- 30 verba foris malis, Canusini more bilinguis?  
 atque ego cum Graecos facerem, natus mare citra,  
 versiculos, vetuit me tali voce Quirinus,  
 post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera:  
 'In silvam non ligna feras insanius, ac si
- 35 magnas Graecorum malis implere catervas.'

Turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona, dumque  
 defingit Rheni luteum caput, haec ego ludo,  
 quae neque in aede sonent certantia iudice Tarpa,

out a speech in pure Latin, you would wish to thrust in among their native words (*patriis*) your imported Greek phrases (*petita verba foris*)?' [This gives the sense which Bentley, interpreting the passage correctly, but not distinguishing *intermisceo* with the dat. from *misceo*, sought to get by supplying *eos*.]

30. *foris*: from abroad, from the Greek. — *Canusini bilinguis*: at Canusium and in Apulia generally both Greek and Latin (or, earlier, Oscan) were native languages, as both German and French are native in parts of Switzerland. This seemed odd to a Roman, who was obliged to learn Greek in school; probably, also, neither language was spoken in strict purity.

31. *atque ego*: 'I too once thought of making Greek verses, but Quirinus forbade it.' — *Quirinus*: the deified Romulus, as head of the Roman race. Cf. *Latini*, vs. 27.

33. *cum somnia vera*: this superstition is often referred to.

34. *In silvam . . . ligna*: proverbial, like γλαῦκ' ἐς Ἀθήνας, 'carrying coals to Newcastle.' — *ac si: than if*.

36 ff. The connection of thought is somewhat elliptical; 'giving up Greek, therefore, and leaving to others their high and mighty epics, I turn to a humbler style.' — *Alpinus*: this satirical side-stroke would have been immediately intelligible to Horace's contemporaries. Probably Alpinus is a nickname for M. Furius Bibaculus, the author of a poem on Gaul from which the bombastic line [*Iuppiter*], *hibernas cana nive conspuat Alpis* is quoted, *Sat.* 2, 5, 41. He wrote also an epic which included the killing of Memnon by Achilles, here alluded to with a play upon the double meaning of *iugulat*, 'murders.' The phrase *defingit . . . caput*, 'misshapes the muddy head of the Rhine,' contains a similar play upon some passage in the poem on Gaul, but the point is lost to us.

38. *aede*: called by the scholiasts *aedes Musarum*, a temple in

nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatris.

- 40 Arguta meretrice potes Davoque Chremeta  
eludente senem comis garrire libellos  
unus vivorum, Fundani; Pollio regum  
facta canit pede ter percusso; forte epos acer,  
ut nemo, Varius ducit; molle atque facetum  
45 Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae.

which Sp. Maecius Tarpa, perhaps as public censor of plays and as head of the *collegium poetarum*, passed judgment upon new poetry. Tarpa is referred to with respect in *Ars Poet.* 387. — *sonent: resound*, as the poets read aloud their own verses; cf. I, 4, 76.

40 ff. 'Other fields were already occupied, but satire was open to me.'

40 f. *meretrice, Davo, Chremeta*: typical figures in comedy; the commonest plot in Plautus and Terence is one in which a young man's confidential slave (*Davus*) with the help of his mistress (*meretrix*) deceives the father (*Chremeta senem*). The ablatives go with *eludente*, of which *Chremeta* is the object. — *comis libellos*: acc. of the inner object after *garrire*.

42. *Fundani*: unknown except by the references to him in *Sat.* 2, 8. — *Pollio*: C. Asinius Pollio, statesman, orator, and poet, one of the most distinguished men of his time. Vergil dedicated the Fourth Eclogue to him, and Horace addressed to him one of his finest

odes (*Carm.* 2, 1). His writings are all lost, but his history of the Civil Wars was famous, and the tragedies here alluded to were highly esteemed.

43. *pede ter percusso*: iambic trimeter, the ordinary verse of tragedy, which has the heavy ictus on the first, third and fifth feet. — *forte, acer*: the two adjectives express the same quality from two sides, the *power* of epic poetry and the *lofty spirit* of the epic writer.

44. *ducit*: *shapes, fashions*, used of the work of the artist or poet. The three verbs, *garrire, canit, ducit*, are carefully selected. — *molle atque facetum*: *tenderness and elegance*. On *facetum* cf. *Sat.* I, 4, 7 n. Vergil had not yet written the *Aeneid* nor published the *Georgics*; he was the poet of the *Eclogues* and of the still lighter poems, which, with more or less doubt of their authenticity, have come down to us under his name.

45. *adnuerunt*: with short penult, as in a few places in Vergil.

Hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino  
 atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem,  
 inventore minor; neque ego illi detrahere ausim  
 haerentem capiti cum multa laude coronam.

50 At dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem  
 plura quidem tollenda relinquendis. Age, quaeso,  
 tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero?  
 nil comis tragici mutat Lucilius Acci?

46. **Hoc**: satire. — **Varrone**: M. Terentius Varro, called Atacinus from the river Atax, in southern Gaul, where he was born, to distinguish him from the great anti-quarian and scholar of the same name. He wrote in several styles, but without marked success in any.

47. **quibusdam aliis**: it is not to be supposed that Horace stood alone in writing satire in the Augustan period; the names of some of the *alii* are known, but all knowledge of their writings is lost.

48 f. **inventore minor**: concessive; 'even though I fall short of Lucilius.' It was an accepted doctrine of literary history that Lucilius was the inventor of satire, that is, was the first to put it into hexameter and give it the distinct form which it thereafter retained. — The thought of these verses, 48-49, is connected with the preceding, *hoc erat* . . . *possem*, as if it was a natural consequence of his choice of satire. If it had been put into a separate sentence, it

would have been strongly adversative; 'but I do not claim to be his equal nor desire to lessen his credit.'

50 f. **At dixi**: repeating with emphasis *dixi* of vs. 1. — **fluere**: the figure used in I, 4, 11, as *tollenda* repeats *erat quod tollere velles*. — **relinquendis**: abl. after the compar. *plura*. The rubbish seemed often more in amount than the water which swept it along. But the figure is not very clearly conceived.

52. **doctus**: *with all your learning*; the word frequently implies a slur. The Alexandrians and their followers (the *docti*) criticized Homer freely.

53. **comis**: *genial, kindly*. The word is used as if it were quoted from the admirers of Lucilius, as below, vs. 65, and is selected for the partial contrast with *tragici*. — **mutat**: not actually, but by implication. — **Acci**: L. Accius, the greatest of the early writers of tragedy. Only fragments of his works are extant.



non ridet versus Enni gravitate minores,  
 55 cum de se loquitur non ut maiore reprehensis?  
 Quid vetat et nosmet Lucili scripta legentis  
 quaerere, num illius, num rerum dura negarit  
 versiculos natura magis factos et euntis  
 mollius, ac si quis, pedibus quid claudere senis,  
 60 hoc tantum contentus, amet scripsisse ducentos  
 ante cibum versus, totidem cenatus; Etrusci  
 quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius amni  
 ingenium, capsis quem fama est esse librisque  
 ambustum propriis. Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,

54 f. *gravitate minores*: as inferior in dignity, less dignified than the subject-matter demanded. The unrhythmical verse *sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret* Lucilius proposed to change to *horret et alget*.—*cum . . . loquitur*: while at the same time he claims no superiority for himself.—*rephensis*: than those whom he criticized, Accius and Ennius.

57. *quaerere*: the simplest conclusion of the argument would have been something like *Lucilium reprehendere*, but that is expanded and at the same time made milder by substituting *quaerere* with its dependent questions.—*num . . . num*: parallel questions, not alternative.—*rerum*: in the most general meaning, *circumstances*, including his difficult subject-matter and the imperfection of his times in verse-writing.

58. *magis factos*: more polished; *factus* is used in this

sense by Cicero (*de Orat.* 3, 48, 184; *Brut.* 30) with a slight apology for the novelty of the use.

59 f. *ac si quis . . . contentus*: 'than a man would write if, content with merely getting what he had to say within six feet, he was in a hurry to . . .'—*pedibus senis*: a hexameter, i.e. merely making a verse that would scan. So in I, 4, 40, *concludere versum*.—*claudere*: appos. of *hoc*.

61. *ante cibum . . . cenatus*: a humorous variant upon *stans pede in uno*, I, 4, 10.

62 f. *Cassi*: nothing is known of him except what is implied here, that he was so prolific that his books and their cases (*capsis*) were sufficient for his funeral pile.

64. *Fuerit*: suppose that *Lucilius* was, i.e. 'granting, for the moment, that Lucilius was all you claim, genial and witty.'

- 65 *comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem*  
*quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor,*  
*quamque poetarum seniorum turba; sed ille,*  
*si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in aevum,*  
*detereret sibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra*  
 70 *perfectum traheretur, et in versu faciendo*  
*saepe caput scaberet, vivos et roderet unguis.*  
*Saepe stilum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint*

65. *comis et urbanus*: these words describe one quality from two sides and are, like *comis* in vs. 53, a quotation; they are admitted with reserve, having been already denied by implication (vs. 13), in order to show that they would not disprove Horace's criticism.

66. *quam . . . auctor*: the thought is altogether general; *carmen* is not satire and the *auctor* is not Lucilius or Ennius. The statement of Quintilian (10, 1, 93), *satira tota nostra est*, is, in a way, correct, but it represents an entirely different literary tradition from that which Horace is following. His doctrine, expressed with an even exaggerated emphasis in 1, 4, 1-6, was that satire came directly from the Greeks of the Old Comedy; in fact, the error of underestimating the force and value of the purely Italic influences runs through all his literary criticism. With the opening words of 1, 4 in mind — and they are distinctly in his mind all through this satire — he could not have called satire *rude et*

*Graecis intactum carmen*. The thought is quite different: 'Lucilius did not invent satire out of nothing; the way had been already prepared by the Greeks and he learned from them. I grant, therefore, that he had a certain degree of polish, more, of course, than a writer composing some entirely new (*rude*) kind of poetry, some poetry untouched by the Greeks, would have had, more even than the early poets generally, but if he had lived . . .'

67. *seniorum*: *senex* is frequently used of the early Latin writers. — *ille*: emphatic.

68. *nostrum dilatus in aevum*: *prolonged in life down to our time*. So Ovid, *M.* 12, 76, *decimum dilatus in annum Hector erat*.

69. *detereret*: *would file off many roughnesses*; the same figure as that in *limatior*. — *omne quod ultra*: *i.e.* the *plura tollenda* of vs. 51.

72 ff. From the completed argument in support of his criticism of Lucilius, Horace turns first to a general truth and then to his

scripturus, neque te ut miretur turba labores,  
 contentus paucis lectoribus. An tua demens  
 75 vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?  
 non ego; nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut  
 audax,  
 contemptis aliis, explosa Arbuscula dixit.  
 Men' moveat cimex Pantilius, aut cruciet quod  
 vellicet absentem Demetrius, aut quod ineptus

less worthy assailants, Hermogenes and his friends.

72. *stilum vertas*: the blunt upper end of the *stilus* was used to smooth out the marks made in the wax of a tablet, as a lead-pencil is reversed to use the eraser.

73. *scripturus*: with the effect of a condition; *if you hope to write*.

74. *contentus*: continuing the advice; *but be content with*.

75. *vilibus . . . dictari*: poetry to be learned was dictated by the teacher and taken down by the pupils. So Orbilius dictated Livius Andronicus to Horace, *Epist.* 2, 1, 70 f. and Vergil and Horace were in the curriculum of schools in the time of Juvenal (7, 226 f.). Horace, of course, did not, as is sometimes said, 'dread this fate'; he is merely saying in a humorous way, 'do not aim at popularity; don't try to be one of the "best sellers."'

76. *equitem*: the educated class; so *Epist.* 2, 1, 187. It is quite possible, too, that the word would be taken as a complimentary reference to Maecenas. — *audax*:

*undismayed* by the disapproval expressed by the crowd.

77. *Arbuscula*: an actress in mimes like those of Laberius (vs. 6). Cicero wrote to Atticus in 54 B.C., *quaeris nunc de Arbuscula; valde placuit* (4, 15, 6).

78. *cimex*: as this is not used by us as a term of reproach, a modern equivalent, *beast*, *reptile*, may be substituted. — *Pantilius*: unknown; but the name actually occurs and there is no good reason for connecting it with *πᾶν τίλλειν* or supposing it to be fictitious. — *cruciet*: the subj. is *quod vellicet*.

79 ff. Demetrius is unknown; cf. vs. 18. Most of the other names in this list have been mentioned before: Fannius, 1, 4, 21; Hermogenes, 1, 3, 4; Plotius, 1, 5, 40; Varius, 1, 5, 40; Fuscus, 1, 9, 61; Viscus, 1, 9, 22; Pollio, vs. 42; Messalla, vs. 29. Of the others, C. Valgius Rufus was an elegiac poet and a friend to whom Horace addressed *Carm.* 2, 9. Octavius Musa (the emperor is called by Horace either Caesar or

- 80 Fannius Hermogenis laedat conviva Tigelli?  
 Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque,  
 Valgius, et probet haec Octavius, optimus atque  
 Fuscus, et haec utinam Viscorum laudet uterque!  
 Ambitione relegata te dicere possum,
- 85 Pollio, te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre, simulque  
 vos, Bibule et Servi, simul his te, candide Furni,  
 compluris alios, doctos ego quos et amicos  
 prudens praetereo; quibus haec, sint qualiacumque,  
 arridere velim, doliturus si placeant spe
- 90 deterius nostra. Demetri, teque, Tigelli,  
 discipularum inter iubeo plorare cathedras.  
 I, puer, atque meo citus haec subscribe libello.

Augustus) was a poet and historian, mentioned in the *Catalecta*, 14, 1. Bibulus is probably L. Calpurnius Bibulus, a son of Caesar's colleague in the consulship and a fellow-student with Horace in Athens. Servius may be a son of Servius Sulpicius Rufus, referred to several times by Cicero. C. Furnius is mentioned by Plutarch as an orator.

It is worthy of note that, with scarcely an exception, all the men here named as friends are of sufficient importance to be referred to by other writers than Horace.

84. *ambitione relegata*: without flattery, without fear that he may be suspected of boasting; the phrase is put in here because the men whose names follow were all of high rank and social standing.

86. *simul*: here used as a preposition governing *his*.

87. *doctos*: good critics, without the slur which *doctus* often implies.

88. *prudens*: intentionally, to avoid too long a list. — *sint qualiacumque*: perhaps a reminiscence of Catull. 1, 8 f., *quidquid hoc libelli, qualecumque*.

89. *arridere*: be pleasing; cf. *Carm.* 2, 6, 13 f., *ille terrarum mihi . . . angulus ridet*.

91. *discipularum . . . cathedras*: the easy-chairs of the women to whom you give lessons. — *iubeo plorare*: with double meaning, first with reference to their singing and also as a humorous substitute for *valere iubeo*.

92. *meo . . . libello*: this can mean nothing else than the whole book of satires and indicates that this satire was a kind of epilogue to the collection. — *puer*: the slave who was acting as his secretary.

## LIBER SECVNDVS

The Second Book of the Satires was published in 30 B.C., five years after the First Book, and the changes which the interval had produced in the temper and in the art of Horace are quite evident; his tone is less personal and more mellow and he has adopted the dialogue form instead of the monologue. In both respects the change is an advance. The earlier satires, with all their geniality, are touched here and there with sensationalism, and even the later work betrays at times a certain uneasiness about his own position and success. But by the year 30 B.C. Horace, now about thirty-five years of age, had won recognition as a writer. He was secure in the esteem of a circle of friends; he had accommodated himself, not indeed without difficulty, but quite sincerely, to the great political changes which he had at first opposed, and he writes like a man at peace with himself and with his world. He is not less serious; in his treatment of philosophy he is more serious; but he is less insistent, less urgent, and his touch is lighter. With this change in tone the change in form, from monologue to dialogue, and especially to a dialogue in which Horace himself plays only a subordinate part, is quite in harmony. A tendency toward informal dialogue is evident in some of the satires of the First Book (*e.g.*, 1, 1, 30 ff.; 1, 4, 38 ff.), but the step from this to the formal dialogue of 2, 1 and 2, 5 is a long one, and the change was undoubtedly regarded by Horace as a distinct advance in the form of satire.

### I

There are no allusions in this satire which fix the date of composition. The reference to the Parthians (vs. 15) is entirely general and might have been made before the battle of Actium, while Antonius was still master of the East. But it is probable that this satire was written after the rest of the book was completed, in accordance with the custom which Horace had begun in *Sat.* 1, 1 and which he afterward followed in *Epod.* 1, 1, *Carm.* 1, 1, and *Epist.* 1, 1. This would fix the date about 30 B.C., after the battle of Actium, to which *Caesaris invicti* (vs. 11) may be an allusion.

'Trebatius, people say that my satire is worthless. What shall I do about it? — Keep still! — What, not write at all? — Yes. — By Jove, you may be right. But I can't go to sleep. — Can't sleep? Take some exercise and drink a bottle of wine just before bed-time and you will sleep perfectly well. Or, if what you mean is that you can't stop writing, then write about Caesar; that is work that will pay you. — I wish I could, my dear sir, but I am not equal to describing battles. — Then write about his justice and his energy. — Some other time, perhaps; just now I don't think I will try it. — It would be a great deal better than the things you do write, which make enemies on all sides. — I can't help myself. Writing is my hobby. I have fighting blood in my veins, as Lucilius had in his. But I never attack; I simply defend myself with my natural weapon, as a bull does with his horns. I can't help myself; write I must. — You won't live long if you stick to that course. Some of your great friends will turn a cold shoulder to you. — What, did Lucilius's friends desert him? I am not as great a man as he was, but if any man attacks me, he will find that I am no easy prey — unless, of course, you advise differently. — No, I don't think I can say anything against that. But there are libel laws for the writers of bad verses. — Bad verses! Yes, but mine are not bad; they are very good. Can I be sued for writing good verses? — Certainly not. Good poetry is above all law.'

In issuing a second collection of writings in the same style as that by which he had already won both friends and enemies, Horace thought it well to preface it with a further defence of satire, continuing the subject of 1, 4 and 1, 10. But as 1, 10 is at once less serious and more assured than 1, 4, so this satire is less obviously argumentative than 1, 10. Its underlying purpose is self-defence and explanation, but under the cover of pure burlesque. It represents a consultation between Horace and his legal adviser, C. Trebatius Testa. The latter is well known to us through the group of letters addressed to him by Cicero (*ad Fam.* 7, 6–22); he was a distinguished jurisconsult and a man of much humor, and therefore a suitable figure for a burlesque consultation. The dialogue is managed with great skill; Trebatius, in a dry, legal manner, gives prudent advice, which Horace rejects as fast as it is given, arguing with much heat in favor of the course that he had already determined upon before he went through the form of consulting the lawyer. The arguments, too, by which Horace defends his course are all farcical: Milonius gets drunk and dances, therefore I may write satire; the bull gores, the wolf bites, and Scaeva poisons his mother, therefore I may use my satire to wound and poison. From beginning to end there is



not an argument that is meant to be taken seriously and the satire becomes thus a kind of proclamation by Horace of his assurance that his writings need no serious defence.

*Horatius.* Sunt quibus in satira videor nimis acer et  
ultra

legem tendere opus ; sine nervis altera, quicquid  
composui, pars esse putat, similisque meorum  
mille die versus deduci posse. Trebati,

5 quid faciam praescribe. *Trebatius.* Quiescas. *Hor.* Ne  
faciam, inquis,

omnino versus ? *Treb.* Aio. *Hor.* Peream male, si  
non

optimum erat; verum nequeo dormire. *Treb.* Ter  
uncti

1. *satira*: here used for the first time by Horace and in a general, not a concrete, sense; in the writing of satire.

2. *legem*: i.e. the artistic law which should govern this kind of writing; cf. vs. 63 and *operis lex*, *Ars Poet.* 135. — *tendere*: bend, force, of bending a bow. — *sine nervis*: without vigor; cf. the adj. *enervis*. *Nervus* is usually *sinew, muscle*, not *nerve*. The two criticisms, *nimis acer* and *sine nervis*, are direct opposites and, therefore, mutually destructive.

4. *deduci*: spun out, reeled off.

5. *praescribe*: a rather formal word, used especially in legal language. — *Quiescas*: with sententious brevity, as befits an eminent legal authority, and with a humorous double meaning, since it may

be either 'never mind your critics,' or 'stop your writing.'

6. *Peream male, si*: cf. 1, 9, 38 and 47.

7. *optimum erat*: would not be best. The impf. indic. of neglected duty or opportunity, especially common with impersonals; see any grammar. — *dormire*: go to sleep, i.e. give up writing and, it is implied, all activity.

7-9. Trebatius is represented as pretending to understand *dormire* literally (*somno quibus est opus alto*) and as giving a favorite remedy for insomnia, in which Horace touches two hobbies or foibles of the great lawyer. He was very fond of swimming (*Cicero, ad Fam.* 7, 10, 2, calls him *studiosissimus homo natandi*) and was not disinclined to the bottle (cf.

transnanto Tiberim, somno quibus est opus alto,  
irriguumque mero sub noctem corpus habento.

- 10 Aut, si tantus amor scribendi te rapit, aude  
Caesaris invicti res dicere, multa laborum  
praemia laturus. *Hor.* Cupidum, pater optime, vires  
deficiunt; neque enim quivis horrentia pilis  
agmina nec fracta pereuntis cusptide Gallos  
15 aut labentis equo describat volnèra Parthi.

*ad Fam.* 7, 22, written after a night with Trebatius, *inluseras heri inter scyphos*, and *domum bene potus seroque redieram*). — **Ter**: a sacred number, used to give formality to the prescription. — **uncti**: oil was used by athletes to soften the skin. — **transnanto, habento**: old forms used in laws and in medical recipes. — **irriguum**: one of many euphemisms (*madidus, uvidus*, etc.), like the Engl. 'full,' 'tight.'

10. **tantus amor**: Trebatius now recognizes the real meaning of *dormire*, which he had pretended to take literally. — **aude**: it would require some courage to write an epic.

11. **Caesaris**: the nephew, not the uncle, as below, vs. 19, and everywhere in the Satires except 1, 9, 18. — **invicti**: this may be a reference to the battle of Actium, but the word might fairly have been used before that event with reference to the earlier victories in the civil war.

12. **praemia**: it may perhaps be a little hit at the legal profession

to represent Trebatius as thinking first of the payment which epic poetry might bring. — Both *laturus* and *cupidum* should be rendered in English by clauses, as Greenough remarks. — **pater**: a term of respect from a younger man to an older. Cf. *puer*, vs. 60.

31-15. Here, as in *Carm.* 1, 6, and elsewhere, in professing his inability to write of warlike scenes, Horace cannot refrain from a few phrases of description which suggest that his real reason for refusing is not so much conscious inability as disinclination. — **pilis**: the Roman weapon. — **fracta . . . cusptide, pereuntis**: the signs of defeat; the broken spear is merely one of the evidences of rout and disaster, not a reference to the detached head of the *pilum*, to which *fracta* would not be applicable. So *labentis equo* indicates the defeat of the Parthian cavalry. The Gauls and the Parthians are selected merely as conspicuous among the enemies of Rome, without reference to particular campaigns.

*Treb.* Attamen et iustum poteras et scribere fortem, Scipiadam ut sapiens Lucilius. *Hor.* Haud mihi dero, cum res ipsa feret. Nisi dextro tempore, Flacci verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem,  
20 cui male si palpare, recalcitrat undique tutus.

*Treb.* Quanto rectius hoc, quam tristi laedere versu Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem,

16. *poteras*: you might; cf. *optimum erat*, vs. 7. — *iustum, fortem*: i.e. in his capacity as law-giver (*iustum*) and administrator (*fortem*).

17. *Scipiadam*: for *Scipionem*, which could not be used in hexameter; there is no patronymic force in the ending. The younger Scipio was a contemporary and friend of Lucilius; cf. vss. 65 f. — *sapiens*: pred., 'like a man of sense,' with an indirect reflection upon Horace's lack of worldly wisdom. — *Lucilius*: the mention of Horace's model in satire of course implies that Trebatius is no longer advising him to give up satire for epic, but only to turn his satire to more profitable uses. — *Haud mihi dero*: cf. 1, 9, 56, where the context shows that *cum res ipsa feret* means the same thing as *dextro tempore*, 'when a proper opportunity shall present itself.'

18. *Flacci a Flaccus*; a man of so humble a name as Flaccus, in contrast with *Caesaris*.

19 f. *attentam . . . aurem*: the comparison of Caesar to a high-spirited horse is suggested in these words, to be expressed more fully

in the next line. — *non*: with the whole phrase, not with *attentam* alone or *ibunt* alone. — *ibunt*: the future implies intention. As there is no English phrase corresponding to *ire per aurem*, the construction must be shifted in translation; 'the words of a Flaccus shall not try to reach the ear of a Caesar.' — *tutus*: to protect himself.

22. Quoted, with change of case, from *Sat.* 1, 8, 11. The effect is therefore as if he had said, 'than to write such a savage verse as that in the Eighth Satire.' Cf. 1, 4, 92, where a line of similar character is quoted from 1, 2, 27. That quotation is introduced by *ego si risi* and the argument, there seriously made, is that the line is a harmless jest. It is almost a necessary inference that here also the verse quoted by Trebatius was regarded by Horace as in fact quite harmless. This could be true only if the persons referred to were either fictitious, as the name Pantolabus certainly is, or already notorious, as was probably the case with Nomentanus (cf. 1, 1, 102 note).

- cum sibi quisque timet, quamquam est intactus, et odit !  
*Hor.* Quid faciam ? Saltat Milonius, ut semel icto  
 25 accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis;  
 Castor gaudet equis, ovo prognatus eodem  
 pugnīs ; quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum  
 milia : me pedibus delectat claudere verba  
 Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque.  
 30 Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim  
 credebat libris, neque, si male cesserat, usquam

23. *timet . . . et odit* : a repetition of the charge made in 1, 4, 33. The purely farcical character of the reply here shows how secure Horace felt himself to be.

24-29. 'I can't help writing, any more than Milonius can help getting drunk and dancing. Everybody has his little weakness ; mine is satire.'

24. *icto* : with *capiti* ; a euphemism for intoxication, like *irriguum*, vs. 9.

25. *accessit* : in a double sense with *fervor* and *numerus*. — *lucernis* : *i.e.* when he has drunk so much that he begins to see double.

26. 'Even twin brothers differ in their interests.' The contrast is emphasized by using *ovo prognatus eodem* for Pollux, and, in accordance with the general character of the argument, two of the lower gods with lower interests are selected instead of, *e.g.*, Apollo and Mercury.

27. *quot capitum* : proverbial and better expressed by Terence,

*Phorm.* 454, *quot homines, tot sententiae* ; 'many men of many minds.'

28. *pedibus . . . claudere verba* : a repetition of the phrase *pedibus quid claudere senis*, used in *Sat.* 1, 10, 59 to describe the merely mechanical construction of hexameters. Here also, with a different purpose, it puts the matter in its lowest terms, 'I amuse myself by stringing together verses that will scan.'

29. *melioris* : not in the moral or social sense, but a better judge, a better authority. — *utroque* : as if the thought began very modestly — 'a better authority than I am' — and then went on to a little hit at his advisor — 'or than you, either.'

30-34. The Scholiasts note that this is a bit of traditional literary criticism, going back to Aristoxenus, who had said that Alcaeus and Sappho *volumina sua loco sodalium habuisse*. — *arcana* : his deepest and most intimate thoughts about the events (*si male cesse-*

decurrrens alio, neque si bene ; quo fit ut omnis  
 votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella  
 vita senis. Sequor hunc, Lucanus an Apulus anceps :  
 35 nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus,  
 missus ad hoc, pulsus, vetus est ut fama, Sabellis,  
 quo ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis,  
 sive quod Apula gens seu quod Lucania bellum  
 incuteret violenta. Sed hic stilus haud petet ultro  
 40 quemquam animantem, et me veluti custodiet ensis  
 vagina tectus ; quem cur destringere coner,  
 tutus ab infestis latronibus ? O pater et rex

*rat, si bene*) of life ; not *secrets*. —  
 votiva . . . tabella: such a pic-  
 ture as is referred to in *Carm.*  
 1, 5, 13 f., where the successive  
 scenes of some event like an  
 escape from shipwreck were rep-  
 resented in a single picture. Cf.  
 the scenes from the Trojan War  
 in *Aen.* 1, 456 ff. — *senis*: the  
 word *senex* was sometimes applied  
 to writers of the early period as a  
 synonym for *vetus*, *antiquus*, with-  
 out reference to the age of the  
 individual. [The opposite opinion  
 may be found in Müller, *Lucil.*  
 p. 288.]

34-39. The expression is el-  
 liptical: 'I take Lucilius for my  
 leader, for I too come of fighting  
 stock. But I fight only in self-  
 defence.' The digression upon the  
 question whether Venusia is prop-  
 erly Lucanian or Apulian is sub-  
 ordinate to the main line of  
 reasoning. — *anceps*: nom. masc.,  
 with the subj. of *sequor*; the

phrase should be rendered freely.  
 — *ad hoc*: antec. of the clause *quo*  
*ne . . . incurreret*. — *Sabellis*:  
*the Samnites*. Venusia was  
 founded in 291 B.C., in the  
 Third Samnite War. — *quo ne*:  
 for *ut ne* or *ut eo ne*; but this  
 use of *quo* is without a parallel.  
 — *quod*: after *si-ve* and with *bel-*  
*lum*.

39. *Sed*: adversative to the  
 underlying thought of the preced-  
 ing sentence. — *hic stilus*: *this*  
*pen of mine*, but with some refer-  
 ence to the fact that the sharp  
 metal *stilus* could be actually used  
 as a weapon.

40. *animantem*: *living being*,  
 to generalize the thought.

41. *vagina tectus*: these are  
 the important words in the com-  
 parison; 'as a sword is a defence,  
 even though it is not drawn from  
 its scabbard.'

42. *tutus*: *i.e.* 'as long as I  
 am not attacked.'

Iuppiter, ut pereat positum robigine telum,  
 nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis! At ille  
 45 qui me commorit ('melius non tangere!' clamor),  
 flebit, et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.  
 Cervius iratus leges minitatur et urnam,

43. *ut pereat*: a wish introduced by *ut* exactly as wishes are introduced by *utinam*, which is nothing but a strengthened form of *uti* (cf. *quis*, *quisnam*); instances are not infrequent. The verse is in form, though not in sentiment, a reminiscence of Catull. 66, 48, *Iuppiter, ut Chalybon omne genus pereat*. — *positum*: a part of the wish; 'may I be able to put it away and let it rust;' almost the same as *vagina tectus*.

44-46. In these lines the humorous exaggeration and affected solemnity of the satire reach a climax. Whatever Horace may have been in his earlier years, he was at this time as far removed as possible from a bragging swash-buckler, whose war-cry (*clamo*) was 'Better not touch me!' He is, in fact, setting up here the figure of himself which his earlier critics had constructed, exaggerating it and making it ridiculous by a burlesque defence, in the confident assurance that his real purpose in satire was by this time fully recognized.

45. *commorit*: = *commoverit*. There is a kind of progress in pretended touchiness from *infestis latronibus* to *commorit* (*stir me up*) and *tangere* (*lay a finger on me*).

46. *cantabitur*: *i.e.* the whole town shall be repeating the satirical verses that I will write about him.

47-56. These lines serve a double purpose. As a part of the ironical argument they pretend to justify the determination (44-46) to continue the writing of satire ('Canidia poisons her enemies and I will poison mine: the wolf bites and therefore I will write biting satire'), and they illustrate the general principle (vss. 24-28) that men are not to be blamed for yielding to their special weaknesses ('and satire is my weakness,' vs. 28). At the same time, these allusions, which a reader of Horace's time would at once understand, show how harmless and impersonal his satire really was. For no one of the five persons named was really an enemy of Horace. Cervius, Albucius, and Scaeva are names which occur elsewhere (*Sat.* 2, 6, 77; 2, 2, 67; *Epist.* 1, 17, 1), but with quite different characteristics; they are merely Roman names which do not refer to individuals. Canidia is frequently mentioned (*Sat.* 1, 8; 2, 8, 95; *Epod.* 3, 8; 5, 17) in



- Canidia Albuci quibus est inimica venenum,  
grande malum Turius, si quid se iudice certes.  
50 Vt quo quisque valet suspectos terreat, utque  
imperet hoc natura potens, sic collige mecum :  
dente lupus, cornu taurus petit : unde nisi intus  
monstratum ? Scaevae vivacem crede nepoti  
matrem ; nil faciet sceleris pia dextera : mirum,  
55 ut neque calce lupus quemquam neque dente petit bos :  
sed mala tollet anum vitiato melle cicuta.

a way which shows that she was already notorious. Turius appears to have been a character of the Ciceronian period, long since dead, whose abuse of his judicial office was a matter of common knowledge. The whole passage, therefore, savage as the personal allusions are made to appear, is in reality, like the quotation in vs. 22, a reminder of Horace's moderation in satire and of his avoidance of personal attacks upon contemporaries.

47. *Cervius*: an informer; cf. *Sat.* I, 4, 65 n. — *urnam*: the vase from which the names of jurymen were drawn and in which their votes were deposited.

48. *Albuci*: with *venenum*. — *quibus*: the antec. is the obj. of *minitatur* to be supplied from vs. 47.

49. *grande malum*: i.e. a heavy penalty without regard to the justice of the case.

50. *Vt*: how, introducing *terreat* and *imperet*.

51. *sic*: from the following, vs. 52. — *collige*: you may judge; the potential use of the impv., like *scito*. — *mecum*: as I do, i.e. by following the line of argument which I now present.

52. *dente, cornu*: the emphatic words. — *intus*: from within, the usual Plautine and colloquial meaning.

53. *vivacem*: too long-lived, so that the son's inheritance of his property is delayed.

54 f. *sceleris*: crime of violence. — *pia*: filial. He would not cut her throat or strangle her; his little weakness is poisoning, not bloodshed. — *mirum, ut*: as astonishing as it is that, i.e. no more astonishing. — *calce*: suggesting the contrast of the wolf to a kicking horse (cf. vs. 20) as a slight variation from vs. 52.

56. *mala*: a standing epithet with poisons. — *tollet*: euphemistic, as the whole line is; the matter will be managed quietly, without publicity.

Ne longum faciam, seu me tranquilla senectus  
 exspectat seu Mors atris circumvolat alis,  
 dives, inops, Romae, seu fors ita iusserit, exul,  
 60 quisquis erit vitae, scribam, color. *Treb.* O puer, ut  
     sis  
 vitalis metuo, et maiorum ne quis amicus  
 frigore te feriat. *Hor.* Quid, cum est Lucilius ausus  
 primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,  
 detrahare et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora  
 65 cederet, introrsum turpis, num Laelius aut qui  
 duxit ab oppressa meritum Carthagine nomen  
 ingenio offensi aut laeso doluere Metello

57. **Ne longum faciam**: the same words in 1, 3, 137, and cf. *ne te morer*, 1, 1, 14.

60. **vitae . . . color**: this figurative use of *color* is especially common in rhetorical writings, e.g. *Ars Poet.* 86, 236.

61 f. **vitalis**: *long-lived*; *Trebatus* goes back to 58, *Mors* . . . *circumvolat*; 'I am afraid that you won't live long, if that's your spirit.' — **maiorum**: with *amicus*. The reference is to the friends of high station mentioned by Horace with pride in *Sat.* 1, 10, 81 ff., *Maecenas*, *Pollio*, *Messalla*. — **frigore** . . . **feriat**: a little more forcible than *strike you with a chill*; *ferire* is used of striking an enemy dead, 'striking down' and *frigus* suggests the dangerous fever and chill.

63. **primus**: *i.e.* Lucilius began this kind of writing; I am merely

a follower and therefore less liable to suffer for it.

64 f. **pellem**: an allusion to the fable of the Ass in the Lion's Skin; cf. *Sat.* 1, 6, 22 and *Epist.* 1, 16, 45, *introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decora*. — **per ora**: *among men*; the phrase occurs only a few times, but the meaning is clear. — **cederet**: colloquial for *incederet*. — **introrsum turpis**: *i.e.* under the skin is an ugly ass.

65. **Laelius**: C. Laelius, consul in 140 B.C., a friend of Terence, used by Cicero as a speaker in the two dialogues *de Senectute* and *de Amicitia*.

66. The younger Scipio Africanus, whose friendship with Laelius was historic.

67. **offensi**: *sc. sunt*. — **laeso** . . . **Metello**: Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, consul in 143 B.C., a political opponent of Scipio.

famosisque Lupo cooperto versibus? Atqui  
 primores populi arripuit populumque tributim,  
 70 scilicet uni aequus virtuti atque eius amicis.  
 Quin ubi se a volgo et scaena in secreta remorant  
 virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli,  
 nugari cum illo et discincti ludere, donec  
 decoqueretur olus, soliti. Quicquid sum ego, quamvis

**68. Lupo:** L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, consul in 156 B.C., also an enemy of Scipio and attacked by Lucilius apparently with special bitterness. — **famosis:** *which made them notorious.* — **cooperto:** *overwhelmed*; the verses fell upon him like a volley of javelins.

The argument of vss. 62–68 is ironical, though less broadly so than that of 47–56; ‘do you suppose that Scipio and Laelius were greatly disturbed when Lucilius turned his satire upon their political opponents?’ — **Atqui:** *and yet* Lucilius was much more daring and more sweeping in his satire than I am.

**69. arripuit:** a technical term of law; *summoned to court.* — **tributim:** *a tribe at a time.* This is a reference to a political satire in which Lucilius *tribus omnes XXXV laceravit* (Schol. to Pers. I, 114); of this two fragments remain, containing the names of two of the tribes attacked, *Papiria* and *Oufentina*.

**70. scilicet:** *of course.* The line is a humorous afterthought,

really in direct contradiction of the preceding statement, just as in vss. 43 ff. and below in vss. 77 f. an exaggerated pugnacity and a regard for the proprieties are set in contrast; ‘he attacked everybody, high and low, and the whole people, tribe by tribe, but of course, you understand, he attacked only bad people (cf. vs. 85) and never satirized the virtuous — any more than I do.’

**71. Quin:** *why*; corrective of the insufficient expression in *offensi, doluere.* — **scaena:** the stage of public life.

**72. virtus Scipiadae:** Homeric circumlocutions; ‘the virtuous Scipio and the wise and gentle Laelius.’

**73. discincti:** *i.e.* laying aside all the formalities of city life. There are other references (Schol. and Cic. *de Orat.* 2, 6, 22) to this distinct tradition that Scipio and Laelius enjoyed the opportunities of relaxation in the country.

**74. olus:** *i.e.* a simple country meal, ‘a dinner of herbs.’ — **soliti:** *sc. sunt*, as with *offensi* in vs. 67.

- 75 infra Lucili censum ingeniumque, tamen me cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque invidia, et, fragili quaerens illidere dentem, offendet solido, — nisi quid tu, docte Trebati, dissentis. *Treb.* Equidem nihil hinc diffindere possum.
- 80 Sed tamen ut monitus caveas, ne forte negoti incutiat tibi quid sanctarum inscitia legum : si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, ius est iudiciumque. *Hor.* Esto, si quis mala ; sed bona si quis

75. *censum*: *rank*. Lucilius was an *eques* and therefore naturally connected with men of station.

76. *invita*: *i.e.* even against its will, in spite of itself.

77 f. *fragili, solido*: dat. neut.; alluding to the fable of the Viper and the File. — *illidere*: *to dash in*, expressing the eagerness of the bite.

78. *nisi . . . dissentis*: cf. 70 note. Horace represents himself as suddenly remembering, at the very climax of his bragging, that he is supposed to be asking advice.

79. *hinc diffindere*: lit., 'to cut off anything from this,' with the figure of *fragili . . . solido* still in mind; translate, 'I can't find anything in this to take exception to.' [But the text is not sure.]

80. *ut . . . caveas*: not a final clause and not to be explained by supplying a main clause. This is the use of *ut* (more often *utī*) in sentences of command, parallel to the use of *utī-nam* in wishes; it is not infrequent in Plautus

(*Bacch.* 739, *proin tu ab eo ut caveas tibi*; *Capt.* 115, etc.) and Terence (*Ad.* 280, *Phorm.* 212), but survives especially in legal formulas (C.I.L. 1, 196, 23 and in quotations in Livy) and is used here to give a formal tone to the injunctions of the lawyer; cf. vs. 8 f. *transnanto, habento*, and vs. 82. — *negoti*: *trouble*, a common colloquial meaning; gen. partitive with *quid*.

81. *sanctarum*: *sacred*, as a lawyer would naturally think them.

82. *si mala . . . carmina*: this is almost the phraseology of the law of the XII Tables as quoted by Pliny, *H. N.* 28, 4, 18, *qui malum carmen incantassit*, and by Cicero *de Rep.* 4, 10, 12, *sive (quis) carmen condidisset*. — *ius est iudiciumque*: *there is right of action and a legal remedy*; the offended party has a legal right to sue.

83. *mala*: Horace represents himself as understanding this word, which in the law means

iudice condiderit laudatus Caesare? si quis

85 opprobriis dignum latraverit, integer ipse?

*Treb.* Solventur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis.

*injurious, abusive*, in the esthetic sense, *bad poetry*.

84. *Caesare*: Caesar is named rather than some recognized critic like Quintilius Varus because he would be accepted by a lawyer as the highest authority.

86. The sense of this line is perfectly clear, 'the case will be laughed out of court and you

will go free,' and the figure in *solventur* is used elsewhere (Quint. 5, 10, 67, *cum risu tota res solvitur*; Cic. *de Orat.* 2, 58, 236, *res . . . ioco risuque dissolvit*), but the exact meaning of *tabulae* (the indictment, the voting tablets, the benches of the jury-men) cannot be determined.

## 2

There is no internal evidence to fix the date of this satire; it was written between 35 and 30 B.C.

'The advantages of plain living — I am repeating what I once heard from a wise old farmer — cannot be properly set forth in an after-dinner conversation; only a hungry man can know how good plain food may be. At a dinner party your judgment is confused by the elaborate cookery and — still worse — by the rarity or the novelty of the viands. Indeed, the very over-abundance sometimes drives you back in disgust to simple flavors. For it is only lately that you have learned, in obedience to fashion, to like stork; roast sea-gull will be the next whim, I suppose.

'But you must not think — says my old farmer — that simplicity means stinginess. Do not rush to the other extreme; keep to the middle course of a plain neatness.

'Consider, now, the advantages of such a way of living: health, vigor, the pleasure of occasional indulgence, hospitality, good repute, money left in your purse, and, chief of all, readiness to meet the buffets of fortune. I used to hear the old farmer, then a hired laborer on the farm he had once owned, discoursing about this to his sons: "I have lived a temperate life and my wants are few. Let Fortune do her worst; he that is down need fear no fall."

In form, this satire, like 3, 4, 7, 8 of this book, consists of a main body of didactic discourse set in an introductory framework. In the

other satires, however, the framework is in dialogue, generally very skilfully adapted to its special purpose, while here the setting is not clearly conceived (cf. vs. 7 note), the introduction is too brief (vss. 2 f.), and the quotation passes from indirect to direct without sufficient motive and with a second and superfluous introduction (vss. 112-115). In the main discourse also there is a similar lack of clearness of outline. The change from the plural (vss. 1-7) to the vague *tu* breaks the continuity. The reference to Ofellus in vs. 53 is not distinct enough to preserve the illusion of quotation. The knowledge of places, fashions, and persons in Rome is quite inconsistent with the circumstances of an Apulian peasant; this is in part to be explained by the fact that the whole satire is a parody of a Stoic sermon, in which allusions to Roman affairs would be quite in place, but the inconsistency remains and adds nothing to the humor. The explanation of these incongruities in structure is that Horace is here experimenting with a form of satire which is a compromise between the dialogue form of Satires 3, 4, 7, and 8 and the frankly personal monologue of Satire 6, and is inferior to either.

There is a similar compromise or combination in the subject-matter; on the one hand, the satire contrasts country life with the life of the city, as is done in greater fulness and with greater effectiveness in Satire 6; on the other hand, the luxuries and fashions of the table, which are ridiculed here, are treated more fully and more humorously in Satires 4 and 8. But the two subjects harmonize more easily than the two forms. The combination, however, is marked enough to suggest the hypothesis that this satire is the earliest of the book in date of composition, and that both form and subject were worked out to greater perfection in the later satires.

Quae virtus et quanta, boni, sit vivere parvo  
(nec meus hic sermo est, sed quae praecepit Ofellus  
rusticus, abnormis sapiens, crassaque Minerva),

1. **boni**: ὡγαθοί, as a friendly form of address.

2. **nec meus . . . est**: the same phrase, κοῦκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, occurs in a fragment of Euripides and is quoted by Plato, *Symp.* 177 A.

3. **abnormis**: *unschooled*, not bound by the doctrines of any

sect. So Cicero, *de Amic.* 5, 18, says that certain Roman worthies were not philosophers, *ad istorum normam*. — **crassa Minerva**: of a rough-and-ready wit. Cf. *pingui Minerva*, Cic. *de Amic.* 5, 19. Minerva is the goddess of intelligence.



discite, non inter lances mensasque nitentis,  
 5 cum stupet insanis acies fulgoribus et cum  
 acclinis falsis animus meliora recusat,  
 verum hic impransi mecum disquirite. 'Cur hoc?'  
 Dicam, si potero. Male verum examinat omnis  
 corruptus iudex. Leporem sectatus equove  
 10 lassus ab indomito, vel, si Romana fatigat  
 militia adsuetum graecari, seu pila velox,  
 molliter austerum studio fallente laborem,

4 f. *nitentis, fulgoribus*: the gleaming of silver plate, which the Romans used very freely, is often alluded to in descriptions of the tables at a banquet, *e.g.* Catull. 64, 44 ff. — *stupet acies*: *the eyes are dazzled*, of course in a figurative sense, 'the judgment is distracted.'

7. *hic impransi*: *here*, not at a table, and *fasting, hungry*, not after an elaborate dinner. The two words seem to suggest a particular scene and certain definite circumstances — a group of friends or neighbors waiting for their lunch, — but if such a setting for the discourse was in Horace's mind, it is lost sight of at once and not again alluded to in the satire. Cf. note on vs. 17. — *Cur hoc*: *i.e.* 'why *impransi*?'

8. *si potero*: this gives the air of a lecturer: 'I will endeavor to tell you.' — *Male*: with *examinat*. The sentence can be best translated by turning it into the negative form; 'no judge who has been bribed . . .'

9-16. The outline of this loosely constructed sentence is simple; 'get an appetite by hard exercise, and then see whether you are disposed to refuse plain food.' But after mentioning two kinds of Roman exercise, hunting (cf. *Epod.* 2, 29 ff.; *Carm.* 1, 1, 25 ff.) and riding (*Carm.* 1, 8, 5 ff.), he introduces as an alternative two kinds of Greek athletics, ball-playing and the throwing of the *discus*, each in a conditional clause, *seu pila (te agit)*, *seu discus te agit*; the first is left without a formal apodosis, but *pote* is the apodosis to the second. Then as the formal structure of the sentence has been disturbed, the substance of 9-13 is condensed into *cum . . . extuderit* and repeated in *siccus, inanis*. — *militia*: with special reference to riding. — *graecari*: there is a suggestion of effeminacy in this verb. — *velox*: the game consisted in rapid passing of the ball from one player to another. — *molliter . . . laborem*: *i.e.* 'in which the interest in the game makes the

- seu te discus agit, pete cedentem aera disco;  
 cum labor extuderit fastidia, siccus, inanis  
 15 sperne cibum vilem; nisi Hymettia mella Falerno  
 ne biberis diluta. Foris est promus, et atrum  
 defendens piscis hiemat mare: cum sale panis  
 latrantem stomachum bene leniet. Vnde putas aut  
 qui partum? Non in caro nidore voluptas  
 20 summa, sed in te ipso est. Tu pulmentaria quaere  
 sudando; pinguem vitiis albumque neque ostrea  
 nec scarus aut poterit peregrina iuvare lagois.  
 Vix tamen eripiam, posito pavone, velis quin

player enjoy the exercise, forgetting how severe it is.' This abl. abs. clause takes the place of an apodosis to *seu pila*.—*discus*: a large flat quoit, thrown for distance, not for accuracy.—*agit*. *stirs, rouses, attracts*. A rare use, but exactly paralleled in Cic. *Arch.* 7, 16, *haec studia adulescentiam agunt, senectutem oblectant*.—*pete*: *strike*.—*disco*: abl.—*extuderit*: *i.e.* 'has knocked the nonsense out of you'; a colloquial use.—*Hymettia, Falerno*: the finest honey and wine.—*promus*: the *butler* or *steward*, who keeps the keys of the store-room.

17. *hiemat mare*: this has been taken to indicate that the scene of the discourse was a villa on the seashore, where Horace repeats the precepts of Ofellus to a group of friends. But the reference is too general for that; fish are mentioned here, as in 31 ff., 48 f., 95,

merely as other kinds of food are specified.

18. *leniet*: the future implies 'you will find that it will soothe.'

19. *qui partum*: *whence or how do you suppose that this comes about*, that you are glad to get the plainest food?

20. *Tu*: emphatic, with reference to *te ipso*.—*pulmentaria*: the Scholiasts refer to the story that Socrates, being asked why he was taking such a long walk, replied ὄψον συνάγω, which is almost *pulmentarium quaero*. Cf. also the saying *fames optimum condimentum*.

21 f. *vitiis*: *excesses in eating and drinking*.—*ostrea, scarus, lagois*: three expensive delicacies. But neither the *scarus*, a kind of fish, nor the *lagois*, a game bird, can be precisely identified.—*iuvare*: *to give you pleasure*.

23. *eripiam*: with prohibitive force and therefore followed by

hoc potius quam gallina tergere palatum,  
 25 corruptus vanis rerum, quia veneat auro  
 rara avis, et picta pandat spectacula cauda;  
 tamquam ad rem attineat quicquam. Num vesceris ista  
 quam laudas pluma? Cocto num adest honor idem?  
 carne tamen quamvis distat nihil, hanc magis illa  
 30 imparibus formis deceptum te petere esto,  
 unde datum sentis, lupus hic Tiberinus an alto  
 captus hiet, pontisne inter iactatus an amnis

*quin.*—posito: on the table, as in *Sat.* 1, 3, 92.—pavone: the peacock was first used as an article of food by Hortensius the orator and was afterward regarded as a necessary part of a banquet. Cf. *Cic. ad Fam.* 9, 20, 2, *sed vide audaciam; etiam Hirtio cenam dedi sine pavone.*

24. tergere: almost exactly like the English *to tickle the palate.*

25. corruptus: cf. vs. 9.—vanis rerum: = *vanis rebus*; so *fictus rerum*, *Sat.* 2, 8, 83.—veneat: the subjv. suggests the real, though unexpressed, motive for the preference.

28. Cocto . . . idem: the peacock was cooked with its plumage, but the brilliancy of the feathers would be lost.—num adest: monosyllabic hiatus with a word ending in *-m* or a long vowel; cf. *si me amas*, *Sat.* 1, 9, 38.

29-32. 'You pretend to prefer peacock to fowl, but it is a mere pretence; you could not tell them apart if it were not for the difference in size. Let me try you with

two pike of the same size and see if you can distinguish the one caught in the Tiber—which you epicures consider so much better—from one caught in the sea.'—quamvis: frequently with the indic. in Horace, e.g. *Sat.* 1, 3, 129.—hanc illa: *sc. carnem, carne.*—imparibus . . . deceptum: this does not mean that the epicure could not distinguish fowl from peacock, but that he allowed the fact that the peacock was bigger to delude him into thinking that it was also better. It is the same as *corruptus vanis rerum*, vs. 25; *mised by the false standard of size.*—esto: *grant that.*—unde datum sentis: *whence do you get the power to distinguish; i.e. 'when there is no difference in size, there is no way in which you can distinguish, as you pretend to do.'* Cf. vs. 18 and *unde petitum hoc in me iacis?* *Sat.* 1, 4, 79.—hiet: this should be made subordinate in the translation; 'whether this pike with its mouth open was caught . . . '—pontis inter: *between the*

- ostia sub Tusci? Laudas, insane, trilibrem  
mullum, in singula quem minuas pulmenta necesse est.  
35 Ducit te species, video: quo pertinet ergo  
proceros odisse lupos? Quia scilicet illis  
maiorem natura modum dedit, his breve pondus.  
Ieiunus raro stomachus volgaria temnit.  
'Porrectum magno magnum spectare catino  
40 vellem,' ait Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus. At vos,  
praesentes Austri, coquite horum obsonia! Quamquam

*bridges, i.e.* from the shore of the island which was connected by bridges with the two banks. The fish caught in the swift current here (*iactatus*) were thought to have a finer flavor. This passage is reminiscent of Lucilius, 1176 (Marx), *pontes Tiberinus duo inter captus catillo* (*scavenger, i.e.* a pike).

33. *insane*: a Stoic form of address; cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 81, and 326. — *trilibrem*: the mullet was usually a small fish, rarely weighing as much as two pounds, and enormous sums were paid for those of abnormal size.

34. *pulmenta*: *helps, portions*. — *minuas . . . necesse est*: *parataxis*, as often with *necesse est*. The argument is that there is no real reason for preferring the large mullet, since it must be divided into portions to be served.

35 ff. The sententious brevity of the clauses is in parody of the Stoic manner. — *Quia scilicet*: giving the real reason in an ironical form; 'it is mere fashion with-

out taste which leads you to prefer the rare and unnatural—small pike and large mullets.' The modern parallel to this is serving fruits out of season.

38. *raro*: with *ieiunus*; 'it is because you seldom feel real appetite that you seek for such varieties.'

39. *magno magnum*: a sort of outcry as if from some one who feels himself free from the whims of fashion; 'but I should really like to see a big fish in a big dish.' The answer is, 'your gluttony is no more natural than the caprices of fashion.'

40. *At*: not adversative, but, as frequently in curses, 'a particle of transition.'

41. *praesentes*: *i.e.* 'come yourselves and cook (taint) the food of such people.' — *Austri*: the warm south winds. — *Quamquam*: 'and yet I need scarcely say this, for those whose appetites are spoiled with an over-abundance of rich viands cannot distinguish fresh food from tainted.'

putet aper rhombusque recens, mala copia quando  
aegrum sollicitat stomachum, cum rapula plenus  
atque acidas mavolt inulas. Necdum omnis abacta  
45 pauperies epulis regum; nam vilibus ovis  
nigrisque est oleis hodie locus. Haud ita pridem  
Galloni praeconis erat acipensere mensa  
infamis. Quid? tum rhombos minus aequor alebat:  
Tutus erat rhombus, tutoque ciconia nido,  
50 donec vos auctor docuit praetorius. Ergo  
si quis nunc mergos suavis edixerit assos,  
parebit pravi docilis Romana iuventus.

Sordidus a tenui victu distabit, Ofello  
iudice; nam frustra vitium vitaveris illud,

42. *quando*: *since*; the more common use in Horace.

43 f. *sollicitat*: *disturbs, troubles*. — *rapula, inulas*: *radishes and pickles*. The root of the elecampane (*inula*) is no longer used as a food. — *Necdum*: *not even yet*; i.e. 'we still use some simple kinds of food, for it is not so very long ago that these absurd fashions were introduced.'

45. *pauperies*: plain food, the food of a poor man; contrasted with *regum, the rich*.

46-52. 'It is not long since the introduction of the sturgeon made Gallonius notorious. Now a turbot or a stork is the proper thing for a fine dinner. Such fashions have not even the excuse of a love of good food; they are nothing but silly caprices.' — *Galloni*: Publius Gallonius, satirized by Lucilius for having set the fashion

of serving a large sturgeon at dinner. — *Quid?* . . . *alebat*: the exclamation of a person to whom the present fashion of having turbot for a fish-course seems like a law of nature. — *auctor* . . . *praetorius*: his name is variously given by the Scholiasts, who quote an anonymous epigram upon him, alluding to his setting the fashion of eating storks and to his defeat for the praetorship. *Praetorius* would then be ironical. — *mergos*: some sea bird whose flesh was not fit for eating. — *edixerit*: *issue an edict*, as a praetor did; another hit at the *auctor praetorius*. — *pravi docilis*: *quick to learn corruption*.

53 f. 'But Ofellus did not rush to the other extreme; it was simplicity, not stinginess, that he recommended.' The mention of Ofellus is a reminder of vss. 2 f.

- 55 si te alio pravum detorseris. Avidienus  
 cui Canis ex vero ductum cognomen adhaeret,  
 quinquennis oleas est et silvestria corna,  
 ac nisi mutatum parcit defundere vinum, et  
 cuius odorem olei nequeas perferre, licebit  
 60 ille repotia, natalis, aliosve dierum  
 festos albatus celebret, cornu ipse bilibri  
 caulibus instillat, veteris non parcus aceti.  
 Quali igitur victu sapiens utetur, et horum  
 utrum imitabitur? Hac urget lupus, hac canis, aiunt.

55. alio: adverb. — pravum: with *te*, but to be rendered freely. — Avidienus: a coined name, probably with a vague suggestion of *avidus*, in spite of the difference in quantity.

56. Canis: *i.e.* Κύν; a depreciatory reference to the rival sect of the Cynics, in the manner of a Stoic preacher. — ex vero ductum: *deservedly applied*, based on the actual facts of his temper and habits. The phrase occurs elsewhere; Plautus, *Stich.* 242, *nunc Miccotrogus nomine e vero vocor*; Ovid, *Fast.* 2, 859.

57. est: from *edo*. — silvestria corna: *i.e.* such poor food as primitive man used before the cultivation of grain; cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1, 1, 147 ff.

58. mutatum: *turned*, soured.

59. olei: attracted from the acc. after *instillat* into the relative clause. — licebit: paratactically with *celebret*; there are many cases where the pres. *licet* is felt

as a verb rather than as a conjunction.

60. repotia: *wedding feasts*, occasions when the best of food would be served.

61. albatus: wearing the white toga of ceremony; he would observe the proprieties where the observance cost nothing. — cornu . . . bilibri: *i.e.* the oil was served in a large vessel of the cheapest material, instead of a *guttus* (*Sat.* 1, 6, 118), and the host poured it with his own hand (*ipse*) drop by drop (*instillat*) that there might be no waste.

62. veteris . . . aceti: the point of this is not quite clear. Old vinegar is better than new; the implication may be that he was generous only with vinegar, which was cheaper than oil, or this may be, as the Scholiast says, a joke of the kind called *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, the substitution of *aceti* for an expected *vini*.

64. aiunt: *as the saying is*. The



- 65 Mundus erit, qua non offendat sordibus, atque  
in neutram partem cultus miser. Hic neque servis,  
Albuci senis exemplo, dum munia didit,  
saevus erit, nec sic ut simplex Naevius unctam  
convivis praebebit aquam; vitium hoc quoque magnum.
- 70 Accipe nunc victus tenuis quae quantaque secum  
adferat. In primis valeas bene: nam variae res  
ut noceant homini credas, memor illius escae  
quae simplex olim tibi sederit; at simul assis  
miscueris elixa, simul conchyliis turdis,
- 75 dulcia se in bilem vertent, stomachoque tumultum  
lenta feret pituita. Vides ut pallidus omnis  
cena desurgat dubia? Quin corpus onustum

verb *aiunt* is often used parenthetically in the quotation of a proverb.

65. *Mundus erit, qua*: 'the philosopher will be refined in his way of living, but will not carry refinement to such an extreme that it will seem to be mere stinginess.' The meaning of *mundus* (*munditia*) is limited in the same way in *Sat.* 1, 2, 123 and in *Cic. de Off.* 1, 36, 130; cf. also *Carm.* 2, 10, 5 ff.

66. *cultus*: with *miser*, *anxious about his way of living*.

67-69. Albucius (not to be connected with the Albucius of *Sat.* 2, 1, 48) is so overanxious to have all the service at dinner perfect that he scolds his servants even when he is assigning their duties; Naevius (a mere name) is so careless that he allows his slaves to be slovenly.—*unctam*

. . . *aquam*: *greasy water* for rinsing the hands after the meal.

—*vitium* . . . *magnum*: this solemn condemnation of a rather trifling fault (cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 80 f. and *Sat.* 2, 8) comes with burlesque effect from the lips of an old farmer.

71. *valeas*: potential, as is *credas* in the next line, with protases implied in the general sense and in *memor*, *if you recall*.

73. *sederit*: like the colloquial English 'to set well on the stomach.'

75 f. *dulcia, bilem, lenta pituita*: phrases of popular physiology, to describe indigestion. *Pituita* is in three syllables.

77. *cena* . . . *dubia*: a quotation from Terence, *Phorm.* 342, 'cena dubia adponitur. || quid istuc verbi est? || ubi tu dubites quid sumas potissimum,' *i.e.* a dinner

hesternis vitiis animum quoque praegravat una,  
atque affigit humo divinae particulam aurae.

- 80 *Alter*, ubi dicto citius curata sopori  
membra dedit, vegetus praescripta ad munia surgit.  
Hic tamen ad melius poterit transcurrere quondam,  
sive diem festum rediens advexerit annus,  
seu recreare volet tenuatum corpus, ubique  
85 accedent anni et tractari mollius aetas  
imbecilla volet; tibi quidnam accedet ad istam  
quam puer et validus praesumis mollitiem, seu  
dura valetudo inciderit seu tarda senectus?

so good that you don't know what to take first. — *Quin*: corrective, as often, of the inadequacy of the previous sentence; *nay more*.

78 f. *vitiis*: *excesses* in eating, as in vs. 21. — The conception of the soul as a part of the divine spirit imprisoned within the body is often expressed in Latin literature; it was a fundamental doctrine of Stoic philosophy and is introduced here, in words that are intentionally too elevated for the context and the speaker, to give a burlesque of the Stoic preacher.

80 f. *Alter*: the philosopher, the man of simple habits. — *dicto citius*: a colloquialism, with the exaggeration common in the language of conversation. — *curata membra*: *i.e.* he refreshes himself with supper; cf. *corpora curare*, *cibo se curare* and the frequent use of *membra* of health or strength, *e.g.* *Sat.* 1, 1, 5. The whole phrase

*curata . . . dedit* goes together, as the order suggests, and *dicto citius* goes with the whole; 'in less time than it takes me to tell it he has had his supper and fallen asleep.'

82–88. 'A man who lives ordinarily on plain fare can indulge himself on occasion, but the man who is always self-indulgent has exhausted his possibilities of pleasure.'

82. *Hic*: referring to *alter*. — *tamen*: in spite of his habitual self-restraint.

83–84. *sive . . . seu . . .*  
*ubique*: three reasons for relaxation, a feast-day, illness, old age. To avoid a too elaborate accuracy in expression, a different conjunction, *ubi-que* for *si-ve*, is used to introduce the third clause.

87. *praesumis*: 'take before the time, allow yourself prematurely.'

Rancidum aprum antiqui laudabant, non quia nasus  
 90 illis nullus erat, sed, credo, hac mente, quod hospes  
 tardius adveniens vitiatum commodius quam  
 integrum edax dominus consumeret. Hos utinam inter  
 heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset!  
 Das aliquid famae, quae carmine gratior aurem  
 95 occupat humanam? Grandes rhombi patinaeque  
 grande ferunt una cum damno dedecus; adde  
 iratum patrum, vicinos, te tibi iniquum  
 et frustra mortis cupidum, cum derit egenti  
 as, laquei pretium. 'Iure,' inquit, 'Trausius istis

89-93. 'The economical farmer will always have a reserve of food—even though it may not be of the freshest—for a chance guest.'

89 f. *Rancidum* . . . *laudabant*: intentionally put in a paradoxical form in order to burlesque the seriousness of the speaker.—*non quia* . . . *sed quod*: there is no difference between *quia* and *quod* in this form of sentence, but the subjv. is used in the second clause because it gives the motive of the *antiqui*.

91 f. *vitiatum*: = *rancidum*.—*integrum*: with double meaning, 'the whole of it while it was still fresh.'—*commodius*: *i.e.* they thought it more suitable, they praised such conduct more.

93. The wish is, of course, comic, though the Stoic is represented as uttering it in all seriousness. Cf. *vitium* . . . *magnum*, vs. 69.

94-99. 'A display of luxury

brings notoriety and, in the end, ruin.'—*Das aliquid*: *i.e.* 'Do you consider that a good name is of some account?'—*patrum*: the uncle is in Latin literature a type of severity, so that *patruus* in *Sat.* 2, 3, 88, *ne sis patruus mihi*, be-comes almost equal to *iniquus*.—*iniquum*: *hateful*.—*derit*: = *de-erit*.—*laquei pretium*: a standing comic situation (*e.g.* Plaut. *Pseud.* 88 f.), in which a bankrupt tries to borrow a penny to buy rope enough to hang himself.

99-111. 'You may think that your income is sufficient for any expenses, but—if you do not care to bestow any of it upon others—all men suffer losses and your course of life is a poor preparation for meeting misfortune.'

99. *Trausius*: unknown; a mere name to represent a man who lives beyond his income. For the form of argument, which is a favorite one with Horace, cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 52:

- 100 iurgatur verbis; ego vectigalia magna  
divitiasque habeo tribus amplas regibus.' Ergo  
quod superat non est melius quo insumere possis?  
Cur eget indignus quisquam te divite? Quare  
templa ruunt antiqua deum? Cur, improbe, carae  
105 non aliquid patriae tanto emetiris acervo?  
Vni nimirum recte tibi semper erunt res,  
o magnus posthac inimicis risus! Vterne  
ad casus dubios fidet sibi certius, hic qui  
pluribus adsuerit mentem corpusque superbum,  
110 an qui contentus parvo metuensque futuri  
in pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello?  
Quo magis his credas, puer hunc ego parvus Ofellum

1, 10, 5; 1, 10, 21-23. It consists in the mere mention of a name which suggests circumstances that refute the previous statement.

102. *quod superat*: your surplus.—*non . . . possis*: construe *non est quo melius*, etc.

103-105. Exhortations to charity or to the giving of money to public objects are less common in classic literature than in modern times (cf., however, *Carm.* 2, 15, 18 ff.; 3, 6, 2 ff.; *Cic. de Off.* 3, 15, 63), but such donations to individuals and to communities were not uncommon. Cf., e.g., *Sat.* 1, 9, 18 note; and Pliny's endowment of a library (*Epist.* 1, 8, 2) and of a school (4, 13, 5).

106. *Vni*: with emphatic irony; 'Do you expect to be the only exception to the general law of change in human fortunes?'

107. *Vterne*: the interrogative *-ne* is occasionally appended even

to interrogative pronouns; so 2, 3, 295, 317.

109. *pluribus*: 'to superfluities, to a variety of luxuries.'—*superbum*: with predicate force; 'and thereby have made them his masters.'

111. This is a reference to a proverbial saying, 'in time of peace prepare for war,' which appears in Latin in various forms (*si vis pacem, para bellum*) and, like other proverbs, is still accepted by the unsophisticated as the essence of wisdom.

112-115. At this point Horace assumes, more distinctly than in vss. 2 f. and 53, the person of the narrator, adding to the effectiveness of the closing argument (*quo magis his credas*) by personal reminiscence (*puer ego parvus*) and specific details (*nunc accisis, metato, mercede*). The skill of the

- integris opibus novi non latius usum  
quam nunc accisis. Videas metato in agello  
115 cum pecore et gnatis fortem mercede colonum,  
'Non ego,' narrantem, 'temere edi luce profesta  
quicquam praeter olus fumosae cum pede pernae.  
Ac mihi seu longum post tempus venerat hospes,  
sive operum vacuo gratus conviva per imbrem  
120 vicinus, bene erat non piscibus urbe petitis,  
sed pullo atque haedo; tum pensilis uva secundas  
et nux ornabat mensas cum duplici ficu.  
Post hoc ludus erat culpa potare magistra,  
ac venerata Ceres, ita culmo surgeret alto,

artifice is so great that many commentators have taken it for reality, but cf. *Sat.* 2, 6, 11 f. for a similar, though less detailed, reference. — *latius*: so *Juv.* 14, 234, *indulgent sibi latius*; *angustus* is frequently used of the opposite. — *metato*: *i.e.* measured by the land-commissioners appointed to survey and apportion confiscated land; as in ordinary circumstances farms were marked by boundary stones and not surveyed, the verb *metari* came to be used especially of the surveys preliminary to confiscation and allotment. — *mercede*: *i.e.* the new proprietor hired the former owner to carry on the farm.

116. *Non . . . temere*: *not without reason*, only when there was some special reason; the ordinary sense of *non (haud) temere*.

118 ff. 'Even on the rare occasions our food was still simple.' — *hospes*: a guest from a distance,

who came infrequently (*longum post tempus*). — *vicinus*: the celebrating of a neighbor's visit is excused by the additional circumstances, *operum vacuo, per imbrem*. — *pensilis uva*: raisins. — *duplici ficu*: split for drying. The point is that only the products of the farm were used, even for special occasions; cf. *dapes inemptas*, *Epod.* 2, 48.

123. *Post hoc*: the wine was served according to the country custom after the dessert (*secundae mensae*), and was drunk without the formal etiquette of elaborate dinners (cf. *Sat.* 2, 6, 67 ff.); instead of selecting a *magister bibendi* to regulate their drinking, they were governed only by their own sense of propriety (*culpa*).

124. *ita . . . surgeret*: the indirect form of the prayer *ita Ceres surgat* or *ita tu surgas*, often followed by a statement of some evi-

- 125 explicuit vino contractae seria frontis.  
 Saeviat atque novos moveat Fortuna tumultus,  
 quantum hinc imminuet? Quanto aut ego parcius aut  
       vos,  
 o pueri, nituistis, ut huc novus incola venit?  
 Nam propriae telluris erum natura neque illum  
 130 nec me nec quemquam statuit: nos expulit ille,  
 illum aut nequities aut vafri inscitia iuris,  
 postremum expellet certe vivacior heres.  
 Nunc ager Vmbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofelli  
 dictus, erit nulli proprius, sed cedet in usum  
 135 nunc mihi, nunc alii. Quocirca vivite fortes,  
 fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.'

dent truth in an *ut*-clause. Cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 300; *Carm.* 1, 3, 1 ff. 'And the wine that we drank as we prayed to Ceres, "so may you rise on the high stalk," smoothed the wrinkles from our brows.'

126. *tumultus*: like the dissensions that preceded Philippi and resulted in the confiscation of the farm of Vergil's father.

128. *pueri*: his sons, gathered about him as he watches the herds (vs. 115). — *novus incola*: Umbrenus, the veteran to whom the farm had been allotted.

129. *propriae*: predicate; *to hold it as his own*.

131. *nequities, inscitia iuris*:

there is abundant evidence that the veterans who were suddenly changed from soldiers to farmers often made but poor use of their property, managing it badly, falling into debt, and suffering, perhaps unfairly, from their ignorance of civil life.

132. *postremum*: acc. masc. with *illum*; but translate, *at last*.

134. *proprius*: contrasted with *cedet in usum*; we merely use our possessions, we do not really own them.

135 f. These lines return to the thought of vss. 107-111, as if to prove by an example the general statement made there.

### 3

The allusion in vs. 185, *plausus quos fert Agrippa*, shows that the satire was written as late as the year 33 B.C., when Agrippa, as aedile, gave the games with unusual splendor. The reference to the Saturnalia



(vs. 5) ~~fixes~~ the time of year when the dialogue is supposed to take place, but indicates nothing in regard to the time when it was composed.

In structure this is the most carefully arranged of all the satires. The main body is a sermon by the philosopher Stertinius (alluded to in *Epist.* 1, 12, 20, but otherwise unknown to us) upon the Stoic Paradox *πᾶς ἄφρων μαίνεται*, that all men except the Stoic philosopher are mad. The discourse is carefully divided into four parts, taking up in turn the avaricious (82-157), the ambitious (158-223), the self-indulgent (224-246, with a special subdivision, 247-280, for the amorous), and the superstitious (281-295). There is a brief introduction (77-81) and a corresponding conclusion (296-299). This discourse is repeated to Horace by Damasippus, a recent convert to Stoicism, whose character and circumstances are admirably adapted to his part. He had been a collector of antique bronzes and a dealer in real estate and is alluded to by Cicero (*ad Fam.* 7, 23, 2; *ad Att.* 12, 29, 2; 12, 33, 1) in connection with the purchase of statuary and of land for gardens. But he had afterward failed in business and in his despair was about to throw himself into the Tiber, when he was saved by the intervention of Stertinius. The logical reasoning by which Stertinius convinced him that his motive for suicide was insufficient is an excellent bit of philosophical fooling and serves as an introduction to the main sermon.

The circumstances which brought Damasippus into contact with Horace are disclosed in a brief introductory dialogue (1-31). Horace represents himself as having gone out to his quiet Sabine farm at the time of the Saturnalia to escape the Christmas festivities and to do some work. But the work had been postponed and he was sitting in his study dozing after a good dinner (*vini somnique benignus*), when Damasippus burst in upon him, uninvited, having come out from the city full of zeal to rouse him from his laziness. To his exhortations Horace replies with good-natured irony in a rather superior tone and finally submits to a recital of the long sermon. When it is over (300-326), he rouses himself to make further ironical remarks, to which Damasippus replies with such point that Horace for a moment loses his temper and then surrenders, acknowledging himself to be as great a madman — almost — as his visitor. The opening and the closing bits of dialogue thus form a framework for the main body of the satire.

To the carefulness in construction an equal care in expression has been added. There are few passages where the thought is not clearly expressed and there are many of special excellence, like the farcical scene from the camp before Troy (187-207), a forerunner of *Sat.* 2, 5, or the brilliant paraphrase of the first lines of the *Eunuchus* (262-271).

The synonyms for *insanus* collected by Teuffel (*furiosus, excors, delirus, amens, amentia versatus, demens, cerritus, commotus, commotae mentis, mentem concussus, male tutae mentis, putidi cerebri*) are evidence of the pains taken to avoid monotony.

As to the underlying motive of the satire, it seems probable that the accusations of idleness in the opening lines were not without foundation. After the publication of the First Book there was probably a period in which Horace was disinclined to go on with precisely the same kind of writing and was perhaps turning toward lyric poetry. During this time of hesitation he may well have seemed to be occupied with his farm (307 f.) and to have abandoned his literary ambitions. To the doubts of his friends and the criticisms of his enemies this long and carefully constructed satire was intended to be a reply. At the same time it is, even more distinctly than *Sat.* 2, 2, an attempt to touch the follies of mankind with a lighter touch. The burlesque of Stoic formalism and solemnity runs through the whole and is in many places worked out in detail, so that the satire might well be taken to be a satire upon that sect. On the other hand, however, the absurdities and follies which are the subject-matter are equally the objects of attack, but they are made ridiculous by exaggeration rather than reproof. If the first part of the sermon of Stertinius (vss. 82-157) be compared with *Sat.* 1, 1, which deals with the same subject, the difference in manner will be apparent. There is in this satire none of the direct argument which gives a serious tone to *Sat.* 1, 1; the sermon of Stertinius is a series of absurd illustrations, — Staberius, Aristippus, the senseless miser, Orestes, Opimius, — which ridicule avarice by presenting it in its extremest forms. In short, the genial raillery of Horace is here directed by turns upon the preacher, upon the congregation, and upon the satirist himself.

*Damasippus.* Sic raro scribis, ut toto non quater anno  
membranam poscas, scriptorum quaeque retexens,  
iratus tibi, quod, vini somnique benignus,  
nil dignum sermone canas. Quid fiet? At ipsis

1. *scribis*: the final long syllable before the caesura occurs in a few other places; e.g. *Sat.* 1, 4, 82.

2. *membranam*: the parchment upon which the rough draft was written out; writing upon this

material could be erased and corrections made. — *retexens*: *unraveling*, with a change in the figure to weaving. — *scriptorum*: neut., partitive gen.

4. *dignum sermone*: *worth talk-*

- 5 Saturnalibus huc fugisti. Sobrius ergo  
 dic aliquid dignum promissis! Incipe! Nil est.  
 Culpantur frustra calami, immeritusque laborat  
 iratis natus paries dis atque poetis.  
 Atqui voltus erat multa et praeclara minantis,  
 10 si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto.  
 Quorsum pertinuit stipare Platona Menandro,  
 Eupolin, Archilochum, comites educere tantos?  
 Invidiam placare paras virtute relicta?  
 Contemnere, miser! Vitanda est improba Siren  
 15 desidia, aut quicquid vita meliore parasti

*ing about*; likely to increase your reputation. — *Quid fiet*: *what is to be the outcome?*

5. *Saturnalibus*: this feast began on Dec. 17 and was prolonged for several days. It was a time of feasting, of the giving of presents, and of special freedom for slaves. — *huc*: to his farm. — *Sobrius ergo*: 'well then, since you have chosen to keep out of the festivities.'

6-8. To the absurd exhortation to sit down at once and begin a poem Horace of course makes no response and Damasippus hastens to forestall his excuses: 'There is no use in blaming the pens or in pounding the wall, which doesn't deserve to bear the responsibility.' — *iratis natus dis*: *i.e.* under unfortunate auspices; cf. *Sat.* I, 5, 97 f., *Gnatia lymphis iratis exstructa*.

9 f. 'And yet just recall your determination to do some work

if you could only escape to the quiet of your farm.'

11 f. The Greek writers here named are poets; Eupolis, Plato, and Menander as representatives respectively of the Old, the Middle, and the New Comedy, and Archilochus as a writer of iambics like the Epodes. The selection of these writers is meant to indicate that Horace was turning from satire, in the traditional Roman form, toward satirical iambics. — *stipare*: of packing closely in his traveling-bags.

13. 'Are you preparing to pacify your enemies by abandoning satire?' To the Stoic reformer the earnest satirist seemed a kindred spirit and his attacks upon the follies of men seemed a *virtus*, almost as good as a Stoic sermon.

15 f. *quicquid . . . parasti*: not exactly his fame as a poet, for which the Stoic cared nothing, but his standing as a hortatory

ponendum aequo animo. *Hor.* Di te, Damasippe,  
deaeque

verum ob consilium donent — tonsore. Sed unde  
tam bene me nosti? *Dam.* Postquam omnis res mea  
Ianum

ad medium fracta est, aliena negotia curo,  
20 excussus propriis. Olim nam quaerere amabam,  
quo vafer ille pedes lavisset Sisyphus aere,  
quid sculptum infabre, quid fustum durius esset;

reformer, which he would lose if he turned aside to the mere pretinences of lyric poetry. — *aequo animo*: *i.e.* 'with such composure as you can muster.'

16 f. *Di . . . deaeque . . . donent*: a solemn formula in wishes and curses, though *dent* or *duint* is the more common verb. — *tonsore*: *i.e.* with that which the philosopher, with his long beard, seemed to need most. The reply is, of course, an expression of lazy irony, in the utmost possible contrast to the intense earnestness of Damasippus.

17 f. *unde . . . nosti*: with the implication, under the form of a polite question, that Damasippus was entirely mistaken.

18–20. *Ianum ad medium*: the same words are used by Cicero (*de Off.* 2, 24, 87) of a part of the Forum given up to the banking business, near the middle one of three arches. Such arches were frequently consecrated to Janus as the god of openings (cf. *ianua*). The expression would then be like

the phrase 'in Wall Street.' — *aliena negotia curo*: a hit at the reforming philosophers, who were thought of as busybodies in other men's matters. The phrase must be supposed to be used by the Stoic without consciousness of its double meaning, though Horace in some other places (cf. vss. 28–30 and note) puts into the mouth of Damasippus words that he would hardly have used. — *excussus*: the figure is that of a man knocked overboard from a shipwrecked vessel, a figure already suggested by *fracta*. — *quaerere*: *to investigate*, as a skilled expert in antiquities.

21. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 90 f. Both passages touch with humorous exaggeration the inclination of collectors to claim a fabulous antiquity for their artistic treasures. Sisyphus was king of Corinth, the center of artistic work in bronze.

22. *sculptum infabre, fustum durius*: the unskilful carving and hard (*i.e.* stiff and formal) casting, though they were defects in

callidus huic signo ponebam milia centum;  
hortos egregiasque domos mercarier unus  
25 cum lucro noram; unde frequentia Mercuriale  
imposuere mihi cognomen compita. *Hor. Novi*,  
et miror morbi purgatum te illius. *Dam.* Atqui  
emovit veterem mire novus, ut solet, in cor  
traiecto lateris miseri capitisve dolere,  
30 ut lethargicus hic cum fit pugil et medicum urget.

the artistic work, were evidence to the collector of the antiquity of the piece and, therefore, in his eyes, of its rarity and value.

23. *huic signo*: such a statue. — *milia centum*: i.e. the large price which its age would command in the market.

24-26. *unus cum lucro*: in spite of his bankruptcy and his adoption of the life of a philosopher, Damasippus cannot refrain from speaking with pride of his earlier successes in business. — *frequentia . . . compita*: the crowds that gathered at the street-corners, where statuary and bronzes were sold at auction. — *Mercuriale . . . cognomen*: favorite of Mercury, the god of trade (*merx*). But *Mercuriales viri* (*Carm.* 2, 17, 29 f.) means the favorites of Mercury as the god of speech.

27. *morbi*: Horace jokingly uses the technical term *morbus*, a translation of *πάθος*, which was used to describe any form of passion or any departure from calm philosophic reason.

28-30. *mire*: this repeats *miror*

in a kind of unintentional pun. Horace had used *miror* with irony — 'a surprising cure'; Damasippus in his well-meaning eagerness overlooks the irony and uses *mire* in the better sense: 'Oh, but the wonderful thing is not the cure; it is this new interest, which effected the cure, that is so wonderful.' But it is scarcely possible to explain in the same way, as due to the blundering eagerness of Damasippus, the comparison of Stoicism to a *morbus*, even to a kind of frenzy. Though Horace has not actually put the word into the mouth of Damasippus, the expression is still quite clearly inconsistent with his character, and we must say that Horace has here, as perhaps in vss. 19 and 33, failed to make the speech quite consistent with the character of the speaker. — The illustration in vs. 30 — 'as some man (*hic*) in a lethargy suddenly turns boxer and assaults 'his doctor' — is chosen in order to give an opening for the remark in vs. 31 and to lead up to the subject of madness.

*Hor.* Dum ne quid simile huic, esto ut libet. *Dam.*

O bone, ne te

frustrere; insanis et tu stultique prope omnes,  
si quid Stertinius veri crepat, unde ego mira  
descripsi docilis praecepta haec, tempore quo me

35 solatus iussit sapientem pascere barbam  
atque a Fabricio non tristem ponte reverti.

Nam, male re gesta, cum vellem mittere operto  
me capite in flumen, dexter stetit et 'Cave faxis  
te quicquam indignum! Pudor' inquit 'te malus angit,

40 insanos qui inter vereare insanus haberi.

31. *huic*: neut., referring to *fit pugil et urget*. 'I bar such conduct as that; otherwise, have it your own way.' The implication of course is that Damaspippus is liable to an attack of frenzy.

32. *ne te frustrere*: don't make a mistake; the common phrase is *ne sis frustra*. — *insanis* . . . *omnes*: this is the Stoic Paradox which forms the text of the sermon.

33. *crepat*: *prates*. The word is contemptuous, and inconsistent with 296, *sapientium octavus*, as with the general attitude of Damaspippus. It is another slip on Horace's part, like 19 and 28. — *unde*: *a quo*.

35. *sapientem pascere barbam*: put first, as if this external sign were more important than the thing signified. Cf. *Sat.* I, 3, 133.

36. The *pons Fabricius* is still

standing, with an inscription recording the fact that it was rebuilt by L. Fabricius, in the year 62 B.C. — *non tristem*: not as he had come, but reconciled to life.

37 *f. operto capite*: one who devoted himself to the gods of the lower world covered his face; so Decius, giving up his life to win victory, covered his head, and (Livy, 4, 12, 11) *multi . . . captibus obvolutis se in Tiberim praecipitaverunt*. — *dexter*: the side of good omen. — *faxis*: an old form (an optative of the sigmatic aorist) preserved in this colloquial combination with *cave*; 'don't do anything unworthy.' Horace uses a great variety of forms of prohibition.

39. *Pudor . . . malus*: not exactly what we call *false shame*, but a sense of humiliation which is really based upon a mistake. *Malus* is the emphatic word.



Primum nam inquiram quid sit furere : hoc si erit in te solo, nil verbi pereas quin fortiter addam.

Quem mala stultitia et quemcumque inscitia veri caecum agit, insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex

45 autumat. Haec populos, haec magnos formula reges, excepto sapiente, tenet. Nunc accipe quare desipiant omnes aequae ac tu, qui tibi nomen insano posuere. Velut silvis, ubi passim palantis error certo de tramite pellit,

50 ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit, unus utrique

41 ff. These lines illustrate the double humor of the whole satire ; they analyze the universal folly of men and at the same time they exhibit the folly of the Stoic himself, who addresses an elaborate argument to a man about to commit suicide and, in particular, an argument which does not prove the hearer sane, but only no more insane than his fellow-men.

41. **Primum** : in proper Stoic style, the argument begins with a definition. — **furere** : a synonym for *insanum esse*.

42. **fortiter** : Stoic teaching did not forbid suicide and Stertinius treats the question as one of pure logic.

43 f. **Quem** : add *-cumque* from the following *quemcumque*. — **stultitia**, **inscitia** : these are not two distinct qualities, but *stultitia* is the general term of which *inscitia veri* is a particular definition, still further defined by *caecum agit* : 'madness consists in being

moved by blind and ignorant impulse, instead of being guided by wisdom' (the opposite of *stultitia*). — **Chrysippi** : Zeno was the founder of the school, which took its name from the *στοά*, the Porch, where he taught. Chrysippus was the greatest of Zeno's successors and was often spoken of as the head of the school. — **grex** : not infrequently used, as here, of a *sect* of philosophy, usually with a slighting tone. It is hardly a word which a Stoic would have used of his school. Cf. 19, 28, 33 and notes.

45 f. **formula** : the definition just given. — **tenet** : covers, includes. — **Nunc** : introducing the argument based on the definition and corresponding somewhat loosely to *primum*, 41.

50 f. **unus, variis** : *i.e.* the fundamental error is the same, *inscitia veri caecum agit*, though the particular manifestations are different.

- error, sed variis illudit partibus : hoc te  
 crede modo insanum, nihilo ut sapientior ille,  
 qui te deridet, caudam trahat. Est genus unum  
 stultitiae nihilum metuenda timentis, ut ignis,  
 55 ut rupis fluviosque in campo obstare queratur ;  
 alterum et huic varum et nihilo sapientius ignis  
 per medios fluviosque ruentis : clamet amica  
 mater, honesta soror cum cognatis, pater, uxor,  
 'Hic fossa est ingens, hic rupes maxima, serva !'  
 60 non magis audierit quam Fufius ebrius olim,  
 cum Ilionam edormit, Catienis mille ducentis

51 f. hoc . . . modo: referring back to *velut* and also forward to *ut*; 'just as in the woods men stray from the path in one direction or another, — it makes no difference which side, — so you must understand your own madness, realizing that it is no greater than that of others.'

53. *caudam trahat*: the explanation of the Scholiast is 'solent enim pueri deridentes nescientibus a tergo caudam suspendere, ut velut pecus caudam trahant.' The conservatism of boys still preserves this form of humor.

54. *nihilum*: with *metuenda*, as a mere negative. Kiessling refers to the statement of this thought in Xenophon, *Mem.* I, I, 14. — *timentis*: agreeing with *stultitiae*, but the concrete *stultus* is so plainly implied that no subject is expressed for *queratur* and in the next sentence the abstract is

forgotten and *ruentis* is masc., as if agreeing with *stulti*.

55. *in campo*: i.e. on perfectly clear and level ground, where there are no fires or cliffs or rivers.

56. *huic varum*: different from this; *varus* seems to be very rare in this sense and perhaps has some humorous effect.

57. *amica*: with *mater* ('the mother who loves him'), to balance *honesta* ('whom he respects') with *soror*.

59. *fossa*, *rupes*: substituted for *ignis*, *fluvios*, merely for variety.

60-62. *audierit*: apodosis to the protasis expressed without *si* in *clamet*. — *Fufius*, *Ilionam*, *Catienis*: in the play of Pacuvius there was a scene in which the mother, Iliona, is roused from sleep by the spirit of her murdered son, who addresses her with the words *mater, te adpello, tu, quae curam somno suspensam levas;*

'Mater, te appello' clamantibus. Huic ego volgus  
errori similem cunctum insanire docebo.

Insanit veteres statuas Damasippus emendo :

65 integer est mentis Damasippi creditor? Esto.

'Accipe quod numquam reddas mihi' si tibi dicam,  
tunc insanus eris si acceperis? an magis excors

the mother should reply *age, adsta, mane, audi*. But, on one occasion, an actor named Fufius, who was playing the part of Iliona, had been drinking (*ebrius*) and actually fell asleep, so that the appeal of the son (played by Catienus) did not waken him, and the audience, seeing the situation, joined in repeating the first words *mater, te appello*. — *Ilionam edormit*: a cognate acc., like *Cyclopa saltare* (*Sat.* 1, 5, 63), but with a humorous effect; *was sleeping the part of Iliona*. — *mille ducentis*: twice the usual round number, *sescenti*.

62 f. *Huic . . . errori*: refers back to 49 and 51; the *error* is *inscitia veri* (43), the failure to see things as they really are. — *similem*: sc. *errorem*, which would be a cognate acc. after *insanire*.

65. *integer mentis*: = *sanus*. — *esto*: i.e. 'grant it for the moment and then see what absurdities it leads to.' The argument is that if Damasippus had proved himself a madman, as his creditors declared, by losing money in speculation, then the creditors had still more proved themselves madmen by

loaning him the money that he had lost. The *error* was the same, though the manifestations of it were different.

67 f. *excors*: = *insanus*. — *praesens Mercurius*: a creditor who offered money with the full understanding that it was never to be repaid would be to the debtor like the very god of riches in person.

67-71. These words are addressed to the lender of the money and the general sense is plain: 'take all the precautions you can, ten notes or, if ten are not enough, a hundred, a thousand; yet you must certainly know that your debtor can slip through them all, as Proteus slips through all bonds.' Nerius is the banker who pays over the money on an order from the creditor. With *decem* some general word like *scripta* was in Horace's mind, but the sentence is interrupted by the hasty words *non est satis* and when the thought is resumed, *tabulas* takes the place of the object; ten copies of the entry or order are not enough. Cicuta is a money-lender (referred to only here and in vs. 175) who is especially skilful in drawing up

reicta praeda, quam praesens Mercurius fert?

Scribe decem a Nerio; non est satis: adde Cicutae

70 nodosi tabulas centum, mille adde catenas:

effugiet tamen haec sceleratus vincula Proteus.

Cum rapies in ius malis ridentem alienis,

fiet aper, modo avis, modo saxum, et, cum volet, arbor.

Si male rem gerere insani est, contra bene sani,

75 putidius multo cerebrum est, mihi crede, Perelli

dictantis quod tu numquam rescribere possis.

Audire atque togam iubeo componere, quisquis  
ambitione mala aut argenti pallet amore,

legally binding forms of obligation; *nodosi* and *catenas* express the same figure. The creditor is not named here, though, as the thought becomes more definite (cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 15, and 20), he is called Perellius. Proteus is the sea-god who prophesies only when he is caught and held and who changes himself into many forms (vs. 73) to escape his captor. [The difficulty of this passage centers in *scribe decem a Nerio*, and it is the desire to make the sense of the whole passage square with our really insufficient knowledge of the technical terms and the method of procedure that has led Bentley and Kiessling into forced interpretations.]

72. *malis ridentem alienis*: a parody of the Homeric *οἱ δ' ἤδη γναθμοῖσι γελῶν ἄλλοτρίοισιν* (*Od.* 20, 347). But the phrase, which is perhaps proverbial, occurs only once in Homer, and the

situation there is highly tragic and dramatic; the suitors laughed because Athene had taken away their judgment, but woe was in their hearts. Some such sense as *unnatural, hysterical laughter* would perhaps fit both passages, but it is possible that Horace merely translated the phrase literally, without attaching a definite meaning to it.

75 f. *putidius*: another synonym for *insanius*. — *dictantis*: *i.e.* attending carefully to the exact wording of the document. — *rescribere*: *repay* by another written document; cf. *scribe*, vs. 69.

77–81. The introduction to the formal sermon. Both in the elaborate manner and in the matter it is a parody of Stoic teaching. It is addressed to other hearers than Damasippus, but it is not necessary to suppose that Horace meant to represent Stertinius as still standing on the *pons Fabri-*

quisquis luxuria tristive superstitione

80 aut alio mentis morbo calet ; huc propius me,  
dum doceo insanire omnis vos ordine, adite.

Danda est ellebori multo pars maxima avaris ;  
nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem.

Heredes Staberi summam incidere sepulchro,

85 ni sic fecissent, gladiatorum dare centum  
damnati populo paria atque epulum arbitrio Arri,

*cius* ; rather, this is some discourse noted down at a later time by the new convert. — *togam componere* : to intimate that the sermon was to be a long one. — *ambitione* : this is taken up second in the discourse, though here named first. — *pallet* : pale with the chill of fear, while *calet* refers to the fever of passion. — *omnis vos ordine* : *all from first to last* ; this use of *ordine* with *omnis* is colloquial and common in Plautus ; *Amph.* 599, *Capt.* 377, *Most.* 552, etc. [*M. G.* 875, which is sometimes referred to as evidence that *ordine* goes with *doceo*, has been misunderstood ; it is like the other Plautine passages.]

82 f. *ellebori* : *hellebore* was the recognized medicine for cases of insanity. It grew especially about Anticyra, in Phocis. — *nescio an* : with an implication of the affirmative, *I don't know but*. — *ratio* : *reason, i.e. philosophy*, as in *Sat.* 1, 3, 78, 115 ; here with special thought of philosophy as a cure of souls.

84. *Staberi* : unknown. He need not have been a real person, but one such inscription is extant and the rich man in Petronius (71) expresses his desire to have the amount of his fortune put on his tombstone.

85 f. *fecissent* : in indirect quotation from the will. — *damnati* : the technical word to express the penalty for failure to carry out the provisions of a will ; the formula was *heres meus dare damnas* (= *damnatus*) *esto*. — *centum* : one hundred pairs of gladiators would be a very large number. — *arbitrio Arri* : a public feast that would be extravagant enough to suit even Q. Arrius, who had himself given a notoriously extravagant funeral feast. — *frumenti* : a third penalty, a distribution of grain, as much as would be produced in a season from Egypt, the grain-producing center for Italy. The three penalties are made excessive in order to express the anxiety of Staberius that the requirement of his will should not be neglected.

frumenti quantum metit Africa. 'Sive ego prave  
 seu recte hoc volui, ne sis patruus mihi;' credo  
 hoc Staberi prudentem animum vidisse. Quid ergo  
 90 sensit, cum summam patrimoni insculpere saxo  
 heredes voluit? Quoad vixit, credidit ingens  
 pauperiem vitium et cavit nihil acrius, ut, si  
 forte minus locuples uno quadrante perisset,  
 ipse videretur sibi nequior; omnis enim res,  
 95 virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulchris  
 divitiis parent; quas qui construxerit, ille  
 clarus erit, fortis, iustus. Sapiensne? Etiam, et rex,  
 et quicquid volet. Hoc, veluti virtute paratum,  
 speravit magnae laudi fore. Quid simile isti

87 f. **Sive ego**: a direct quotation from the will. — **ne sis patruus**: *don't refuse me*; cf. *Sat.* 2, 2, 77 note.

89 f. **hoc**: the hesitation of his heirs and their probable desire to avoid a requirement which they might think foolish; *sive prave, seu recte*. — **vidisse**: gets from *prudentem* the sense of *providisse*; *foresaw in his wisdom*. — **Quid ergo sensit**: *well, then, what was his idea?*

92. **ut**: a clause of result, without antecedent, as in *Sat.* 1, 1, 96.

94. **nequior**: *i.e.* just so much the worse man; he measured himself by his success in business.

95 f. **pulchris divitiis**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 44, *quid habet pulchri constructus acervus*.

97. **Sapiensne**: this question is interjected by the speaker to

forestall the thought of a hearer; 'ah, but will he be a Stoic philosopher?' and the question is answered in the affirmative as the strongest possible expression of the value that men put upon money. The best commentary on the curt questions and answers here and below, 158 ff., 187 ff., is the remark of Cicero (*Parad.* 1, 2). 'Cato . . ., perfectus mea sententia Stoicus, . . . minutis interrogatiunculis, quasi punctis, quod proposuit efficit.' — On the Stoic Paradox here alluded to cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 124 and note. — **Etiam**: *yes*; often in colloquial Latin.

99. **Quid simile isti**: *i.e.* 'what is the likeness (or difference) between Staberius and Aristippus?' The question is repeated in more definite form in vs. 102, *uter . . . insanior?*



100 Graecus Aristippus? qui servos proicere aurum  
in media iussit Libya, quia tardius irent  
propter onus segnes. Vter est insanior horum?  
Nil agit exemplum, litem quod lite resolvit.  
Si quis emat citharas, emptas comportet in unum,  
105 nec studio citharae nec musae deditus ulli,  
si scalpra et formas non sutor, nautica vela  
aversus mercaturis, delirus et amens  
undique dicatur merito. Qui discrepat istis  
qui nummos aurumque recondit, nescius uti  
110 compositis, metuensque velut contingere sacrum?  
Si quis ad ingentem frumenti semper acervum

100. **Aristippus**: of the town of Cyrene, the founder of the Cyrenaic (or Hedonic) school of philosophy, whose fundamental doctrine is stated by Horace, *Epist.* 1, 1, 19, *et mihi res, non me rebus, subiungere conor*, 'things were made for man, not man for things.'

103. 'There is no force in an illustration which proposes to answer one question by asking another.' The introduction of Aristippus serves the same purpose in the argument as the mention of Naevius and Nomentanus in *Sat.* 1, 1, 101 f., and the reply there, *pergis pugnancia secum . . . componere*, means essentially the same thing as this line.

104. **emptas comportet in unum**: 'and, as soon as he has bought them, piles them up together,' as a miser stores his money. Cf. Livy, 1, 5, 3, *latrones*

. . . *Remum cepisse, captum regi Aemulio tradidisse.*

105. **musae . . . ulli**: to any kind of music.

106. **non sutor**: though he was not a shoemaker.

107. **aversus mercaturis**: merely a variation in phrase for *non nauta*. The *mercator* was a trader by sea (*Sat.* 1, 1, 6).

108. **undique**: on all sides, i.e. by everybody. — **Qui discrepat istis**: exactly the same in effect as *quid simile isti* (99).

109 f. **nummos aurumque**: since the coined money was chiefly silver, this double phrase is like 'silver and gold,' a double expression for a single idea. — **nescius uti**: like *nescis quo valeat nummus* (*Sat.* 1, 1, 73), as *metuens . . . sacrum* repeats *tamquam parcere sacris* (*Sat.* 1, 1, 71).

111 ff. The thought of this passage — that mere accumulation

- porrectus vigilet cum longo fuste, neque illinc  
 audeat esuriens dominus contingere granum,  
 ac potius foliis parcus vescatur amaris ;  
 115 si positis intus Chii veterisque Falerni  
 mille cadis — nihil est, tercentum milibus — acre  
 potet acetum ; age, si et stramentis incubet, unde-  
 octoginta annos natus, cui stragula vestis,  
 blattarum ac tinearum epulae, putrescat in arca :  
 120 nimirum insanus paucis videatur, eo quod  
 maxima pars hominum morbo iactatur eodem.  
 Filius aut etiam haec libertus ut ebibat heres,  
 dis inimice senex, custodis ? Ne tibi desit ?  
 Quantulum enim summae curtabit quisque dierum,

is folly — is much like parts of *Sat. I, 1*. In order to maintain the Stoic tone, the details are carried out to the point of extravagance (114, 116, 125), but the underlying idea is so distinctly Horace's own that the fiction of the Stoic preacher is almost forgotten.

112. *porrectus vigilet*: cf. *indormis inhians, Sat. I, 1, 71*.

117 f. *acetum*: cf. *veteris non parcus aceti, Sat. 2, 2, 62*. — *age*: as if a new and still more striking illustration had suddenly occurred to him. — *unde-octoginta*: a little more emphatic than the round number would be; 'just short of eighty,' 'all but eighty years old.'

120. *paucis*: used unexpectedly instead of *multis* or *omnibus*, to preserve the Stoic doctrine that only the *sapiens* is sane.

121. *iactatur*: of the tossing about of a fever-stricken man.

122. *libertus*: the wretched condition of the old miser is increased by the suggestion (more fully expressed in *Sat. I, 1, 80 ff.*) that he has alienated his natural heirs. — *ebibat*: with special reference to the preceding illustration, vss. 115-117, though of course with general application to 111 ff. and 117 ff. The same thought was afterward more effectively expressed by Horace in *Carm. 2, 14, 25 ff.*

123. *disinimice*: *God-forsaken*.

124. *enim*: not *for*, but like the English use of *now* or *why* to strengthen an argumentative question. — *summae*: dat.; for the sense cf. vs. 84. — *quisque dierum*: *i.e.* each of the few days still left to a man of your age.

126 f. These details of per-

- 125 unguere si caules oleo meliore caputque  
coeperis impexa foedum porrigine? Quare,  
si quidvis satis est, periuras, surripis, aufers  
undique? Tun' sanus? Populum si caedere saxis  
incipias servosve tuos quos aere pararis,  
130 insanum te omnes pueri clamentque puellae:  
cum laqueo uxorem interimis matremque veneno,  
incolumi capite es? Quid enim? Neque tu hoc facis  
Argis,

sonal untidiness and moral obliquity are part of the conventional picture of the miser. They are used occasionally in *Sat.* 1, 1 (*e.g.* vss. 96 ff.), but always with a humorous recognition of their extravagance; here the fanatical Stoic attributes the sins of the individual (a malefactor of great wealth) to the whole class, as if he were using a serious argument. — *si quidvis satis est*: *i.e.* 'if you accept the doctrine of philosophy that enough is as good as a feast.' Cf. Turpil. 144 R., *ut philosophi aiunt isti quibus quidvis sat est*, and *Sat.* 1, 1, 59, *qui tantuli eget quanto est opus*.

128-141. 'You in your senses? Most certainly not. To be sure, the common judgment is that madness shows itself in violence, but when you poison your mother, do you think that the absence of violence proves you sane? What, you think it does? You are no Orestes, you say, the madman who went to Argos and killed his mother with a sword, for you did the deed

without bloodshed and not in Argos either. But it is the crime, not the manner or the place of it, that proves a man mad. As to Orestes, his madness began before his violent outbreak and in fact, after the act that is commonly considered evidence of his madness, his conduct was most normal and exemplary—except a little harmless cursing.'

129. *servos tuos*: a little hit at the lover of money, who would be quite unlikely to injure the money-value of his own slaves.

130. *pueri . . . puellae*: proverbial, as in *Sat.* 1, 1, 85.

131. *cum . . . interimis*: *i.e.* 'when you are engaged in some quiet crime, all in the family.' There is, of course, no implication that any such crime has been committed; much less, as is generally said, that the miser had murdered his mother for her money. That motive is suggested in the parallel passage, *Sat.* 2, 1, 53 ff., but not here.

132. *Argis*: locat. from *Argi*. The point is to show that the

- nec ferro ut demens genetricem occidis Orestes.  
 An tu reris eum occisa insanisse parente,  
 135 ac non ante malis dementem actum Furiis quam  
 in matris iugulo ferrum tepefecit acutum?  
 Quin, ex quo est habitus male tutae mentis Orestes,  
 nil sane fecit quod tu reprehendere possis:  
 non Pyladen ferro violare aususve sororem  
 140 Electram, tantum maledicit utrique, vocando  
 hanc Furiam, hunc aliud, iussit quod splendida bilis.  
 Pauper Opimius argenti positi intus et auri,  
 qui Veientanum festis potare diebus  
 Campana solitus trulla vappamque profestis,

manner of the crime is wholly unessential, as unessential as the place where it was committed.

134. *occisa insanisse*: 'that his madness began *after* he had killed his mother.'

135. *dementem actum*: *driven mad*.

137. *Quin*: '*why, on the contrary*.'—*male tutae*: *non tutae*; one of the synonyms for *insanus*.

138. *sane*: strengthening *nil*; *he certainly did nothing*.

139 ff. *Pyladen, Electram*: the friend and the sister who had helped him to carry out his purpose. The passage in which he calls his sister a Fury is in Euripides, *Orest.* 264, but there is no place in an extant play in which he uses hard words of Pylades. The whole reference in 140 f. has nothing to do with the argument; it may be introduced as a bit of Stoic precision in trifles or it may

be mere burlesque of a tragic situation.—*splendida bilis*: bile was considered to be the cause of madness and *splendida* is apparently used literally, *shining*, from the descriptions in medical books.—It is entirely in the manner of Horace to drop the argument here, without drawing a conclusion, and to go on without preface to a new illustration. Cf., e.g., *Sat.* 1, 1, 67 f. and below, vss. 186 f.

142. *Opimius*: coined from *opimus*, as *Novius*, in *Sat.* 1, 6, 40, from *novus*, and contrasted with *pauper*.—*argenti*: gen. with *pauper*.

143 f. *Veientanum*: a poor wine, but better than *vappa*, mere lees of wine.—*Campana*: cheap ware, which Horace himself used for ordinary purposes (*Sat.* 1, 6, 118), though perhaps not for drinking.—*trulla*: the ladle, so that he

- 145 quondam lethargo grandi est oppressus, ut heres  
iam circum loculos et clavis laetus ovansque  
curreret. Hunc medicus multum celer atque fidelis  
excitat hoc pacto: mensam poni iubet atque  
effundi saccos nummorum, accedere pluris  
150 ad numerandum; hominem sic erigit. Addit et illud,  
'Ni tua custodis, avidus iam haec auferet heres.'  
'Men' vivo?' 'Vt vivas, igitur, vigila, hoc age.'  
'Quid vis?'  
'Deficient inopem venae te, ni cibus atque  
ingens accedit stomacho futura ruenti.  
155 Tu cessas? Agedum, sume hoc ptisanarium oryzae.'  
'Quanti emptae?' 'Parvo.' 'Quanti, ergo?' 'Octus-  
sibus.' 'Eheu!  
quid refert, morbo an furtis pereamque rapinis?'  
Quisnam igitur sanus? Qui non stultus. Quid  
avarus?

did not need to have a drinking-cup.

147. *multum*: with *celer* and *fidelis*; cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 57.

148. *hoc pacto*: *i.e.* in the way which is described in the next verses.

149 ff. The details (*pluris* to make a little confusion, *iam*, *immediately*, *this very moment*) are added to show the directness of the appeal to the tenderest sensibilities of Opimius.

152. *vigila*: both in the literal sense and in the freer meaning. — *hoc age*: a general form of exhortation to pay attention; *attend to business!*

154. *ingens*: *immense*, with intentional exaggeration. — *futura ruenti*: *fulcure* and its derivatives are used in a half-technical sense of food and stimulants, and the figure is carried on in *ruenti*.

155. *Tu cessas*: he hesitated at the thought of the expense. — *ptisanarium oryzae*: *rice-gruel*.

157. *furtis . . . rapinis*: *i.e.* the cost, which seemed to him so great, of the gruel which the doctor was trying to get him to take. — With this exclamation he falls back in despair.

158-160. On the short questions and answers cf. vs. 97 and note. They are all spoken by

Stultus et insanus. Quid, si quis non sit avarus,  
 160 continuo sanus? Minime. Cur, Stoice? Dicam.  
 Non est cardiacus (Craterum dixisse putato)  
 hic aeger. Recte est igitur surgetque? Negabit,  
 quod latus aut renes morbo temptentur acuto.  
 Non est periurus neque sordidus: immolet aequis  
 165 hic porcum Laribus; verum ambitiosus et audax:  
 naviget Anticyram. Quid enim differt, barathrone  
 dones quicquid habes, an numquam utare paratis?  
 Servius Oppidius Canusi duo praedia, dives

Sertinius, but the questions express the supposed attitude of a listener. The use of *Stoice*, however, with its suggestion of some slight scorn (cf. vs. 300), is not dramatically correct; cf. *crepat*, vs. 33 and note. — *continuo*: *i.e.* 'may we *at once* conclude that he is sane?'

161 f. *cardiacus*: *dyspeptic*. — *Craterum*: a physician of the Ciceronian time, referred to in *ad Att.* 12, 13, 1; 12, 14, 4, as worthy of confidence. — *Recte est*: sc. *ei*, but translate personally.

163. *temptentur*: a half-technical word of illness. The subjv. is used to imply that this is the reason given by Craterus for his refusal to let the patient get up.

164-167. The application of the story and the transition from the folly of avarice to the folly of ambition. — *periurus*, *sordidus*: these adjectives go back in particular to vss. 125 ff., but with a general reference to the avaricious

man. — *immolet* . . . *porcum*: *i.e.* 'let him thank the gods for his sanity — so far.' In Plautus, *Men.* 289 ff., a pig is to be offered to the gods to bring about a recovery from insanity; here it is in gratitude for exemption from insanity; the two ideas are essentially the same. — *ambitiosus et audax*: *recklessly ambitious*. — *naviget*: 'he may as well engage passage for the land of hellebore;' *i.e.* he is beyond question a mad-man. — *barathro dones*: the emphasis through vs. 186 is upon the heavy expense of a political career, so that this paragraph serves as a transition from avarice, through its opposite, to ambition. — *numquam utare*: cf. *nescius uti compositis*, vss. 109 f.

168. *Canusi*: Canusium was not far from Venusia and this story of Servius Oppidius (*oppidum*?) belongs in the same class as the Ofellus satire (2, 2) and the story told by Cervius (*Sat.*



antiquo censu, gnatis divisisse duobus  
 170 fertur, et hoc moriens pueris dixisse vocatis  
 ad lectum: 'Postquam te talos, Aule, nucesque  
 ferre sinu laxo, donare et ludere vidi,  
 te, Tiberi, numerare, cavis abscondere tristem,  
 extimui ne vos ageret vesania discors,  
 175 tu Nomentanum, tu ne sequerere Cicutam.  
 Quare per divos oratus uterque Penatis,  
 tu cave ne minuas, tu ne maius facias id  
 quod satis esse putat pater et natura coercet.  
 Praeterea ne vos titillet gloria, iure

2, 6, 77 ff.). They are bits of practical philosophy which are most appropriately clothed in the guise of homely tales from the country.

169 f. *antiquo censu*: *according to old-fashioned standards*. — *pueris*: they were still young enough for boyish games.

171. *talos, nuces*: for games like jack-stones and marbles. So Augustus (Suet. *Oct.* 83): *animi laxandi causa . . . talis aut ocellatis nucibusque ludebat cum pueris minutis*.

172 f. *sinu laxo*: the fold of the toga served as a pocket; in this case a pocket with a hole in it. — *donare*: with careless generosity. — *ludere*: *i.e.* to gamble and, occasionally, to lose. — *tristem*: *with anxious look*.

174. *ageret*: cf. *agit*, vs. 44. — *vesania discors*: *two different kinds of madness*. There is no suggestion of discord between the brothers.

175. *Nomentanum*: *Sat.* 1, 1, 102. — *Cicutam*: above, vs. 69.

176. *oratus*: agreeing with *uterque*, but the words must be freely rendered; 'wherefore I beseech you both.'

177. *minuas, maius facias*: the same idea of frugal contentment with a modest patrimony was urged upon Horace by his father (*Sat.* 1, 4, 107 f.) and, he says, became his rule of life (*Sat.* 2, 6, 7 f.).

178. *natura coercet*: *i.e.* within the limits set by natural desires; cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 50. Strictly, *quod* is the obj. of *coercet*; 'the patrimony which nature limits.'

179 ff. The warning against political ambition is apparently addressed to both sons, but it has little meaning in its application to Tiberius and, indeed, no connection at all with the first part of the story, the point of which is the *vesania discors*, the

180 iurando obstringam ambo: uter aedilis fueritve  
vestrum praetor, is intestabilis et sacer esto.

In cicere atque faba bona tu perdasque lupinis,  
latus ut in Circo spatiere et aeneus ut stes,  
nudus agris, nudus nummis, insane, paternis?

185 Scilicet ut plausus, quos fert Agrippa, feras tu,  
astuta ingenuum volpes imitata leonem!

‘Ne quis humasse velit Aiacem, Atrida, vetas cur?’  
‘Rex sum.’ ‘Nil ultra quaero plebeius.’ ‘Et aequam

contrast between the different dispositions of the two boys.

181. *intestabilis*: ‘shall forfeit his legacy.’ — *sacer esto*: the common legal formula for one who violates a law; here a part of the oath which the sons were to take.

182. *cicere, faba, lupinis*: gifts of food to the common people to win favor and votes. The reference is to customs in Rome, as the other local and personal allusions show (175, 183, esp. 185).

183. *latus . . . spatiere*: such a man is described in *Epod.* 4, 7 f.: *Sacram metiente te viam | cum bis trium ulnarum toga*. — *aeneus*: i.e. may have a bronze statue of you erected in some public place.

185 f. *Agrippa*: see introd. to this satire. Agrippa was one of the really influential men of the period. — The next line cannot be an allusion to the fable of the Ass in the Lion's Skin (*Sat.* 2, 1, 64 f.), and there is

apparently no fable which quite corresponds to this; it may very well be general, ‘like a fox who tries to act a lion's part.’

187–207. A scene in the camp before Troy. Ajax, having been defeated in the contest for the arms of Achilles and becoming insane from disappointment, attacks the flocks of sheep under the delusion that they are his rivals and finally takes his own life. Agamemnon forbids the burial of the body and a common soldier comes to remonstrate. There is no attempt to avoid anachronisms; on the contrary, the humor consists largely in the introduction into a Homeric situation of modern words, like *plebeius*, *consulere*, and of Stoic forms of sentence and methods of argument.

187. *Ne quis . . . velit*: legal phraseology, in which the perf. infin. is often used.

188 f. *Et aequam*: the pretended humility of the soldier obliges the king to add a further

- rem imperito; ac si cui videor non iustus, inulto  
 190 dicere quod sentit permitto.' 'Maxime regum,  
 di tibi dent capta classem reducere Troia!  
 Ergo consulere et mox respondere licebit?'  
 'Consule.' 'Cu: Ajax, heros ab Achille secundus,  
 putescit, totiens servatis clarus Achivis?  
 195 Gaudeat ut populus Priami Priamusque inhumato,  
 per quem tot iuvenes patrio caruere sepulchro?'  
 'Mille ovium insanus morti dedit, inclutum Vlixen  
 et Menelaum una mecum se occidere clamans.'  
 'Tu, cum pro vitula statuis dulcem Aulide gnatam  
 200 ante aras, spargisque mola caput, improbe, salsa,  
 rectum animi servas?' 'Quorsum?' 'Insanus quid  
 enim Ajax

justification; 'and, besides, what I am ordering is just.' The rest of the sentence is a still more rapid descent from *rex sum*. — *inulto*: *with impunity*.

191. A complimentary wish, to introduce the request with a courteous formula; translated from the Iliad, I, 18 f.

192. *consulere*: the technical term for consulting a jurist. — *mox respondere*: the jurist then gave his formal 'opinion' upon the case. Strictly, the thought would require *tibi libebit* instead of *licebit* with *respondere*.

194. *putescit*: *i.e.* lie unburied.

195. *Gaudeat*: from the Iliad, I, 255.

197. *Mille*: a subst. with the gen. This construction is common in early Latin, but is retained in the

classical period only rarely in the singular. — *insanus*: this turns the dialogue in the desired direction.

199. *pro vitula*: the important words and the basis of the argument that follows; 'of course Ajax was mad when he mistook a sheep for a man, but so also were you when you mistook your daughter for a heifer.'

200. *mola . . . salsa*: the sprinkling of salted meal on the head of the victim was a part of the ordinary ceremonial, but its mention here serves to make the scene more vivid.

201. *rectum animi servas*: another periphrasis for the frequently recurring idea of sanity. — *Quorsum*: *the point?* Short for *quorsum haec tendunt?* Cf. *Sat.* 2, 7, 21.

fecit, cum stravit ferro pecus? Abstinuit vim  
 uxore et gnato; mala multa precatus Atridis,  
 non ille aut Teucrum aut ipsum violavit Vlixen.  
 205 'Verum ego, ut haerentis adverso litore navis  
 eriperem, prudens placavi sanguine divos.'  
 'Nempe tuo, furiose.' 'Meo, sed non furiosus.'  
 Qui species alias veris scelerisque tumultu  
 permixtas capiet, commotus habebitur, atque  
 210 stultitiane erret nihilum distabit an ira.  
 Ajax immeritos cum occidit desipit agnos:  
 cum prudens scelus ob titulos admittis inanis,

203. *mala* . . . *precatus*: as the violent language of Orestes to his sister and his friend was not inconsistent with sanity (vss. 140 f.).

204. *ipsum*: Ulysses was his successful rival in the contest for the arms.

205 f. *adverso*: *hostile*, 'on a lee-shore.' — *prudens*: *intentionally*, after careful deliberation, not on a mad impulse. 'And the act was a pious one; I pacified the gods.'

207. *furiose*: a much stronger word than *insanus*. — At this point the dialogue ends as abruptly as it had begun and the following lines (208–213) are the comment of Stertinius.

208 f. The terms here used are colored with Stoic meanings. *Species* are the impressions received through the senses; if they do not correspond to the reality (*alias veris*), that fact is evidence

of illusion, as in vss. 53–58.\* If they are still further distorted by passion (*tumultu permixtas*), the evidence of insanity is complete (*commotus habebitur*). The sense of *scelus* also is technical, for the Stoic refused to distinguish crime from madness (cf. vss. 278 ff.); *sceleris tumultu* is hardly more than *insano tumultu*.

210. *stultitia*: the fault of Agamemnon, who claimed *prudencia*. — *ira*: the cause of the madness of Ajax.

212. *titulos*: the inscriptions under the masks in the atrium of a Roman house. They recited the public offices held by each person represented and constituted the claim of the owner of the house to nobility. — *admittis*: the contrast with vs. 211 suggests that this is addressed to Agamemnon, as if he were present, but it is also addressed to the hearer, the ambitious man; 'when you

stas animo, et purum est vitio tibi, cum tumidum est,  
cor?

Si quis lectica nitidam gestare amet agnam,  
215 huic vestem, ut gnatae, paret, ancillas paret, aurum,  
Rufam aut Pusillam appellet, fortique marito  
destinet uxorem, interdicto huic omne adimat ius  
praetor, et ad sanos abeat tutela propinquos.  
Quid? si quis gnatam pro muta devovet agna,  
220 integer est animi? Ne dixeris. Ergo ubi prava  
stultitia, hic summa est insania; qui sceleratus,  
et furiosus erit; quem cepit vitrea fama,  
hunc circumtonuit gaudens Bellona cruentis.

Nunc age, luxuriam et Nomentanum arripe mecum;  
225 vincet enim stultos ratio insanire nepotes.

commit such a crime for empty  
honors . . .'

213. stas animo: the same  
figure as that in *commotus*, 219. —  
tumidum: absolute; 'when it is in  
the tumult of passion.' For this  
contrast with philosophic calm see  
Cic. *Tusc.* 3, 9, 19, where *in tumore*,  
*tumidus*, and *tumens* are all used  
absolutely, and esp. *sapientis autem*  
*animus semper vocat vitio, num-*  
*quam turgescit, numquam tumet.*

214 ff. gestare: i.e. to have it  
carried. — Rufam, Pusillam: or-  
dinary feminine names, taken at  
random. — interdicto: to be trans-  
lated as a verb; 'the praetor would  
lay his interdict upon him and  
. . .'. This was a regular pro-  
ceeding under Roman law and this  
is only an elaborate way of saying  
that he would be adjudged insane.

221. sceleratus: cf. *sceleris tu-*  
*multu*, vs. 208; the same contrast  
as that between *stultitia* and *ira*,  
vs. 210.

222. vitrea: not infrequent in  
this general sense, *glittering, daz-*  
*zling*. — fama: = *gloria*, 179.

223. Bellona: an eastern god-  
dess whose rites were celebrated  
with crazy orgies and self-inflicted  
wounds (*gaudens cruentis*).

224-280. The third head of the  
discourse, the folly of luxury.

224. Nomentanum: cf. vs. 175.  
— arripe mecum: = *arripiamus*,  
'let us attack.' The verb is  
suited either to the Stoic preacher  
or to the satirist, 2, 1, 69.

225. vincet . . . ratio: cf. vs.  
83 and *Sat.* 1, 3, 115. — stultos:  
with *insanire*; are fools and mad  
men.

Hic simul accepit patrimoni mille talenta,  
 edicit, piscator uti, pomarius, auceps,  
 unguentarius, ac Tusci turba impia vici,  
 cum scurris fartor, cum Velabro omne macellum,  
 230 mane domum veniant. Quid tum? Venere frequentes.  
 Verba facit leno: 'Quicquid mihi, quicquid et horum  
 cuique domi est, id crede tuum, et vel nunc pete vel  
 cras.'

Accipe quid contra iuvenis responderit aequus:  
 'In nive Lucana dormis ocreatus, ut aprum  
 235 cenem ego; tu piscis hiberno ex aequore verris;  
 segnis ego, indignus qui tantum possideam: aufer!

226-238. A picture of the Rake's Progress, not inferior in its irony and its real moral power to Hogarth's engravings. The effectiveness of it lies in the artifice of representing the essentials of a spendthrift's career as if the events had actually occurred in this bare form. For Horace does not mean that such a gathering as this took place or that these words were uttered, but that this is what the whole story really amounts to, if we go below the surface. There is a grave irony in the lines and the burlesque of the Stoic manner is dropped.

227 ff. *edicit*: *proclaims* by his attitude and conduct. Cf. *Sat.* 2, 2, 51 for a similar, ironical use of this formal word.—*piscator*, *pomarius*, . . . : purveyors of various luxuries.—*Tusci* . . . *vici*: a street leading from the Forum toward the river, one of the dis-

reputable quarters of the city.—*scurris*: a *scurra* was a hanger-on of some richer man, a professional diner-out who lived by his wits.—*fartor*: perhaps *the sausage-maker*.—*Velabro*: a street opening from the *Tusci vicus*, a center of the trade in various kinds of provisions.—*Quid tum*: *what next?*

231. *leno*: the procurer is the suitable spokesman.

233. *aequus*: *fair-minded*; for their valuable services he proposes to make a fair return.

234. *Lucana*: the boars of Lucania were especially esteemed for food.—*ocreatus*: greaves were worn to protect the hunter from the tusks of the boar. These details of hardship and danger carry on the irony of *aequus*.

235. *hiberno*: cf. *Sat.* 2, 2, 16 f.

237. *decies*: sc. *centena milia sestertium*, a million, of course an absurd sum.



sume tibi deciens; tibi tantundem; tibi triplex,  
unde uxor media currit de nocte vocata.'

Filius Aesopi detractam ex aure Metellae,

240 scilicet ut deciens solidum absorberet, aceto  
diluit insignem bacam: qui sanior ac si  
illud idem in rapidum flumen iaceretve cloacam?

Quinti progenies Arri, par nobile fratrum,  
nequitia et nugis pravorum et amore gemellum,

245 lusciniæ soliti impenso prandere coemptas,  
quorsum abeant? Sanin' creta, an carbone notandi?  
Aedificare casas, plostello adiungere mures,

238. unde: = *a quo*. — Notice again the abrupt ending of one story and beginning of another.

239. Aesopi: a distinguished actor of Cicero's time, of whose follies some reports have come down to us. He left to his son, however, a large fortune and a taste for extravagance. — Metellæ: probably the wife of Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, several times referred to in Cicero's letters.

240. solidum: agreeing with *deciens* as a substantive; 'a whole million,' somewhat as we say 'a lump sum.' — This story is also connected with Antony and Cleopatra. But pearls do not dissolve in wine or vinegar.

243. Arri: cf. vs. 86 and note. — *par nobile fratrum*: often quoted as if *nobile* meant *noble* and were used here ironically. It is the not infrequent use of *nobilis* in precisely the sense of *notus*, with

either a good or a bad sense; here *notorious*.

244 f. pravorum: with *amore*. — *gemellum*: agreeing with *par*, but to be rendered freely. — *impenso*: *at vast expense*. Stories quite incredible have come down to us of the cost of a single night-*ingale*.

246. quorsum abeant: *into which class shall they be put?* — *creta*, *carbone*: so *albus et ater*, *Epist.* 2, 2, 189, and *albus an ater homo*, Catull. 93, 2. All these are merely expressions of the natural association of black with evil and white with good. For completeness *insani* would be used with *carbone*, but it is unnecessary to supply it.

247-280. The madness of lovers. This subject is not announced in the introduction (vss. 77-81), but may be considered to be included under the third heading, the passion for luxury.

- ludere par impar, equitare in arundine longa,  
 si quem delectet barbatum, amentia verset.
- 250 Si puerilius his ratio esse evincet amare,  
 nec quicquam differre utrumne in pulvere, trimus  
 quale prius, ludas opus, an meretricis amore  
 sollicitus piores, quaero, faciasne quod olim  
 mutatus Polemon, ponas insignia morbi,  
 255 fasciolas, cubital, focalia, potus ut ille  
 dicitur ex collo furtim carpsisse coronas,  
 postquam est impransi correptus voce magistri?  
 Porrigis irato puero cum poma, recusat:  
 'Sume, catelle!' negat; si non des, optet: amator

247-249. The children's games here mentioned are still in vogue. — *barbatum*: *i.e.* after he had come to manhood. — *amentia verset*: synonym for *insanus sit*.

250. *amare*: subj. of *esse*, of which *puerilius* is predicate.

251 *f. in pulvere*: *in the sand*, with a suggestion of the waste of labor which is again expressed in *ludas opus*, 'fool away your labor.' — *prius*: agreeing with *opus* to be supplied and referring back to *vss.* 247 ff.

254. *Polemon*: an example of the reforming power of philosophy, often referred to by Greek and Latin writers. He was a young clubman in Athens who, as he was returning from a drinking-bout, heard the voice of Xenocrates expounding the philosophy of the Academic school. He entered the room, was immediately converted (*mutatus*) by the doctrine, and

afterward became the successor of Xenocrates as head of the school.

255. *fasciolas*: bindings about the ankle, a kind of decorative garter. — *cubital*: an *elbow-cushion*, apparently carried about for use at any time. — *focalia*: wrappings for the throat, *neckcloths*. These are all signs of that effeminacy an affectation of which was fashionable in the Augustan period; it is difficult to tell in regard to Maecenas, for example, how far it was real and how far assumed.

256. *furtim*: as he began to realize how the signs of dissipation looked to serious people. — *coronas*: he was still wearing flowers from the banquet.

257. *impransi*: cf. *Sat.* 2, 2, 7.

259. *catelle*: a humorous term of mingled reproof and endearment, without any of the suggestions of the English 'puppy' or 'whelp'; *little scamp, little rogue*.

- 260 exclusus qui distat, agit ubi secum eat an non,  
quo rediturus erat non arcessitus, et haeret  
invisis foribus? 'Nec nunc, cum me vocat ultro,  
accedam, an potius mediter finire dolores?  
Exclussit; revocat: redeam? Non, si obsecret.' Ecce
- 265 servus, non paulo sapientior: 'O ere, quae res  
nec modum habet neque consilium, ratione modoque  
tractari non volt. In amore haec sunt mala, bellum,  
pax rursum: haec si quis tempestatis prope ritu  
mobilia et caeca fluitantia sorte laboret
- 270 reddere certa sibi, nihilo plus explicet ac si

260. qui distat: cf. *quid simile*,  
vs. 99; *qui discrepat istis*, vs. 108.  
The endeavor to prove all men  
equally mad leads to the frequent  
use of this kind of phrase. — agit:  
*considers, argues.*

262 ff. This passage is a trans-  
position of the first lines of Ter-  
ence's *Eunuchus* from iambic  
senarii into hexameters. The cor-  
responding verses of the *Eunuchus*  
(46 ff.) are as follows: —

Phaedria, the lover, speaks:—

Quid igitur faciam? nōn eam ne nūc quidem  
quam accēssor ultro? an pōtius ita me cōparem,  
non pēpeti meretrīcū contumēlias?  
exclūssit; revocat: rédeam? non, sī me óbsecret.

Parmeno, the slave, replies (vss. 57 ff.):—

ere, quae, res in se néque consilium néque modum  
habet ūllum, eam consilio regere nōn potes.  
in amóre haec omnia insunt vitia: iniúriæ,  
suspíciones, inimitiæ, indútiae,  
bellum, pax rursum; incérta haec si tu póstules  
ratione certa facere, nihilo plús agas  
quam sí des operam ut cūm ratione insánias.

265. sapientior: the confiden-  
tial slave in the comedies is usually  
in the position of advisor to his  
young master.

267. non volt: *i.e.* cannot, does  
not submit to such treatment.

268 f. tempestatis . . . ritu:

*changeable as the weather.* In  
this use *ritu* is no more than *modo*.  
— caeca . . . sorte: the direct op-  
posite of *certa ratione*.

270. explicet: *untangle*,  
*straighten out, i.e.* reduce the  
matter to system and certainty.

insanire paret certa ratione modoque.'

Quid? cum, Picenis excerpens semina pomis,  
gaudes si cameram percusti forte, penes te es?

Quid? cum balba feris annoso verba palato,  
275 aedificante casas qui sanior? Adde cruorem  
stultitiae, atque ignem gladio scrutare. Modo, inquam,  
Hellade percussa Marius cum praecipitat se,  
cerritus fuit? An commotae crimine mentis  
absolves hominem, et sceleris damnabis eundem,  
280 ex more imponens cognata vocabula rebus?

272 f. *Picenis*: specified merely for vividness. Picenum was a region of good orchards.—The moist appleseeds were pinched out between the thumb and the forefinger; if one could be made to strike the ceiling (*cameram*), it was an omen of success in love.

274 f. *feris*: the words of love are stammering because the organs of speech (*palato*) are those of an old man and the sounds stumble over them. For the rather forced *feris* Persius, imitating this passage (in 1, 35), uses *tenero supplantat* ('trips up') *verba palato*.—*aedificante*: this refers back to vs. 247.

275. *cruorem*: i.e. the violent crimes into which men are led by love.

276 f. *ignem* . . . *scrutare*: a reference to the Pythagorean saying πῦρ μαχαίρα μὴ σκαλεύειν, but with a different sense, like *oleum adde camino*, vs. 321.—*Modo*: just lately; the murder and suicide

had occurred just before this and had been much talked about, so that a bare allusion is enough. For the same reason *praecipitat* is used alone without *in Tiberim* or *de rupe*. The persons mentioned are unknown to us.

278. *cerritus*: *mad*; an old word of uncertain origin, used several times in Plautus.

278–280. 'Or will you acquit him of insanity and in the same breath call him a murderer, giving, as people do, different names to things which are really identical?' The interpretation is not quite easy, the difficulty being in *cognata*, *related*, *kindred*. The general sense is clear. The Stoic doctrine was that crime and madness were the same thing — *qui sceleratus, et furiosus erit*, 221 f.—and should be called by the same name; but the common way was to give them different names (*insania*, *scelus*) which are nevertheless alike (*cognata*) in meaning.

Libertinus erat, qui circum compita siccus  
 lautis mane senex manibus currebat et 'Vnum'  
 ('quid tam magnum?' addens), 'unum me surpите  
 morti,  
 dis etenim facile est!' orabat; sanus utrisque  
 285 auribus atque oculis; mentem, nisi litigiosus,  
 exciperet dominus cum venderet. Hoc quoque volgus  
 Chrysippus ponit fecunda in gente Meneni.  
 'Iuppiter, ingentis qui das adimisque dolores,'  
 mater ait pueri mensis iam quinque cubantis,  
 290 'frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit, illo  
 mane die, quo tu indicis ieiunia, nudus

281-295. Fourth head, the folly of superstition. This is a subject in which Horace felt little interest; he scarcely touches it elsewhere in the satires, and the brief treatment of it here is rather lifeless.

281 f. The details are not insignificant. The man was old, so that death was not far away; he was a freedman, probably a foreigner, and therefore more inclined to superstition; he observed the foreign (perhaps Jewish) customs of fasting (*siccus*) and of ceremonial washings (*lautis manibus*) and one shrine was to him as good as another (*circum compita*).

282 f. *Vnum*: not *me only*, in preference to others, but 'exercise your power just once — such a little thing to do.' — *surpите*: *surripite*; the shortened forms are colloquial.

286 f. *exciperet*: 'would have made a distinct exception' in

giving a guaranty of soundness. The tense refers back to the time when he was still a slave. — *hoc . . . volgus*: the superstitious, as exemplified in the case just described, with the implication that there are many of them. — *fecunda . . . Meneni*: the general sense is plain, that the superstitious are to be reckoned among the insane, but no contemporary Menenius is known, to whom the allusion would apply.

288 ff. As so frequently, the next illustration begins abruptly, without explanation.

289. *cubantis*: *lying ill*; cf. *Sat.* 1, 9, 18.

290 f. *quartana*: one of the forms of recurrent malaria, *quartan chills*. — *illo . . . die*: there was no Roman week, but there are traces of the eastern week here and there in Latin literature. Tibullus (1, 3, 18) refers to *Saturni dies* (Sat-

in Tiberi stabit.' Casus medicusve levarit  
aegrum ex praecipiti : mater delira necabit  
in gelida fixum ripa febrimque reducet,

295 quone malo mentem concussa ? Timore deorum.'

Haec mihi Stertinius, sapientum octavus, amico  
arma dedit, posthac ne compellarer inultus.

Dixerit insanum qui me, totidem audiet, atque  
respicere ignoto discet pendentia tergo.

300 *Hor.* Stoice, post damnum sic vendas omnia pluris,  
qua me stultitia, quoniam non est genus unum,

urday) and the *dies Iovis* was Thursday, *i.e.* Thor's day. On this day the stricter sects of the Jews fasted (*ieiunia*) and ceremonial bathing in the early morning (*mane*) was an Oriental observance. All this indicates that this instance, like the preceding, was regarded by Horace as foreign. Our native superstitions do not attract our notice.

292. *Casus medicusve*: not the god.

293 *f. ex praecipiti*: from the crisis of the illness.—*necabit . . . febrimque reducet*: *i.e.* 'will kill him by bringing back the fever.'—*fixum*: cf. *stabit*; the child is to stand still, perhaps during prayer.

295. *quone*: cf. *uterne*, *Sat.* 2, 2, 107.—*Timore deorum*: the Greek *δεισιδαιμονία*, quite different from the Roman *pietas* or from that 'fear of God' which is the beginning of wisdom.

296–299. An epilogue, spoken by Damasippus in his own person

and corresponding to the introduction by Stertinius, vss. 77–81.—*octavus*: as Sappho was sometimes called the Tenth Muse.—*amico*: spoken with pride that the great man calls him a friend.—*inultus*: amplified in the next two lines.—*totidem*: *i.e.* shall be called a madman himself.—*pendentia*: with reference to the fable of the two sacks; the one in front contains the faults of other people, but each man puts his own faults into the sack that hangs behind him, where he will not see them.

300–326. The concluding conversation. Horace rouses himself after the long sermon and inquires with no expectation of a reply, whether it applies to him. Damasippus, with Stoic directness, points out various applications.

300. *sic vendas*: the introductory wish; cf. vs. 16 note, vs. 191.—*pluris*: *at a profit*, so that he may, if he chooses, resume his life as a business man.



insanire putas? Ego nam videor mihi sanus.

*Dam.* Quid? caput abscissum manibus cum portat

Agave

gnati infelicis, sibi tum furiosa videtur?

305 *Hor.* Stultum me fateor (liceat concedere veris),

atque etiam insanum; tantum hoc edissere, quo me

aegrotare putes animi vitio? *Dam.* Accipe: primum

aedificas, hoc est, longos imitaris, ab imo

ad summum totus moduli bipedalis; et idem

310 corpore maiorem rides Turbonis in armis

302. *videor mihi sanus*: *i.e.* under the cover of asking for his particular form of insanity Horace is really implying that he is not insane at all. Damasippus goes straight to the point.

303 f. The story is told in the *Bacchae* of Euripides, where Agave, the mother of Pentheus, appears, carrying the head of her son, whom she and the other Bacchantes have torn to pieces, mistaking him in their frenzy for an animal. The argument is that, as no madman recognizes his condition, such a statement as *videor mihi sanus* proves nothing.

305 f. Horace represents himself as yielding to the Stoic's argument, as indeed he must, but he does it grudgingly, at first admitting only the milder *stultus* and then at last making full submission in *atque etiam insanum*.—*liceat*: *let me yield to facts, i.e.* 'permit me to yield as gracefully as I can.'

306. *edissere*: a rather formal

word, *Tell me fully*. The question *quo . . . vitio?* repeats *qua ne stultitia . . . putas?* in different words and with much less confidence that the Stoic will find it a difficult question to answer.

307 ff. *primum*: as if there was to be a series of charges.—*aedificas*: this must be a reference to some building operations on Horace's farm. See introd. to this satire.—*longos*: *big people, i.e.* the rich; but the word is selected for its double meaning. The *Vita* of Suetonius says 'Horatius . . . habitu corporis fuit brevis atque obesus' and he speaks of himself as *corporis exigui* (*Epist.* 1, 20, 24).—*bipedalis*: of course ironical, as if he had said 'you who are little better than a dwarf in comparison with really big people like Maecenas.'—*idem*: with restrictive or adversative force, as often; cf. vs. 279. Translate, *in spite of that or and yet you*.—*Turbonis*: a gladiator of small size, but great spirit.

spiritum et incessum : qui ridiculus minus illo ?

An quodcumque facit Maecenas, te quoque verum est,  
tantum dissimilem, et tanto certare minorem ?

Absentis ranae pullis vituli pede pressis,

315 unus ubi effugit, matri denarrat, ut ingens  
belua cognatos eliserit. Illa rogare :

‘Quantane, num tantum,’ sufflans se, ‘magna fuisset ?’

‘Maior dimidio.’ ‘Num tantum ?’ Cum magis atque  
se magis inflaret, ‘Non, si te ruperis,’ inquit,

320 ‘par eris.’ Haec a te non multum abludit imago.

Adde poemata nunc, hoc est, oleum adde camino ;

quae si quis sanus fecit, sanus facis et tu.

Non dico horrendam rabiem — *Hor.* Iam desine !

*Dam.* Cultum

maiorem censu — *Hor.* Teneas, Damasippe, tuis te.

312. Maecenas had laid out gardens and built a splendid palace on the Esquiline, to which Horace refers in *Sat.* 1, 8, 7 as if it were not yet completed. In *Epod.* 9, 3 and *Carm.* 3, 29, 10, Maecenas was living in it. Other passages (*Sat.* 2, 6, 31 ; 2, 7, 32 ff.) show that Horace was not unwilling to joke about his relation to his great friend. — *verum* : *proper*, *suitable*.

314 ff. The Fable of the Ox and the Frogs. Horace took the story from some Greek source, different from that of Phaedrus (1, 24).

317. Quantane : cf. *quone*, vs. 295.

320 ff. non multum abludit : *hits pretty near*. — poemata : the epodes and lyrics which Horace was beginning to write ; cf. vss.

11 ff. There is a similar reference to the divine inspiration of poets in *Sat.* 2, 7, 117, *aut insanit homo aut versus facit*. — *si quis . . . et tu* : i.e. you can no more be free from the insanity of the poet than others have been.

323. rabiem : cf. *Epist.* 1, 20, 25, *irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem* ; but cf. also *Sat.* 1, 9, 11 f., where he wishes he had a temper. The expression here is a humorous exaggeration. — *Iam desine* : it is, of course, a very neat touch to represent himself as made angry by the charge of having a hot temper. For the outbreak cf. *Sat.* 2, 7, 116 ff.

323 f. Cultum : *way of living*. — censu : here no more than *income*, not as in *Sat.* 2, 1, 75.

325 *Dam.* Mille puellarum, puerorum mille furores —  
*Hor.* O maior tandem parcas, insane, minori!

326. This turns the teaching of Damasippus (vss. 298 f.) back upon himself.

# 4

The date of this satire cannot be fixed, but its character is such that the precise date is of no importance. It was probably written after *Sat.* 2, 2.

In form it is, like the preceding satire, a main body of discourse enclosed in a framework of dialogue. Horace meets upon the street an acquaintance who is hurrying home to commit to writing certain precepts of gastronomy which he had just heard. At Horace's request he consents to repeat them and after he has done so, in the main body of the satire (vss. 12-87), Horace, deeply impressed, begs that he may himself be allowed to attend the next lecture on the important subject and hear with his own ears. The introductory dialogue and the concluding request are less dramatic than the corresponding parts of the preceding satire, but they contrast in a somewhat similar way the enthusiasm of the believer with the attitude of Horace and they are admirable specimens of ironical deference.

The main discourse consists of a series of precepts for the selection and serving of the courses of a dinner. They follow in general the order of the Roman dinner, the *gustatio*, the main course, wines and sauces, and the dessert, with advice about the service of the table. Each precept is given separately, as if it were an oracle which needs no explanation or logical connection. The style is serious and almost epic, as befits the seriousness of the speaker, but there is no such parody of the manner of the philosopher as in *Satires* 2 and 3. The irony which is easily felt in the dialogue is here less apparent, especially to the modern reader, to whom many of the details of Roman cookery must remain unknown. The reader of Horace's time, however, would feel at once the absurdity of the precepts, both in general and in details, and would therefore be conscious of the humor of lines which to the modern reader are rather dull.

The speaker is called Catius and he is represented (vs. 11) as quoting from the discourse of an authority on gastronomy whose name he avoids giving. This is, in form, the same device that is used in *Sat.* 2, 3, where Damasippus quotes from Stertinius, and in *Sat.* 2, 7, in which the slave

repeats the teachings which he had learned from the door-keeper of Crispinus (vs. 45). Such machinery of the satirical form is not to be taken seriously; in *Sat.* 2, 7 it is plainly a mere joke and the Damasippus-Stertinus relation in *Sat.* 2, 3 serves only to give a background for the parody of Stoic preaching. Of the various identifications of Catius the only one which has both plausibility and point is the one proposed by Manso and revived by Palmer, that the name is a disguise of Matius, the friend of Cicero, Caesar, Trebatius and Augustus. But, in fact, the precise identification of either Catius or the mysterious *auctor* is of no more importance than the precise determination of the date of composition. The satire contains in itself its own best commentary. It is a bit of humorous and not unfriendly irony, directed primarily against some person whose name is ostentatiously withheld and, more broadly, against the science and art of gastronomy. So far as there is any personality in it, it is of a kind which would be especially understood and appreciated by Horace's intimate friends, and the satire belongs, in this respect, to the same class as *Sat.* 1, 9 and *Sat.* 2, 8. In all three there is the note of intimacy and it is not at all impossible that the learning of this satire is a parody of gastronomic conversations which Horace had heard at the table of Maecenas.

*Hor.* Vnde et quo Catius? *Cat.* Non est mihi tempus  
aventi

ponere signa novis praeceptis, qualia vincant  
Pythagoran Anytique reum doctumque Platona.

*Hor.* Peccatum fateor, cum te sic tempore laevo  
5 interpellarim; sed des veniam bonus, oro.

Quod si interciderit tibi nunc aliquid, repetes mox,  
sive est naturae hoc sive artis, mirus utroque.

1. *Vnde et quo*: two questions condensed into one; cf. *Sat.* 1, 9, 62.

2. *ponere signa*: to set down or fix upon his mind, as he went along, the mnemonic signs which would assist him in recalling the whole discourse and putting it into writing.

3. *Anyti reum*: Socrates. In his trial Anytus was the chief accuser.

7. *naturae, artis*: the distinction between natural and artificial memory, by the aid of mnemonic signs (*imagines, signa*), was traditional in rhetoric, and is briefly discussed in *ad Heren.* 3, 16-17, 28-30.

*Cat.* Quin id erat curae, quo pacto cuncta tenerem,  
utpote res tenuis, tenui sermone peractas.

10 *Hor.* Ede hominis nomen, simul et Romanus an  
hospes.

*Cat.* Ipsa memor praecepta canam, celabitur auctor.

Longa quibus facies ovis erit, illa memento,  
ut suci melioris et ut magis alba rotundis,  
ponere; namque marem cohibent callosa vitellum.

15 Cole suburbano qui siccis crevit in agris  
dulcior; irriguo nihil est elutius horto.  
Si vespertinus subito te oppresserit hospes,  
ne gallina malum responset dura palato,  
doctus eris vivam mixto mersare Falerno;  
20 hoc teneram faciet. Pratensibus optima fungis  
natura est; aliis male creditur. Ille salubris  
aestates peraget, qui nigris prandia moris  
finiet, ante gravem quae legerit arbore solem.

8. *id*: with a reference back to vs. 6; the idea is then amplified in *quo* . . . *tenerem*.

10-11. These lines suggest a joking reference to some friend, whose name would be known to the inner circle of readers.—*canam*: with a certain formality.

12. *facies*: *shape*.

14. *callosa*: *compact, solid*.—*vitellum*: *chick*; this is merely an elaborate way of saying that male fowls are hatched from long eggs.

15-16. *Cole*: *cabbage*.—*suburbano*: in a garden near the city water for irrigation would be more abundant.—*elutius*: *more insipid*; literally, *washed out*.

18. *malum responset*: *defy, resist*, as in *Sal.* 2, 7, 85, 103.—*dura*: *tough*, because the fowl was killed after the unexpected guest had appeared.

19. *doctus*: 'you will show yourself learned in the art of cookery by smothering it.'

20. *Pratensibus* . . . *fungis*: 'mushrooms that grow in the meadows.'

22. *moris*: *mulberries*. This advice about lunch and the preceding lines on the preparation of a fowl for supper show that there is no intention of following precisely the order of the courses of a dinner.

- Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno,  
 25 mendose, quoniam vacuis committere venis  
 nil nisi lene decet; leni praecordia mulso  
 prolueris melius. Si dura morabitur alvus,  
 mitulus et viles pellent obstantia conchae  
 et lapathi brevis herba, sed albo non sine Coo.  
 30 Lubrica nascentes implent conchyliia lunae;  
 sed non omne mare est generosae fertile testae;  
 murice Baiano melior Lucrina peloris,  
 ostrea Circeiis, Miseno oriuntur echini,  
 pectinibus patulis iactat se molle Tarentum.  
 35 Nec sibi cenarum quivis temere arroget artem,  
 non prius exacta tenui ratione saporum;  
 nec satis est cara piscis averrere mensa  
 ignarum quibus est ius aptius et quibus assis  
 languidus in cubitum iam se conviva reponet.

24-26. *Aufidius*: unknown. He is quoted with formality as a rival authority, to be refuted in the single word *mendose*. The *mulsum*, a mixture of wine and honey, was drunk at the beginning of the meal. The error of Aufidius was in using a strong wine, *forti Falerno*; the emphasis of the correction is upon *lene*, *leni*.

27-29. *Si . . . alvus*: *i.e.* for constipation. — *mitulus*: *mussel*. — *conchae*: a general term for shell-fish. — *lapathi*: *sorrel*. — *brevis*: *small-leaved*, or perhaps *low-growing*. — *Coo*: a Greek wine.

30. *conchyliia*: another general term for shell-fish. The meaning

of the line is that they should be gathered when the moon is increasing, during the first half of the lunar month.

32-34. *murice*: *cockle*. — *peloris*: *giant mussel*. — *echini*: *sea-urchins*. — *pectinibus*: *scallops*. These lines give the proper places for getting the best shell-fish of each kind, like Little Neck clams, Blue Point oysters.

36. *non prius*: *i.e.* 'until he shall have learned thoroughly.' — *tenui*: *fine, subtle*, as in vs. 9.

37. *averrere*: *to sweep up* from the table of the fish-dealer, but with a reference also to the use of nets in catching the fish.

38 f. *assis*: *broiled*. — *langui-*



- 40 Vmber et iligna nutritus glande rotundas  
curvat aper lances carnem vitantis inertem;  
nam Laurens malus est, ulvis et arundine pinguis.  
Vinea submittit capreas non semper edulis.  
Fecundae leporis sapiens sectabitur armos.
- 45 Piscibus atque avibus quae natura et foret aetas,  
ante meum nulli patuit quaesita palatum.  
Sunt quorum ingenium nova tantum crustula promit.  
Nequaquam satis in re una consumere curam,  
ut si quis solum hoc, mala ne sint vina, laboret,
- 50 quali perfundat piscis securus olivo.  
Massica si caelo supponas vina sereno,  
nocturna, si quid crassi est, tenuabitur aura,  
et decedet odor nervis inimicus; at illa  
integrum perdunt lino vitiata saporem.
- 55 Surrentina vafer qui miscet faece Falerna

40-42. *iligna glande*: acorns.  
— *curvat*: bends; the platters  
were of silver. — *vitantis inertem*:  
the important words; 'the epi-  
cure, the man who avoids tasteless  
meat, will get an Umbrian boar  
that has lived on acorns.' — *ulvis*:  
sedge.

44. *fecundae*: prolific, in gen-  
eral; but the use of the feminine  
appears to be intentional. The  
emphasis is upon *armos*; the true  
epicure will select for his guests  
the forelegs of the female hare.  
Cf. *Sat.* 2, 8, 89.

46. *ante meum*: cf. the claim

to originality in vs. 73 and the  
similar claim in *Sat.* 2, 8, 51.

47. *promit*: produces, i.e. in-  
vents. The line seems to be a  
veiled reference to some particular  
person.

50. *securus*: careless, govern-  
ing the clause *quali . . . olivo*;  
'as if one should take great pains  
to get good wine, but be careless  
about the quality of the olive oil.'

51-54. *crassi*: roughness, harsh-  
ness of taste. — *tenuabitur*: will  
be refined out of it. — *lino*: 'the  
straining of wine through a piece  
of linen spoils the flavor.'

55-57. *vafer*: cf. *doctus*, vs. 19,  
*sapiens*, vs. 44. — *faece*: a slight  
mixture of the lees of Falernian

- vina, columbino limum bene colligit ovo,  
 quatenus ima petit volvens aliena vitellus.  
 Tostis marcentem squillis recreabis et Afra  
 potorem cochlea: nam lactuca innatat acri  
 60 post vinum stomacho; perna magis ac magis hillis  
 flagitat immorsus refici; quin omnia malit,  
 quaecumque immundis fervent allata popinis.  
 Est operae pretium duplicis pernoscere iuris  
 naturam. Simplex e dulci constat olivo,  
 65 quod pingui miscere mero muriaque decebit,  
 non alia quam qua Byzantia putuit orca.  
 Hoc ubi confusum sectis inferbuit herbis  
 Corycioque croco sparsum stetit, insuper addes  
 pressa Venafranae quod baca remisit olivae.  
 70 Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia suco;  
 nam facie praestant. Venucula convenit ollis;  
 rectius Albanam fumo duraveris uvam.  
 Hanc ego cum malis, ego faecem primus et allec,  
 primus et invenior piper album cum sale nigro

gives body to the light Surrentine wine. — *limum*: the sediment. — *volvens aliena*: gathering the foreign matter. — *vitellus*: the yolk.

58-63. Various kinds of food which will tempt the appetite of one who has taken much wine (*marcentem potorem*). — *Tostis* . . . *squillis*: fried shrimps. — *cochlea*: snails. — *lactuca*: lettuce. — *perna*: ham. — *hillis*: sausages. — *immorsus*: bitten, i.e. stimulated to fresh appetite.

63. *Est operae pretium*: an epic phrase.

64-69. The simple sauce consists of olive oil mixed with thick wine and brine (*muria*) from a jar in which fish from Byzantium had been pickled. This is called *duplex* when it has been poured over chopped herbs and boiled, then sprinkled with saffron and allowed to stand, and finally mixed with Venafran oil.

71. *Venucula*: sc. *uva*; grapes for preserving.

72. *duraveris*: dry into raisins.

73-75. *cum malis*: i.e. he first used raisins with fruit. — *allec*:

- 75 *incretum puris circumposuisse catillis.*  
 Immane est vitium dare milia terna macello  
 angustoque vagos piscis urgere catino.  
 Magna movet stomacho fastidia, seu puer unctis  
 tractavit calicem manibus, dum furta ligurrit,  
 80 sive gravis veteri craterae limus adhaesit.  
 Vilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scobe quantus  
 consistit sumptus? Neglectis, flagitium ingens.  
 Ten' lapides varios lutulenta radere palma  
 et Tyrias dare circum inluta toralia vestis,  
 85 oblitum, quanto curam sumptumque minorem  
 haec habeant, tanto reprehendi iustius illis  
 quae nisi divitibus nequeant contingere mensis?

*Hor.* Docte Cati, per amicitiam divosque rogatus,  
 ducere me auditum, perges quocumque, memento.

- 90 Nam quamvis memori referas mihi pectore cuncta,  
 non tamen interpret tantundem iuveris. Adde

something like caviare. — *incretum*: *sifted on*. — *puris* . . . *catillis*: on plates which held nothing else.

76-77. *milia* . . . *macello*: this is the same thing that is said in *vs.* 37, that mere spending of money is not enough. — *vagos*: the line expresses in high-flown language the rule that fish should not be crowded together on too small a platter.

79. *furta ligurrit*: cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 80 f.

80. *limus*: *sediment* left in the mixing bowl because it had not been properly washed.

81. *scopis*: *brooms*. — *scobe*:

*sawdust* sprinkled upon the floor before sweeping.

83 f. The emphasis is upon *lutulenta* and *inluta*. — *palma*: a broom of palm leaves.

86 f. *illis quae*: in general, the things which only the rich can have; neatness requires only care, not money.

88. *Docte*: this is an ironical acceptance of the attitude of Catus, that such knowledge is true learning.

91. *interpret*: Catus can give only second-hand reports. — *Adde*: and, besides, think of the look and bearing. All this has especial point, if Horace was really refer-

vultum habitumque hominis, quem tu vidisse beatus  
 non magni pendis, quia contigit; at mihi cura  
 non mediocris inest, fontis ut adire remotos  
 95 atque haurire queam vitae praecepta beatae.

ring to some friend who was at  
 times earnest in laying down the  
 gastronomic law.

94 f. A parody of Lucret. 1,  
 927 and 4. 2, *invitat integros ac-  
 cedere fontis atque haurire.*

## 5

The date of this satire is fixed by vss. 62 ff. The phrase *tellure marique magnus* would not have been used in the years just before Actium, when it was increasingly apparent that the supremacy by sea was still to be decided. After Actium there was a general expectation that Octavius would carry out the project of his uncle for a war of conquest in the East and it is to such expectations that *Parthis horrendus* refers. The satire was written soon after the battle of Actium, late in 31 or early in 30.

The subject-matter is the practice of seeking legacies. To treat this as a profession, however, is to take satire too seriously; it was a social evil, like free divorce or political bribery, which the satirist ridicules by assuming an ironical seriousness. The custom of leaving legacies, often small, but not infrequently of substantial amount, to many friends was already common in the Ciceronian period. It was to be expected that the custom would lead to the cultivation of friendships in the hope of a legacy and the tendency was strengthened by the large increase of wealth in the hands of men who did not know how to use it. Such men, often of the freedman class, sometimes without family connections, would be especially open to the flattering approaches of persons of higher position.

The satire is a continuation, in burlesque, of a scene in the Odyssey, 11, 90 ff. The shade of the Theban seer, Tiresias, meets Odysseus in the lower world and at his request tells him how he may secure his return to Ithaca and how he may summon the shade of his mother. After this interview the seer returns (vss. 150 f.) to the home of Hades. At this point Horace interjects the conversation which forms this satire. The selection of the venerable prophet of Thebes to give advice such as this is as happy as the selection of Trebatius in *Sat.* 2, 1, and Odys-

seus, with the mingling of the crafty and the heroic in his traditional character, is admirably suited to receive the doctrine.

Travesty of heroic legends had a considerable place in Greek literature, especially in comedy; Plautus has one example in the *Amphitruo* and Varro had used it in his *Saturae Menippeae*. It has been frequently used in modern literature; Thackeray's *Rebecca and Rowena* and Mark Twain's *A Yankee in King Arthur's Court* are familiar examples. Horace has combined the humor of travesty with the humor of pretended seriousness in the treatment of his subject-matter, like the seriousness of De Quincey in *Murder as a Fine Art*.

*Vlixes.* Hoc quoque, Tiresia, praeter narrata petenti responde, quibus amissas reparare queam res artibus atque modis. Quid rides? *Tiresias.* Iamne doloso non satis est Ithacam revehi patriosque penatis  
5 aspicere? *Vlix.* O nulli quicquam mentite, vides ut nudus inopsque domum redeam, te vate; neque illic aut apotheca procis intacta est aut pecus; atqui et genus et virtus, nisi cum re, vilior alga est.

1. *praeter narrata*: i.e. the prophecy as to his safe return to Ithaca. *Narrare* in its colloquial sense, *tell, speak*.

2. *amissas . . . res*: the seer had told him of the havoc that the suitors were making of his property at home.

3. *Quid rides*: the seer smiled at the desire of Ulysses for a little more, after he had received so much. — *doloso*: a translation of the standing epithets *πολύτροπος, πολυμήχανος*, but with a touch of sarcasm.

4. *penatis*: the anachronism of the Roman idea is intentional.

5. *nulli . . . mentite*: so *Tiresias* says of himself (*Od.* II, 96), *νημερτέα εἶπω*.

6. *nudus inopsque*: this had been distinctly said (*Od.* II, 114 ff.). — *te vate*: according to your prophecy; not quite as if he doubted the seer, but as if he accepted it unwillingly. — *neque illic*: nor, when I get there.

7. *procis*: the suitors of Penelope, *ἄνδρας ὑπερφιάλους, οἳ τοι βίοντον κατέδουσιν*. — *apotheca, pecus*: the anxiety of Odysseus and of his son Telemachus about the consumption of provisions by the suitors, natural as it is to the Homeric simplicity, seemed to the Roman, as it seems to the modern reader, a little comic.

8. *vilior alga*: proverbial for worthlessness; the expression is perhaps selected with special ref-

- Tir.* Quando pauperiem, missis ambagibus, horres,  
 10 accipe qua ratione queas ditescere. Turdus  
 sive aliud privum dabitur tibi, devolet illuc  
 res ubi magna nitet domino sene; dulcia poma  
 et quoscumque feret cultus tibi fundus honores,  
 ante larem gustet venerabilior lare dives;  
 15 qui quamvis periurus erit, sine gente, cruentus  
 sanguine fraterno, fugitivus, ne tamen illi  
 tu comes exterior, si postulet, ire recuses.

*Vlix.* Vtne tegam spurco Damae latus? Haud ita  
 Troiae

erence to the sea-beaten Odysseus. — The sentiment of the line is, of course, intentionally unheroic.

9. *missis ambagibus*: without any pretence, in plain words.

10 ff. *Turdus*: cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 72. — *privum*: for your own; pred. with *dabitur*. The fact that it was the special property of the giver will add to its value in the eyes of the receiver. — *devolet*: with humorous effect, in both literal and figurative meaning. — *nitet*: flourishes; i.e. be sure that the property is large and unincumbered. — The abrupt beginning and the rather obscure expression is a parody of the ordinary style of prophecy, *obscuris vera involvens* (*Aen.* 6, 100).

13. *honores*: fruits and flowers, as in *Carm.* 1, 17, 16.

14. *ante larem*: the first-fruits were properly offered to the *Lar Familiaris*.

15. *sine gente*: of no family; a freedman or a slave had no legal claim to be *gentilis*. There is no necessary connection with *fugitivus*, since no definite person is in mind; the various discreditable attributes are piled together, as in *Carm.* 2, 13, 5 ff.; *Epod.* 3, 1 f.

17. *comes exterior*: 'to escort him, walking on his left side'; this is expressed in the next line by *tegam . . . latus*. It was the Greek and the Roman custom for the inferior, as escort, to walk on the left side. The explanation given was that the left side was more open to attack, the right being protected by the drawn sword. — *si postulet*: in the colloquial sense of *postulare*, to expect, desire.

18. *Vtne tegam*: a common form of repudiating exclamation. — *Damæ*: a common name of a slave; cf. *Sat.* 1, 6, 38.



me gessi, certans semper melioribus. *Tir.* Ergo  
 20 pauper eris. *Vlix.* Fortem hoc animum tolerare iubebo;  
 et quondam maiora tuli. Tu protinus, unde  
 divitias aerisque ruam dic, augur, acervos.  
*Tir.* Dixi equidem et dico: captes astutus ubique  
 testamenta senum, neu, si vafer unus et alter  
 25 insidiatorem praeroso fugerit hamo,  
 aut spem deponas aut artem illusus omittas.  
 Magna minorve foro si res certabitur olim,

19. *melioribus*: dat.; the phrase appears to be a reminiscence of *Il.* 21, 486, *κρείσσοσιν μάχεσθαι* and means 'with men of the better class,' Achilles and Ajax. — *Ergo*: *well, then*.

20 f. A translation of the words with which Odysseus encourages himself before the slaughter of the suitors, *Od.* 20, 18: *τέτλαθι δὴ, κραδίη καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης*. The point of the quotation here is that the hero is encouraging himself to endure a humiliation (*hoc* means *comes . . . ire*) in order to make money. Cf. the similar remark in *Sat.* 1, 9, 59 f., *nil sine magno vita labore dedit mortalibus*.

21. *protinus*: *go ahead and tell me*. The completeness of the surrender of the heroic pose is emphasized by the moment of indignant repudiation.

22. *ruam*: transitive, in a vaguely poetic use; *rush together, quickly collect*. — *augur*: with intentional Roman coloring.

23. *Dixi . . . et dico*: he had

not, in fact, said anything that was really intelligible, vss. 10-17 being obscure and having no apparent bearing on the getting of money. But it all seemed plain to the prophet, and he therefore speaks here with some impatience and then goes on to put it in words as plain as a prophet can use; *captes . . . testamenta*.

25. *praeroso*: *i.e.* nibbles off the bait and gets away. The figure is suggested in *captes* and carried on to greater distinctness in *praeroso hamo*.

26. *artem*: *i.e.* the *ars cap-tandi, ars piscandi*. In so far as this hints at a profession of legacy-hunting, it is like our speaking of the profession of burglary or wire-pulling. — *illusus*: 'because you have failed once.'

27. *minorve*: added as an afterthought; 'an important case — or even one that is not so important,' for the diligent man allows nothing to escape him. — *olim*: *sometime*; of the future, as often.

- vivet uter locuples sine gnatis, improbus, ultro  
 qui meliorem audax vocet in ius, illius esto  
 30 defensor; fama civem causaque priorem  
 sperne, domi si gnatus erit fecundave coniunx.  
 'Quinte,' puta, aut 'Publi' (gaudent praenomine molles  
 auriculae) 'tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum;  
 ius anceps novi, causas defendere possum;  
 35 eripiet quivis oculos citius mihi, quam te  
 contemptum cassa nuce pauperet; haec mea cura est,  
 ne quid tu perdas, neu sis iocus.' Ire domum atque  
 pelliculam curare iube; fi cognitor ipse.  
 Persta atque obdura, seu 'rubra Canicula findet

28 ff. *uter*: whichever of the two parties to the suit. — *improbus*: coördinate with *locuples* and defined by the following clause. — *ultro*: actually; going so far in his impudence (*audax*) as to bring a suit without justification. — *illius*: emphatic; 'that's the man for you to back.' — *fama . . . causaque priorem*: a fuller expression of the idea in *meliorem*; the dignified *civem* adds to the contrast, the other being *sine gente*, a freedman. — *fecunda*: with the possibility of natural heirs.

32. *Quinte*: as a sign of familiarity and affection. The genuine Roman *praenomen* Quintus or Publius would be agreeable to the freedman, who during his slavery had had some foreign name like Dama or Syrus. — *puta*: for instance. As an impv. this has regularly a long *a*, but the final vowel of iambic impv. forms is often

shortened in comedy, and as this word passed over into semi-adverbial uses, it retained the colloquial quantity.

34. *ius anceps*: the uncertainties of the law, with a suggestion of the tricks of the unscrupulous lawyer.

36. *contemptum*: with the force of a verb; bring you into contempt. — *cassa nuce*: a proverbial phrase (Plaut. *Pseud.* 371; *Rud.* 1324).

38. *pelliculam*: so *cutem curare*, *Epist.* 1, 2, 29; other objects (*membra*, *Sat.* 2, 2, 80 f., *corpora*, *se suamque aetatem*) are used with *curare* in the same general sense, 'to take care of one's health.' *Pelliculam* is used with special effect, his precious health. — *cognitor*: in the legal sense, attorney.

39. *Persta atque obdura*: a colloquialism; Plaut. *Asin.* 322, *pernegabo atque obdurabo*; Catull. 8,

- 40 .infantis statuas,' seu pingui tentus omaso  
Furius 'hibernas cana nive conspuet Alpis.'  
'Nonne vides,' aliquis cubito stantem prope tangens  
inquit, 'ut patiens! ut amicis aptus! ut acer!'  
plures adnabunt thynni et cetaria crescent.
- 45 Si cui praeterea validus male filius in re  
praeclara sublatus aletur, ne manifestum  
caelibis obsequium nudet te, leniter in spem  
adrepe officiosus, ut et scribare secundus  
heres, et, si quis casus puerum egerit Orco,
- 50 in vacuum venias: perraro haec alea fallit.  
Qui testamentum tradet tibi cumque legendum,

11, *perfer, obdura*; Ovid, *Trist.* 5,  
11, 7, *perfer et obdura*.

39 ff. The quotations are from a lost poem of M. Furius Bibaculus, of Cremona, a contemporary of Cicero, still living at the time this was written and already alluded to in *Sat.* 1, 10, 36. The first phrase, *rubra . . . statuas*, meaning 'in extreme heat,' is turgid in conception and in single words, especially *infantis*, 'speechless.' The second is quoted also by Quintil. 8, 6, 17 as an example of poor rhetoric, with *Iuppiter* as the first word; Horace has substituted the poet's own name. The personal allusion in *pingui . . . omaso*, 'stuffed with fat tripe,' is offensive to modern taste and the particular justification for it is not known.

42. *prope*: with *stantem*; *standing next to him* in the law-court.

44. *cetaria*: this must mean a

fish-pond or weir, which is at the same time a trap and a place for keeping fish alive until they are wanted for the table. The figure is not exactly the same as that in vs. 25.

45. *praeterea*: *furthermore*, introducing the special precepts of vss. 45-50. — *validus male*: = *invalidus*.

46. *sublatus*: *recognized*, lit., *taken up*; the new-born child was placed before the father, who recognized it as his by taking it up.

47. *caelibis*: objective gen. with *obsequium*. — *nudet te*: *expose you*, betray your plans to your victims.

48 f. *ut*: the clause is explicative of *spem*. — *secundus heres*: *i.e.* to inherit in case of the death of the first-named heir. — *Orco*: the seer uses epic language.

51-69. A warning against being taken in by the testator.

- abnuere et tabulas a te remove memento,  
 sic tamen, ut limis rapias, quid prima secundo  
 cera velit versu; solus multisne coheres,  
 55 veloci percurrere oculo. Plerumque recoctus  
 scriba ex quinqueviro corvum deludet hiantem,  
 captatorque dabit risus Nasica Corano.  
*Vlix.* Num furis? an prudens ludis me obscura  
 canendo?  
*Tir.* O Laertiade, quicquid dicam aut erit aut non :

51 ff. Qui . . . cumque: cf. *quando* . . . *cumque*, *Sat.* 1, 9, 33. — *memento*: *be sure, don't forget*. The point is to make a show of indifference to the question of money. — *sic tamen*: *in such a way, however*. — *limis*: sc. *oculis*; the noun is so frequently omitted that in late Latin *limis* was mistaken for a nom. sing.; *with a side glance*. — *prima* . . . *cera*: the will was written on wax tablets with raised edges, which could be tied together and sealed. On the inside of the first leaf the name of the testator was written in the first line and the name of the heir in the second (*secundo versu*). The fixed position of the names made it easy to read them at a glance. — *quid* . . . *velit*: *what the first page says*; the sense is different when *sibi* is added, as in vs. 61.

55 ff. This instance of the unhappy result of a neglect of the precautions just mentioned is put in the form of a reference to an

event of Horace's time, which the seer relates as a prophecy (*deludet, dabit*) and in the ambiguous language of an oracle. Of course all the Roman words and names (*scriba, quinquevir, Nasica, Coranus*) are unintelligible to Ulysses, and the fable of the Fox and the Raven was unknown to him. — *recoctus*: *boiled over*, with a reference to the Medea legend. — *quinqueviro*: a subordinate police official — *Coranus* — who had risen to the unimportant office of *scriba*. The details increase the perplexity of Ulysses and help to make the whole incident ridiculous.

59 f. *aut erit aut non*: as *Tiresias* is supposed to mean it, this would be 'what I say will happen, will, and what I say will not happen, will not,' but the possible double meaning makes it a burlesque of the solemn claims of sooth-sayers. The verse is quoted by Boethius (*de Cons.* 5, 3) as *vaticinium illud ridiculum Tiresiae*. The absurdity is heightened

- 60 *divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo.*  
*Vlix.* Quid tamen ista velit sibi fabula, si licet, ede.  
*Tir.* Tempore quo iuvenis Parthis horrendus, ab alto  
 demissum genus Aenea, tellure marique  
 magnus erit, forti nubet procera Corano  
 65 *filia Nasicae, metuentis reddere soldum.*  
 Tum gener hoc faciet : tabulas socero dabit atque  
 ut legat orabit ; multum Nasica negatas  
 accipiet tandem et tacitus leget, invenietque  
 nil sibi legatum praeter plorare suisque.

by the next verse in Homeric style. — *donat*: present, as if he felt the gift of the god at that moment.

61. The reply of Ulysses is more humble (*si licet*) than vs. 58, as if he had been impressed by the lofty tone of vss. 59–60. — *tamen*: *i.e.* ‘but nevertheless I should like to understand the story, if I may.’ — *Quid . . . velit sibi*: *what it means*.

62 ff. The seer re-tells the story in plain language, with an introduction in the heroic style. On the date see introd. to this satire.

62 f. *iuvenis*: Octavius was a little over thirty. — *demissum*: cf. *Aen.* 1, 288, *a magno demissum nomen Iulo*. — *genus*: cf. *Sat.* 1, 6, 12, *Valeri genus*, in apposition with a proper noun, as here with *iuvenis*.

64. *forti, procera*: stock epithets (cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 216) used in derision in this case, where the inducement to the marriage was

neither courage nor beauty, but the payment of a debt.

65. *metuentis*: the sense of *metuo* is frequently weakened, especially when it takes an infin., to meanings like *hesitate, be unwilling*; cf. *Carm.* 2, 2, 7, *penna metuente solvi*. — *soldum*: the syncopated colloquial form for *solidum*, the principal of the debt. The point is that as Nasica was unwilling to pay a debt (presumably to Coranus), he gave Coranus his daughter instead, hoping that the son-in-law would leave to him or to his daughter a sum which would more than counterbalance the debt. The relative age of father-in-law and son-in-law is left out of account, or the case is like the marriage of Pompey to Caesar's daughter.

66 ff. *tabulas*: the will, as in vs. 52. — *multum . . . negatas*: *i.e.* having made a great show of refusing, as advised in vs. 52. — *praeter plorare*: the prepos. gov-

- 70 Illud ad haec iubeo : mulier si forte dolosa  
 libertusve senem delirum temperet, illis  
 accedas socius ; laudes, lauderis ut absens ;  
 adiuvat hoc quoque, sed vincit longe prius ipsum  
 expugnare caput. Scribet mala carmina vecors :  
 75 laudato. Scortator erit : cave te roget ; ultro  
 Penelopam facilis potiori trade. *Vlix.* Putasne  
 perduci poterit tam frugi tamque pudica,  
 quam nequiere proci recto depellere cursu ?  
*Tir.* Venit enim magnum donandi parca iuventus  
 80 nec tantum Veneris, quantum studiosa culinae.  
 Sic tibi Penelope frugi est, quae si semel uno

erns the infin. as a noun. *Plorare* means *to lament* and, as used in the will, it would mean that Coranus left to Nasica the legacy of grief which his death would cause, but with an ironical suggestion of the grief that he would feel at receiving no legacy in money. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 10, 91.

70-74. 'Do not disdain to play a second part as a helper to others who may be managing an old man.' — *ad haec*: cf. *praeterea*, vs. 45. — *mulier . . . libertusve*: *i.e.* under the most discreditable and humiliating influences. — *delirum*: *childish*; cf. Cic. *de Sen.* 11, 36, *senilis stultitia quae deliratio appellari solet*. — *ipsum . . . caput*: the old man himself.

74. *Scribet*: a condition expressed without *si*, in parataxis. — *vecors*: cf. *excors*, *Sat.* 2, 3, 67.

76 f. *potiori*: so in *Epod.* 15, 13. — *Putasne . . . poterit*: para-

taxis like the English, *do you think she can . . . ?* This is very common in colloquial Latin, *e.g.* Plaut. *Rud.* 1269, *censen hodie despondebit eam mihi ?*

78. *nequiere proci*: the faithfulness of Penelope had become in Horace's time the main element in the story of the suitors, and it is alluded to here as a well-known fact, but it had in truth been barely hinted at by Tiresias (*Od.* 11, 117) and would not be known to Ulysses.

79. *enim*: *of course, for*. — *magnum*: obj. of *donandi*, which depends upon *parca*. They gave gifts, but not big enough gifts; this adds a touch to the travesty of the heroic, to which, indeed, this part of the story is particularly exposed; cf. *Od.* 18, 275-280.

81. *Sic . . . quae si*: *under such conditions* (with stingy suitors) . . . , *but if she . . .* — *semel*



de sene gustarit tecum partita lucellum,  
ut canis a corio numquam absterrebitur uncto.

Me sene quod dicam factum est: anus improba  
Thebis

- 85 ex testamento sic est elata : cadaver  
unctum oleo largo nudis umeris tulit heres,  
scilicet elabi si posset mortua ; credo,  
quod nimium institerat viventi. Cautus adito,  
neu desis operae, neve immoderatus abundes.  
90 Difficilem et morosum offendet garrulus ; ultra  
non etiam sileas ; Davus sis comicus, atque

uno : *just once from one old man.*

83. The line is a condensed comparison ; 'it will be as hard to get her away as to . . .'—a corio . . . uncto : a Greek saying, like the English 'to drive a dog away from his bone.'

84-88. A story to enforce the need of caution in one's attentions.—**Me sene** : Tiresias had long been dead, and he refers back to the time when he was an old man, as an old man refers to his youth with *me puero* or *me iuvene*. Cf. *Sat.* 2, 2, 112 f., *puer . . . ego . . . Ofellum . . . novi*.—**sic est elata** : *i.e.* was to be carried out for burial, if the heir could fulfil the condition.—**scilicet . . . si** : *to see, you understand, whether* ; this use of *si* is explained in the grammars.—**nimium institerat** : *i.e.* she had never been able to slip away from him while she was alive.

88. **Cautus** : the moral of the story, expanded in the following lines.

89. **operae** : dat., as in *haud mihi dero*, *Sat.* 1, 9, 56.

90 f. **Difficilem, morosum** : these words are used of old men by Cicero (*de Sen.* 18, 65).—**ultra** : 'don't even be *too* silent.' Cf. the rebuke of the impatient judge to the talkative lawyer : 'The Court wants nothing from you but silence—and not very much of *that*.'—**non** : there are occasional uses of *non* with a subjv. like this scattered through Latin writers [Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.*<sup>3</sup> § 205], especially in poetry and in Low Latin. Such instances are usually explained by connecting *non* with some single idea in the sentence, other than the verb, or by twisting the subjv. into a potential meaning.—**comicus** : *be like Davus in the comedy*. Davus was a stock name for the confidential slave.

- stes capite obstipo, multum similis metuenti.  
 Obsequio grassare ; mone, si increbuit aura,  
 cautus uti velet carum caput ; extrahe turba  
 95 oppositis umeris ; aurem substringe loquaci.  
 Importunus amat laudari ; donec 'Ohe iam !'  
 ad caelum manibus sublatis dixerit, urge,  
 crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem.  
 Cum te servitio longo curaque levarit,  
 100 et certum vigilans, 'Quartae sit partis Vlixes'  
 audieris 'heres' : 'Ergo nunc Dama sodalis  
 nusquam est ? Vnde mihi tam fortem tamque fidelem ?'

92. *capite obstipo*: this is the attitude of extreme deference, represented in vase-paintings and in the illustrated Ms. of Terence. — *multum*: with *metuenti*; 'like a man deeply respectful.' [Usually taken with *similis*, on the basis of *Epist.* 1, 10, 3; in that passage, however, the contrast demands an emphasis upon *dissimiles*, which is quite out of place here. There are parallels enough to the use of *multum* (as well as *multa*) with such a verb as *metuo*.]

93. *Obsequio*: the emphatic word; it makes a slight intentional contrast with *grassare*, which carries the suggestion of approach with an unfriendly purpose; *get at him by flattery*.

95. *substringe*: *i.e.* gather up your ear with your hand, as if anxious not to lose a word.

96. *Importunus*: *insatiate, ex-acting*, as in *Epist.* 2, 2, 185. — *amat*: a paratactic condition, like

*scribet*, 74. — *Ohe iam*: the full form, *ohe iam satis est*, is used in *Sat.* 1, 5, 12 f. and *ohe iam satis* in Plaut. *Stich.* 734. The phrase was so fixed that the meaning was suggested without *satis*.

98. *tumidis*: *swelling*, in the active sense; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3, 357, *tumido inflatur . . . Austro*. A similar figure is used in *Sat.* 1, 4, 19.

99. *levarit*: *shall release you by his death*.

100. *certum vigilans*: 'be perfectly sure that you are wide awake, that it is no dream.' — *Quartae sit*: as if quoted from the will, though the exact formula would be *Vlixes heres ex quadrante esto*.

101 f. *Ergo*: *so then*; the conventional word to introduce an expression of grief. Cf. *Carm.* 1, 24, 5; Ovid, *Trist.* 3, 2, 1. — *sodalis*: cf. vs. 18, *spurco Damae*. — *nusquam est*: one of the many periphrases for death.

sparge subinde, et, si paulum potes, illacrimare : est  
 gaudia prodentem voltum celare. Sepulchrum  
 105 permissum arbitrio sine sordibus exstrue ; funus  
 egregie factum laudet vicinia. Si quis  
 forte coheredum senior male tussiet, huic tu  
 dic, ex parte tua seu fundi sive domus sit  
 emptor, gaudentem nummo te addicere. — Sed me  
 110 imperiosa trahit Proserpina : vive valeque !

103 f. *sparge* : the object is the preceding remark. — *paulum* : in sense with *illacrimare* as well as with *potes*. — *est* : *it is your part, it is for you to*. — *gaudia* : obj. of *prodentem*.

105 f. *permissum arbitrio* : *i.e.* when no specific directions are given. The emphatic words are *sine sordibus* and (in 106) *egregie factum*.

108 f. *sive sit emptor* : *if he should wish to buy*. — *nummo* : our formula is, 'for one dollar and

other considerations'; the form of legal sale is gone through in order to make the gift valid.

110. *imperiosa* : so *saeva Proserpina*, *Carm.* I, 28, 20 ; she is the mistress of the dreaded underworld. But there is a bit of travesty in the abruptness of the farewell, which is quite different from the dignified withdrawal of Tiresias in the Homeric scene, *Od.* II, 150 f. The common formula of farewell, *vive valeque*, is also used with humorous effect.

## 6

This satire was written at about the same time as the preceding (2, 5), late in 31 B.C. or early in 30. The 'chilling rumor about the Dacians' (vss. 50, 53) refers to the popular fear of an invasion of Italy by the Daci after the battle of Actium, and the uncertainty in regard to the allotment of land to the veterans (vss. 55 f.) was terminated by the brief visit of Octavius to Brundisium early in 30. Other indications (38) point to the same date.

The connection of thought is simple: 'I now have in my Sabine farm more than I had dared to hope for, and my only desire is that my present happiness may continue without change. No better subject than this could offer itself to my humble Muse, as I begin the day here. For at Rome the day begins quite differently, with one engagement after another, and even though a visit to Maecenas may be one of them,

yet the pleasure is half spoiled by the requests of my acquaintances that I should use my influence with Maecenas on their behalf. They do not understand that my friendship with him has nothing to do with public affairs; in fact, we never speak of such things, and I am glad to escape from it all and get back into the country, and to hear the simple talk of my good neighbors, like Cervius' story of the Town Mouse and the Country Mouse.<sup>1</sup>

This satire is a partial return to the forms used in the First Book. The main body of the discourse (vss. 77-117) is, it is true, formally separated from the rest and put into the mouth of another speaker; in so far Horace uses the newer form with which he had been experimenting in *Sat.* 2, 2; 2, 3. The main body, however, is not enclosed in a framework of formal dialogue, but is introduced by an expression of personal opinion and feeling, like that with which *Sat.* 1, 6 concludes. It was, undoubtedly, the strength of personal feeling to be expressed that led Horace to return to his earlier method of treatment instead of using the form of *Sat.* 2, 2 and 2, 3, which is better suited to burlesque and *persiflage* than to serious discussion.

In general tone, also, this satire — which has in it little of the satirical element — is a return to the manner of the First Book. It is not, however, a mere turning back. The intervening years had left their healthful mark upon Horace, and in his personal attitude he shows the good effect that success in honest endeavor has upon all men of large nature; he is not less modest, perhaps he is more modest (vss. 40-58), but he no longer needs to explain himself or to defend his conduct. The sense of easy security centered about his closest friend, Maecenas, and about the farm which was the gift of that friend, and he felt the impulse to express his contentment. It is to be remembered, also, that Horace was, as Kiessling reminds us, a 'country boy.' It was in Rome that he had done his work, and there he had made himself a place, but his profoundest interest was not in the life of clubs and dinners. He never ceased to feel the desire for the quieter life of the country, as this satire and *Epod.* 2 sufficiently testify.

Meanwhile, a change had come over public affairs, not unlike the change in his own circumstances. The rule of Octavius had justified itself, so far as such rule can ever be justified, and the security which Horace had received from Maecenas, Rome had had as a gift from Maecenas' chief. Between Octavius and Antony no sane man could hesitate, and beneath the personal contentment which this satire expresses it is easy to hear the note of political repose and contentment which followed the decision at Actium. This satire was not written by the

young republican who fought at Philippi, or by the satirical follower of the more satirical Lucilius, but by a contented friend and citizen.

Hoc erat in votis : modus agri non ita magnus,  
hortus ubi et tecto vicinus iugis aquae fons  
et paulum silvae super his foret. Auctius atque  
di melius fecere. Bene est. Nil amplius oro,

5 Maia nate, nisi ut propria haec mihi munera faxis.  
Si neque maiorem feci ratione mala rem,

1. **Hoc**: elaborated in the rest of the sentence, but with reference also to the scene that lay before him, as he looked out from his farm-house in the morning. — **in votis**: 'was one of the things for which I made my vows.'

2. **iugis**: in form either gen. or nom.; but the balance — *vicinus -fons, iugis-aquae* — requires a genitive.

3. **super his**: the acc. is more common, but the abl. is freely used by Horace (*super foco, Carm. 1, 9, 5; super Pindo, Carm. 1, 12, 6*). His usage favors the local meaning *above these* (not *in addition to these things*), i.e. on the overhanging ridge of the hill. This little wood-land is referred to also in *Carm. 3, 16, 29 f., silva iugerum paucorum* and in *Epist. 1, 14, 1*, and there is a fuller description in *Epist. 1, 16, 5 ff.* — **Auctius**: *more liberally*.

5. **Maia nate**: cf. Vergil's *nate dea*. Mercury, as the god of gain (e.g. *Sat. 2, 3, 25*), was the god to whom the prayer for *amplius* would be addressed. — **haec**

... **munera**: even more distinctly than *hoc*, vs. 1, a reference to the scene before him. — **faxis**: the archaic form (*fac-s-is*, a sigmatic aorist optative), still used in prayers and curses.

6 f. Cf. the advice of the father to his two sons, *Sat. 2, 3, 177 f.*, and the note there. The thought here is the same, but it is expressed somewhat elliptically and with a careful contrast of phrasing which covers up the thought. The real emphasis is upon Horace's contentment with what he has and his determination to avoid in the future, as he has in the past, either of the extremes against which so much of his preaching is directed, either the extreme of money-loving or the opposite extreme of wastefulness. There is no contrast between *ratione mala* and some *ratio bona* nor between *vitio culpave* and some creditable way of lessening one's property, e.g. by charity; the contrast is between the *avarus* with his usual *ratio mala* and the *nepos* with his *vitium culpave*.

nec sum facturus vitio culpave minorem;  
 si veneror stultus nihil horum: 'O si angulus ille  
 proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum!

10 O si urnam argenti fors quae mihi monstret, ut illi,  
 thesauro invento qui mercennarius agrum  
 illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico  
 Hercule!' si quod adest gratum iuvat, hac prece te  
 oro:

The sense of the whole is, 'I am content with what I have. I have not tried (and shall not try) to increase it as men usually do and I (have not been tempted and) shall not be tempted into the common fault of wastefulness.'

8. *veneror*: a rather infrequent use, with cognate acc. or acc. of the thing asked for, without the acc. of the person. Cf. *Carm. Saec.* 49. 'If I utter no such prayer as these.' — *O si*: this expression of a wish is explained in the grammars and is familiar to us from the corresponding English; 'oh, if only . . .'

9. *accedat*: *were added* to his farm. — *denormat*: a technical term in surveying; expressive of the natural and common desire to have a farm marked by straight border-lines.

10. *urnam argenti*: almost exactly the English *a pot of money*, in its original sense.

11 f. *mercennarius*: this would naturally be in the main clause, but is put into the relative clause in order to bring it into closer contrast

with *mercatus*. The whole should be very freely rendered into English: 'the man who found a buried treasure and with it bought and cultivated the very farm on which he had been before a hired laborer.'

13. *Hercule*: there are a few references, not perfectly clear, to Hercules as the god of hidden treasures, but the explanation of the reference to him here is to be found in the folk-story that Horace is alluding to, which is given by Porphyrio: 'traditur fabula, fuisse quendam mercennarium qui semper Herculem deprecatus sit, ut sibi boni aliquid praestaret. Quem Hercules ad Mercurium duxit et obsecratum thesaurum fecit ostendi. Quo effosso ille eundem agrum, in quo operam mercennarium faciebat, comparavit et labori solito operam dedit; sique probavit Mercurius, quod de eo praedixerat Herculi, nulla re illum posse beatum vivere, cum in eadem opera post inventionem thesauri perseveravit.' In his allusion Horace has omitted Mercury, who is the real god of gain, and has dropped the



pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praeter  
 15 ingenium, utque soles, custos mihi maximus adsis!

Ergo ubi me in montis et in arcem ex urbe removi,  
 quid prius illustrem saturis Musaque pedestri?

Nec mala me ambitio perdit nec plumbeus Auster  
 autumnusque gravis, Libitinae quaestus acerbae.

20 Matutine pater, seu Iane libentius audis,

moral.—**si . . . iuvat**: this repeats the substance of the conditions *si . . . feci, si veneror*, after the long interruption, in order to bring them near the apodosis *oro*.

**14 f. pingue pecus, ingenium**: a pun upon the literal meaning of *pinguis*, *fat*, and the derived sense, *heavy*, as in the English *fat-witted*. — **ut soles**: other references to Mercury as his guardian divinity are *Carm.* 2, 7, 13 (at Philippi); 2, 17, 29 ff.

**16 f. in montis**: Horace says of the site of his farm *continui montes* (*Epist.* 1, 16, 5). — **in arcem ex urbe**: the play upon the similar sound of the words is intentional (cf. *Enn. et arce et urbe* and Livy's famous *hostis pro hospite*) and may be rendered by *citadel* and *city*. — **prius**: like the English *rather*, *i.e. sooner*, in preference to my farm. — **Musa pedestri**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 39 f., *ego me illorum dederim quibus esse poetas excerpam numero*, with the argument which follows. The ambition to be a true lyric poet lies behind this estimate of the work he had already done.

**18 f. ambitio**: something of the original meaning (*amb-ire*, *to go about*, canvassing for votes) is still left in this word, though here the reference is to the social struggle (23 ff.), rather than to the political. — **plumbeus**: the sirocco, *Auster*, brings a peculiar sense of oppression, like a weight. — **Libitinae quaestus**: at the temple of Venus Libitina funerals were registered and fees paid, and the things necessary for a funeral were obtained by undertakers. A season of ill-health, like the autumn (*Epist.* 1, 7, 1-9), was therefore a time of gain (*quaestus*) for the goddess.

**20 ff.** As the references to the farm, especially vss. 16 f., are meant to indicate the place where this satire was written, so these lines are meant to indicate the time of day, the early morning. And the peaceful beginning of the day in his place of refuge suggests to Horace both the invocation to the god of morning and of all beginnings and also, by contrast, the hurried and senseless round of duties to which the morning sum-

unde homines operum primos vitaeque labores  
instituunt (sic dis placitum), tu carminis esto  
principium. Romae sponsorem me rapis. 'Heia,  
ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urge!'

25 Sive Aquilo radit terras seu bruma nivalem  
interiore diem gyro trahit, ire necesse est.

Postmodo quod mi obsit clare certumque locuto,

mons him at Rome.—*seu Iane*: it was customary in ritual to address the divinity by several different names, leaving it to him to select, as it were, the most acceptable (*libentius*); cf. *Carm. Saec.* 15 f., *sive tu Lucina probas vocari* (= *libentius audis*) *seu Genitalis*. The vocative is used as a direct quotation from the prayer.—*audis*: art called; so *rexque paterque audisti*, *Epist.* 1, 7, 37 f., and often.—*unde*: = *a quo*, 'with an invocation to whom.'—In the rather heavy phrases—*operum vitaeque labores, instituunt, sic dis placitum*—there is a playful formality, as if in his cheerful morning mood Horace amused himself by adopting the formal ritualistic style.

23 ff. These half-humorous lamentations over the so-called social duties which waste the time in Rome are quite in the vein of *Sat.* 1, 9. He is struggling between a sense of what courtesy demands and an impatient desire to be rid of the annoyances. It is annoying to have to go to court on a cold day, but it would be still more annoying to feel that

he had failed to meet the claims of friendship; it is highly unpleasant to him to push his way through the crowd and give just cause for remonstrance, and his consciousness of being in the wrong only makes it the harder to bear the impudent remonstrance of the man whom he has jostled.

23 f. *Romae*: emphatic; 'at Rome how differently the day begins!'—*sponsorem*: 'to be security for a friend'; to be asked to perform this office would be evidence that one was regarded as an intimate friend and would often be an honor.—*rapis*: addressed to the god; the morning brings the demand and expresses it in the words which follow, *heia . . . urge*.

25 f. The details—the cold wind, mid-winter, snow, the short day—picture from different sides the discomfort of going out of the house.—*interiore . . . gyro*: as the sun sinks lower in approaching the winter solstice, each daily circle seems to be within that of the preceding day.

27. *Postmodo*: *hereafter*, at some future time. This is the

luctandum in turba et facienda iniuria tardis.

‘Quid tibi vis, insane, et quam rem agis?’ improbus  
urget

30 iratis precibus; ‘tu pulses omne quod obstat,  
ad Maecenatem memori si mente recurras.’

Hoc iuvat et melli est, non mentiar. At simul atras  
ventum est Esquilias, aliena negotia centum  
per caput et circa saliant latus. ‘Ante secundam

regular meaning of *postmodo* and it is usually joined with some expression of futurity, as in *Carm.* 1, 28, 31 with *nocituram*; it is to be taken here with *obsit*, not with *luctandum* in the sense of *next, afterwards*. — *quod obsit*: if the friend should fail to meet his obligation. The hazards of such *sponsiones* are often alluded to in classical literature, as the dangers of financial endorsements are in modern literature. — *clare certumque*: *i.e.* having had the disagreeable experience of being told to ‘speak out, so that the Court can hear.’

28. *facienda*: it seems worse to him to be forced to be rude than it would be to suffer rudeness.

29. *Quid tibi vis, insane*: a common phrase of colloquial speech. — *quam rem agis*: scarcely less frequent in Plautus than *quid agis*? [The text of this line is taken from Bentley’s convincing note.] — *improbus*: *some impudent fellow*; though the remonstrance is justified, the manner of it and the

reference to Maecenas are impertinent.

30 f. *precibus*: *curses*, like *di te perduint*, which in form are prayers. This sense of *preces* is usually marked by some distinguishing word in the context (*hostilis, Thyesteus*), as here by *iratis*. — *tu*: as the speaker turns and recognizes Horace, he goes on from general curses to a direct and individual taunt: ‘oh, it’s you, is it? you would of course be in a hurry, on your way to see your great friend!’ — *memori . . . mente*: *i.e.* ‘your mind is so full of him that you can’t remember to be decently polite to the rest of us.’

32. *Hoc*: the thought of his friendship with Maecenas. — *non mentiar*: *i.e.* ‘I acknowledge it, though it is inconsistent with my argument that Rome isn’t a pleasant place to live in.’ — *At*: *but* even this pleasure is half-spoiled. — *atras*: the Esquiline, where the palace and gardens of Maecenas were, had been the site of a large burial-place.

34. *per caput, circa latus*: the

- 35 Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras.  
 'De re communi scribae magna atque nova te  
 orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti.'  
 'Imprimat his cura Maecenas signa tabellis.'  
 Dixeris, 'Experiar: 'Si vis, potes,' addit et instat.  
 40 Septimus octavo propior iam fugerit annus,

figures are slightly different from ours, but we say 'it runs through my head,' 'it springs into my mind'—*Ante secundam*: *before seven o'clock*; Roman business began at an early hour.

35. *orabat*: like the epistolary imperfect.—*adesses*: on banking or court business. The *Puteal* was a stone curbing around a spot in the Forum where lightning had struck; the praetor's tribunal was not far from it.

36 f. These lines afford an interesting little glimpse into the professional relations of Horace as a member still of the *ordo* of minor government officials, the *scribae*. It is, in effect, a notice of a meeting of the organization ('important business'), given orally to Horace, who is addressed familiarly by his 'first' name.—*orabant meminisses*: parataxis.—*reverti*: *i.e.* 'to come back to the meeting-place to which he used to come when he was an active member of the organization.'

38. *Imprimat . . . cura*: parataxis, like *cura valeas, fac sis fidelis*.—*signa*: *i.e.* he wished Horace to ask Maecenas to set his seal and

signature on the document. This would be like putting 'OK' and initials on a paper. As it is known that, during the months within which the composition of this satire must fall, Maecenas was the representative of Octavius in Rome and had authority to use his seal, the document was probably one that had to do with public business.

39. *Dixeris*: as if putting the reader into Horace's position, to make the situation more vivid.

40 ff. The form of expression is apparently intended to suggest increasingly definite reminiscence: 'it's seven years—almost eight—since . . .'—*iam fugerit*: *will soon have passed*.—For the story of the introduction, see *Sat.* 1, 6, 54 ff. The expression here is almost the same as the one used there, *iubes esse in amicorum numero*, with the evident intention of recalling that satire, as the next words recall the journey to Brundisium, *Sat.* 1, 5. The earlier claims to friendship are here qualified, to guard against the interpretations which had been put upon them. The friendship has nothing to do with public affairs.

ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum  
in numero, dumtaxat ad hoc, quem tollere reda  
vellet iter faciens, et cui concedere nugas  
hoc genus: 'Hora quota est?' — 'Thraex est Gallina  
Syro par?' —

- 45 'Matutina parum cautos iam frigora mordent;' —  
et quae rimosa bene deponuntur in aure.  
Per totum hoc tempus subiectior in diem et horam  
invidiae noster. Ludos spectaverat una,  
luserat in Campo: 'Fortunae filius!' omnes.  
50 Frigidus a Rostris manat per compita rumor:  
quicumque obvius est, me consulit: 'O bone (nam te  
scire, deos quoniam propius contingis, oportet),  
numquid de Dacis audisti?' 'Nil equidem.' 'Vt tu

44 f. Humorous under-state-ments. The things about which Horace and Maecenas talked were, to people who were thinking of political influence, no more important than remarks about athletics or the weather. — **Thraex**: a particular kind of gladiator armed like a Thracian. — **Gallina**: *the Chicken*, the name given to him in sporting circles. — **Syro**: a slave name, here borne by the gladiator who was to be matched against *Gallina*.

46. **deponuntur**: used of placing valuables or money 'on deposit' in safe hands. — **rimosa**: *i.e.* 'Maecenas tells me none of the state secrets' like those mentioned below.

48 ff. **noster**: *our friend*, as if holding himself up as an object of

sympathy. This use is colloquial and the following illustrations are told in colloquial manner. — **spectaverat**: paratactic with the verb of *omnes*. The plupf. tense makes the relation of the clauses plainer: 'he had been to the shows with Maecenas; then everybody said . . .' — **luserat**: *Sat.* 1, 5, 48; 1, 6, 126.

50. **a Rostris**: the platform in the Forum decorated with the beaks of ships was the center of public discussion and announcement. — **per compita**: *i.e.* through the city, wherever men were gathered; *Sat.* 2, 3, 25 f.

52. **deos**: a slang word for the prominent men in the state: 'the bosses,' 'The Big Four.'

53 f. **numquid**: frequently used in colloquial Latin, as here, with-

semper eris derisor !' 'At omnes di exagitent me,  
 55 si quicquam.' 'Quid, militibus promissa Triquetra  
 praedia Caesar, an est Itala tellure daturus ?'  
 Iurantem me scire nihil mirantur, ut unum  
 scilicet egregii mortalem altique silenti.

Perditur haec inter misero lux non sine votis :  
 60 O rus, quando ego te aspiciam ? quandoque licebit  
 nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis  
ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae ?

out the expectation of a negative answer ; 'have you heard anything about the Dacians ?' Cf. introd. to this satire and *Carm.* 3, 6, 13 ff., *paene*. . . *delevit urbem Dacus*. — Vt . . . eris : 'how determined you are to prove yourself a mere jester !' — At : very common in such asseverations. For the general form of the sentence cf. *di me perdant, si bibi*, Plaut. *M. G.* 833.

55 f. The allotment of land to the soldiers of Octavius (*Caesar*) after the battle of Actium was expected and there was great desire among those who were likely to be affected by confiscations or forced sales to know where the lands were to be taken and especially whether they were to be in Italy or perhaps in Sicily.

57 f. *unum* : *the one man*. This is not very different from *unus* with the superlative, *egregii altique* supplying the standard of comparison ; cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 24. — *scilicet* : ironical ; he was credited

with great power of keeping a secret which was, in fact, not known to him.

59. *Perditur* : the only occurrence of a passive form of *perdo* in classical Latin, the forms of *pereo* being elsewhere used. Acro glosses it with *consumitur*. — *misero* : it is hardly necessary to supply *mihi* ; the thought is still somewhat impersonal, as in vs. 48. — *votis* : such as follow. But the wishes pass over easily and imperceptibly into a description of an evening in the country and so to the story of Cervius.

61. *veterum libris* : like those Greek books which he had taken with him for his Christmas vacation, *Sat.* 2, 3, 11 f. Horace did not care much for the early Latin literature, though he speaks with respect of Ennius. — *somno* : an undisturbed *siesta*.

62. *ducere* . . . *oblivia* : *drink in forgetfulness* ; so souls about to be born again *longa oblivia potant* (*Aen.* 6, 715) at the water of Lethe.



O quando faba Pythagorae cognata simulque  
uncta satis pingui ponentur holuscula lardo?

- 65 O noctes cenaque deum! quibus ipse meique  
ante larem proprium vescor vernasque procacis  
pasco libatis dapibus. Prout cuique libido est,  
siccat inaequalis calices conviva, solutus  
legibus insanis, seu quis capit acria fortis  
70 pocula, seu modicis uvescit laetius. Ergo

63 f. The simple fare of the country. — **Pythagorae cognata**: *the relative of Pythagoras*; a little fling at the Pythagorean philosophy. Pythagoras forbade the eating of the flesh of animals because the soul of a human being might be inhabiting the body of the animal. He also forbade the eating of beans; whatever may have been the reason for this prohibition (and many different explanations are given), it was attributed to the same motive, to the belief that the soul of a man, even of a relative, might be dwelling in the bean, and the doctrine in this probably perverted form was made a matter of derision. — **uncta satis**: the fat bacon took the place of olive oil in the salad.

65 ff. This is an ideal picture of the cheerful supper with its pleasant details (*ipse*, the host; *mei*, the intimate friends; *larem*, the sacred hearth; *proprium*, at home; *vernas*, the old family servants; *procacis*, on easy terms with the master; *libatis dapibus*, there is enough for all). A simi-

lar scene is suggested, though with less detail, in Cic. *Cat. mai.* 14, 46. — **libatis dapibus**: abl. with *pasco*; the food which the guests have left is enough for the slaves. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 80 f.

67. Prout . . . libido: 'each guest, according to his own taste. . . .'

68 ff. **inaequalis**: defined in the following clauses, *seu . . . seu*. The etiquette of a formal dinner (*legibus insanis*) obliged the guests to drink their wine and water mixed in the same proportion, without regard to the taste of the individual. — **capit**: *holds, carries*. — **acria**: *strong*. — **fortis**: *strong-headed*. — **uvescit**: *grows mellow*. These are all words of half-specialized meaning, in use as a kind of slang in regard to drinking. There is a considerable vocabulary of such words in English, euphemistic and half-humorous.

70. Ergo: *so then*, in consequence of all that has been said of the character of the gathering.

sermo oritur, non de villis domibusve alienis,  
nec male necne Lepos saltet; sed quod magis ad nos  
pertinet et nescire malum est agitamus: utrumne  
divitiis homines an sint virtute beati;

75 quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne, trahat nos;  
et quae sit natura boni, summumque quid eius.

Cervius haec inter vicinus garrit anilis  
ex re fabellas. Si quis nam laudat Arelli  
sollicitas ignarus opes, sic incipit: 'Olim

80 rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur

71 f. **non de villis**: not the envious or silly gossip that one may hear at more ambitious city diners. — **Lepos**: *Charm*, the *Charmer*, a nickname of some dancer on the stage; a real person, admired by Caesar, the Scholiast says.

73 ff. **nescire malum est**: these fundamental doctrines of ethical philosophy cannot be ignored without loss and discredit. — **divitiis**... **an virtute**: *i.e.* whether happiness comes from within, from character, or from external advantages, like wealth. — **usus rectumne**: whether friendship is the result of need and of a sense of its advantages (*usus*) or comes from the attractive power of high character. This is one of the questions on which Epicureans and Stoics held opposite views. It is discussed by Cicero in the *de Amicitia*. — **natura boni**: the nature and essence of the Good and the Highest Good — *summum bonum* — the fundamental question

in all ancient philosophy, of which Cicero wrote in the *de Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*.

77 ff. **garrit anilis** . . . **fabellas**: there is a touch of modesty in these words — 'he recounts some little story that he had heard from some old woman' — not the tone of contempt that is in 'old-wives' fables,' but enough to disarm criticism. — **ex re**: *to the point*, connected with the talk, perhaps with the question *divitiis an virtute*. — **Arelli**: Greenough's note on this is thoroughly Horatian: 'so that, after all, human nature was too much for them, and they did talk "de villis domibusve alienis."' — **ignarus**: not knowing that money brings anxiety (*sollicitas*). — **Olim**: *once upon a time*.

80 ff. The old story of the Town Mouse and the Country Mouse is retold and put into the mouth of a Sabine farmer with a purpose — like so much of Horace — at once serious and humorous.

accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum,  
asper et attentus quaesitis, ut tamen artum  
solveret hospitiiis animum. Quid multa? neque ille  
sepositi ciceris nec longae invidit avenae,

85 aridum et ore ferens acinum semesaque lardi  
frusta dedit, cupiens varia fastidia cena  
vincere tangentis male singula dente superbo;  
cum pater ipse domus palea porrectus in horna  
esset ador loliumque, dapis meliora relinquens.

90 Tandem urbanus ad hunc: 'Quid te iuvat,' inquit,  
'amice,

It enforces in general terms the lesson of Horace's own preference, and it is at the same time an *anilis fabella*, at which one smiles while he recognizes its underlying truth. The actors are Lilliputian, but their action embodies a large truth. This double purpose is reflected in the style, which has a kind of old-fashioned formality. The tone is carefully set in the elaborate structure of the first sentence; the four words *rusticus . . . mus* balance *veterem . . . amicum*—adj.-adj., noun-noun; nom-acc., acc.-nom; *rusticus-urbanum, murem-mus*. This is the manner of the serious teller of an old story, conscious of his moral purpose and not quite conscious of the incongruity between the purpose and the vehicle by which he conveys the lesson.

82. *asper, attentus*: like the ideal Sabine or New England farmer.—*ut tamen*: but yet such

that he could . . . *Ita* is commonly used in this kind of sentence.

83. *solveret*: to balance *artum*; he could *relax* his *closeness*.—*Quid multa*: the same phrase is used in *Sat.* 1, 6, 82 and cf. *ne te morer, Sat.* 1, 1, 14.

84. *ciceris*: the gen. after *invidit* is a Greek construction.—*sepositi*: set aside as too good for ordinary days. The kinds of food—peas, oats, seeds, bits of bacon—are specified in order to heighten the contrast between the solemn moral tone and the littleness of the actions and objects.

86. *fastidia*: the dainty appetite.

87. *male*: with *tangentis*; scarcely touching.

88. *pater . . . domus*: the master of the house; an intentionally fine phrase.

89. *esset*: from *edo*.—*ador loliumque*: spelt and darnel, sup-

praerupti nemoris patientem vivere dorso?  
 Vis tu homines urbemque feris praeponere silvis?  
 Carpe viam, mihi crede, comes, terrestria quando  
 mortalis animas vivunt sortita, neque ulla est  
 95 aut magno aut parvo leti fuga: quo, bone, circa,  
 dum licet, in rebus iucundis vive beatus,  
 vive memor quam sis aevi brevis.' Haec ubi dicta  
 agrestem pepulere, domo levis exsilit; inde  
 ambo propositum peragunt iter, urbis aventes  
 100 moenia nocturni subrepere. Iamque tenebat  
 nox medium caeli spatium, cum ponit uterque  
 in locuplete domo vestigia, rubro ubi cocco  
 tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos,

posedly easy for a mouse to collect and therefore standing for ordinary food.

91 f. These lines drop back into the purely human attitude; to a mouse *praerupti, nemoris, dorso* are not hardships nor *homines urbemque* advantages. — *patientem*: 'enduring a hard life.' — *Vis tui*: *why don't you . . . ?* with hortatory effect. [Bentley's note on the difference between *vis tu* and *vin tu* is repeated in substance by most editors, with a reference to *Sat.* 1, 9, 69 as a true interrogation. But *vin tu . . . oppedere?* is not a simple question and Bentley's dictum, though fairly correct for *vis tu*, is entirely fanciful for *vin tu*, many examples of which in Plaut. and Ter. are parallel to his *vis tu*. The evidence is collected in A. J. P., X, 4 (40), p. 415.]

93 f. *mihi crede*: a parenthetic exhortation, to add force to *carpe viam*. — *terrestria . . .*: the Epicurean doctrine, put into fine phrases. — *sortita*: the idea of getting by *lot* is almost lost or resolved into a vague sense of destiny.

95. *aut magno aut parvo*: as commonly used, this means 'even the greatest of us cannot escape'; spoken by the mouse, the meaning is comically reversed. — *quo . . . circa*: an unusual tmesis.

98. *pepulere*: *struck*, influenced his decision. — *levis*: *light-heartedly*.

100 f. In the epic style; cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 9 f. Cf. also *Sat.* 1, 5, 20 for *iam tenebat . . . cum*.

102 f. *cocco . . . eburnos*: the contrast of the red covering with the ivory couch is used also in Catull. 64, 47 ff. in a description of a splendidly furnished palace.

- multaque de magna superessent fercula cena,  
 105 quae procul extructis inerant hesterna canistris.  
 Ergo, ubi purpurea porrectum in veste locavit  
 agrestem, veluti succinctus cursitat hospes  
 continuatque dapes, nec non verniliter ipsis  
 fungitur officiis, praelambens omne quod affert.  
 110 Ille cubans gaudet mutata sorte bonisque  
 rebus agit laetum convivam, cum subito ingens  
 valvarum strepitus lectis excussit utrumque.  
 Currere per totum pavidam conclave, magisque  
 exanimes trepidare, simul domus alta Molossis  
 115 personuit canibus. Tum rusticus 'Haud mihi vita

104 f. *fercula*: trays, and then the *courses* served on them. — *procul*: set aside, removed from the table to a sideboard. — *hesterna*: i.e. of the evening before, it being now after midnight.

106 ff. All the appointments of the feast are in contrast to the entertainment in the country (vss. 83 ff.) and the host hurries about like a slave girt up (*succinctus*) for waiting on the table. — *continuat*: i.e. brings on the courses in quick succession. — *verniliter*: in true servant-fashion; defined by *praelambens*. He took stealthily a taste of the food before he brought it to his guest — again in contrast with the true hospitality of the country mouse, vss. 88 f.

110 ff. *bonis rebus*: with *agit*... *convivam*, not with *laetum* alone. — *agit*: he plays the joyous guest; this use of *agere* is technical

of actors, e.g. *egit* in the *Didascaliae* to the plays of Terence. — *strepitus*: made by the servants coming in the early morning to put the dining-room in order. — *excussit*: a very graphic word.

113 f. *Currere*: the name which Lane gives to this, the infinitive of intimation, is here very apt, while the ordinary name, historical infinitive, is particularly inappropriate. — *trepidare*: often used in connection with *cursare*, *discursu*, *concursare*, as here with *currere*, of aimless and terrified running about. — *simul*: when. — *Molossis*: large hounds kept as watch-dogs.

115 ff. *Haud* . . . *est*: 'I do not care for such a life as this.' For this slightly weakened colloquial sense of *opus est* cf. *Sat.* I, 9, 27 and the common phrase *nil moror*. It appears to be

est opus hac,' ait, 'et valeas; me silva cavusque  
tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur ervo.'

most marked in negative sentences. — *solabitur*: *i.e.* for the loss of the splendors of a city life.

## 7

The precise date of this satire cannot be fixed. The allusion in vs. 23 may be either to *Sat.* 2, 2 or to the second half of *Sat.* 2, 6, and vs. 28, *Romae rus optas*, may also refer to *Sat.* 2, 6, 59 ff. These indications point in a general way to a late date.

The form is the characteristic form of this book, which is used also in Satires 3, 4, and 8. The main body of the satire is a discourse addressed to Horace himself, which is introduced and then brought to a close by bits of dialogue suited to the subject and to speaker and listener. The resemblance to the third satire is particularly close: both are on the feast of the Saturnalia, in both Horace is interrupted by the intrusion of the speaker and in turn interrupts the speaker before the main discourse is reached (3, 26 and 31; 7, 21 f.), and both close with an outbreak of anger on Horace's part.

In substance also this satire is much like the third. That is a discourse upon the Stoic Paradox that all men except the philosopher are insane; this has for its text the other Paradox that all men but the philosopher are slaves, ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς ἐλεύθερος, καὶ πᾶς ἄφρων δοῦλος. This is the subject of Cicero's *Parad.* V. and Horace follows in part the same line of reasoning, using in vss. 89 ff. the illustration of the lover enslaved by a woman and in vss. 95 ff. the illustration of the infatuated admirer of works of art, almost precisely as they are used by Cicero. As in the third satire the preacher upon the insanity of men is the half-crazy Damasippus, so here the person who discourses upon the slavery of men is Horace's own slave, Davus, and as Damasippus gets his wisdom from Stertinius (and Catius, in the fourth satire, from an unnamed *auctor*), so in this satire, with a clever parody, Davus has learned his philosophy from the door-keeper of the philosopher Crispinus. The form of Stoic discourse is less distinctly parodied than in *Sat.* 3, perhaps only in vs. 83, and it is evident that Horace was less inclined to burlesque this Paradox than he had been to flout the doctrine that all men are insane. The truth that men are the slaves of their follies and vices is so familiar to us, that we are, in fact, obliged



to remind ourselves that slavery was an ever-present reality in the Roman world, in order to understand how the doctrine could have been called a paradox at all. This satire is, therefore, even more than the third, and more, indeed, than any other in the Second Book, a direct attack upon the follies of mankind. But the sharpness which shows itself in some of the satires of the First Book is entirely avoided by the humorous expedient of representing the satire as directed against Horace himself. as in the close of the third. That Horace is not drawing a picture of himself, however, is plain from such passages as vs. 53, vss. 89 ff., 102 ff., 110 f.: the faults there attacked are not those to which Horace was prone. But there is enough caricature of himself (vss. 23 ff., 29 ff.) to add a pleasant humor to the whole. It must be said also that there is some return to the intentional coarseness of *Sat.* 1, 2.

*Davus.* Iamdudum ausculto, et cupiens tibi dicere servus  
pauca, reformido. *Horat.* Davusne? *D.* Ita, Davus,  
amicum

mancipium domino et frugi, quod sit satis, hoc est,  
ut vitale putes. *H.* Age, libertate Decembri,

5 quando ita maiores voluerunt, utere; narra.

*D.* Pars hominum vitiis gaudet constanter et urget

1. *ausculto*: the slave has listened at the door to see whether Horace has a caller with him; finding that his master is alone, he ventures to speak. The hesitation and humility (*servus*) of the first words are meant to contrast with his boldness later.

2. *Davusne*: Horace is preoccupied and only half recognizes the slave's voice. The name is a traditional name for a slave.

3. *frugi*: the ordinary adjective in comedy for a good slave, as *nequam* is the adjective for the opposite. — *quod sit satis*: a humorous modification of the claim

to goodness; 'honest, or at least honest enough.'

4. *vitale*: cf. *Sat.* 2, 1, 60 f., *ut sis vitalis metuo*; he is good, but not so good as to be in danger of dying young. — *Decembri*: at the feast of the Saturnalia slaves were given a considerable liberty of speech and action, in memory of the Golden Age when there were no masters and no slaves.

5. *narra*: *speak*; this is the early meaning, not *tell*, *narrate*.

6-20. 'Men are not governed by reason even in their vices. Priscus swings from one extreme to the other, as if he were the very

- propositum; pars multa natat, modo recta capessens,  
interdum pravis obnoxia. Saepe notatus  
cum tribus anellis, modo laeva Priscus inani,  
10 vixit inaequalis, clavum ut mutaret in horas,  
aedibus ex magnis subito se conderet, unde  
mundior exiret vix libertinus honeste;  
iam moechus Romae, iam mallet doctus Athenis  
vivere, Vertumnis quotquot sunt natus iniquis.  
15 Scurra Volanerius, postquam illi iusta cheragra  
contudit articulos, qui pro se tolleretur atque  
mitteretur in phimum talos, mercede diurna  
conductum pavit; quanto constantior isdem  
in vitiis, tanto levius miser ac prior illo,

god of change himself, while Volanerius hangs on to his follies with as much determination as if they were virtues.'

7. *propositum*: cf. *iustum et tenacem propositi virum*, *Carm.* 3, 3, 1. — *natat*: figurative of hesitation and uncertainty; *float, drift*.

8. *obnoxia*: *submissive to*, agreeing with *pars*.

9. *tribus*: one ring was usual, two were conspicuous, three would be effeminate. — *laeva . . . inani*: *i.e.* without any ring, as they were worn only on the left hand.

10. *inaequalis*: cf. *nil aequale homini fuit illi*, in the description of Tigellius at the beginning of *Sat.* 1, 3. — *clavum*: he changed within an hour from the broad stripe of the senator to the narrow stripe of a knight.

12. *mundior*: *more respectable*,

a freedman of self-respecting habits. — *honeste*: *decently*. But the contrast is between the refinements of his palace and the dirt and squalor of a hut — *obsoleti sordibus tecti*, *Carm.* 2, 10, 6.

13. *doctus Athenis*: like Cicero's friend, T. Pomponius Atticus.

14. *Vertumnis*: the god of the changing year and so of all change. — *quotquot sunt*: a colloquialism, a little more emphatic than *omnibus*. — *natus iniquis*: cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 97 f.; 2, 3, 8.

15. *Volanerius*: unknown. — *iusta*: *deserved* by his habits.

17. *in phimum talos*: *put the dice into the box*. — *diurna*: he was too poor to own a slave, but hired a man by the day.

18. *pavit*: from *pasco*; *kept*.

19. *levius*: equal to *minus*; cf. vs. 78.

- 20 qui iam contento, iam laxo fune laborat.  
*H.* Non dices hodie quorsum haec tam putida tendant,  
 furcifer? *D.* Ad te, inquam. *H.* Quo pacto, pessime?  
*D.* Laudas  
 fortunam et mores antiquae plebis, et idem,  
 si quis ad illa deus subito te agat, usque recuses,  
 25 aut quia non sentis, quod clamas, rectius esse,  
 aut quia non firmus rectum defendis, et haeres  
 nequiquam caeno cupiens evellere plantam.  
 Romae rus optas; absentem rusticus urbem  
 tollis ad astra levis. Si nusquam es forte vocatus  
 30 ad cenam, laudas securum olus, ac, velut usquam  
 vinctus eas, ita te felicem dicis amasque  
 quod nusquam tibi sit potandum. Iusserit ad se  
 Maecenas serum sub lumina prima venire  
 convivam: 'Nemon' oleum fert ocius? Ecquis

20. *contento, laxo*: the sense of this figure is plain, but the precise comparison is not clear.

21. *hodie*: in the weakened colloquial sense, as often in comedy; 'aren't you ever going to tell me . . . ?' There is no reference to the Saturnalia.

24. *illa*: the old ways. — *deus subito*: as in *Sat.* I, 1, 15 ff., a god is represented as suddenly fulfilling wishes that were not sincere.

28. *absentem*: not often used, as here, of things.

29. *levis*: *fickle*. This is the point of the criticism; the accusation of affectation (vs. 25) is aside from the main course of thought.

30 f. *securum olus*: the 'dinner of herbs where love is.' — *usquam*: *i.e.* 'as if you never went out anywhere except on compulsion (*vinctus*).' — *amas*: the nearest English phrase is 'you hug yourself'; cf. *Sat.* I, 2, 54.

33. *serum*: the invitation comes so late that Horace had already himself invited some unimportant guests, whom he is represented as abandoning in order to accept the invitation of Maecenas.

34. *Nemon*, *Ecquis*: these are colloquial forms of question used in Plautus and Terence with imperative force; 'won't some one bring the oil? Won't some one listen?'

- 35 audit? ' cum magno blateras clamore fugisque.  
 Mulvius et scurrae, tibi non referenda precati,  
 discedunt. 'Etenim fateor me,' dixerit ille,  
 'duci ventre levem, nasum nidore supinor,  
 imbecillus, iners, si quid vis, adde, popino.
- 40 Tu, cum sis quod ego et fortassis nequior, ultro  
 insectere velut melior, verbisque decoris  
 obvolvas vitium? ' Quid, si me stultior ipso  
 quingentis empto drachmis deprnderis? Aufer  
 me voltu terrere; manum stomachumque teneto,  
 45 dum quae Crispini docuit me ianitor edo.
- Te coniunx aliena capit, meretricula Davum.  
 Peccat uter nostrum cruce dignius? Acris ubi me  
 natura intendit, sub clara nuda lucerna  
 quaecumque excepit turgentis verbera caudae,  
 50 clunibus aut agitavit equum lasciva supinum,  
 dimittet neque famosum neque sollicitum ne  
 ditior aut formae melioris meiat eodem.
- Tu cum proiectis insignibus, anulo equestri

35. fugis: *and off you go.*

36. non referenda: *things that I must not repeat.* — precati: cf. *Sat.* 2, 6, 30, *iratis precibus.*

37. ille: Mulvius.

39. si quid vis: *if you choose.*  
 — popino: a haunter of cheap taverns.

40 f. Tu . . . insectere: a repudiating question or exclamation. — verbis decoris: with fine words about his obligations to Maecenas, when in fact he is, Mulvius implies, going simply to get a good dinner.

42 f. me: Davus. — quingentis: a rather low price, to emphasize the

point; 'you are proved to be a worse fool than I, and I am a cheap slave, too.' — aufer: like *noli*; cf. *mitte sectari, Carm.* 1, 38, 3.

44. manum: as if Horace, annoyed by vs. 42 f., had started up to strike the slave.

45. Crispini: cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 120, note. The absurdity of quoting him to Horace as an authority is heightened by the fact that the wisdom had trickled down to Davus through the philosopher's door-keeper.

53. insignibus: especially the tunic with the narrow purple stripe.

- Romanoque habitu, prodis ex iudice Dama  
 55 turpis, odoratum caput obscurante lacerna,  
 non es quod simulas? Metuens induceris, atque  
 altercante libidinibus tremis ossa pavore.  
 Quid refert, uri virgis ferroque necari  
 auctoratus eas, an turpi clausus in arca,  
 60 quo te demisit peccati conscia erilis,  
 contractum genibus tangas caput? Estne marito  
 matronae peccantis in ambo iusta potestas?  
 In corruptorem vel iustior. Illa tamen se  
 non habitu mutatve loco peccatve superne,  
 65 cum te formidet mulier neque credat amanti.  
 Ibis sub furcam prudens, dominoque furenti  
 committes rem omnem et vitam et cum corpore famam.  
 Evasti: credo metues doctusque cavebis:  
 quaeres quando iterum paveas, iterumque perire

— *anulo*: the gold ring which was one of the signs of equestrian rank.

— *equestri*: there is no other passage in Horace which suggests that he was an *eques*, and such a supposition is quite inconsistent with the tenor of *Sat.* 1, 6. The reference is general and *tu* is the imaginary person to whom Horace so frequently addresses his remarks; the Davus-Crispinus machinery is for the moment ignored.

54 f. *prodis*: *i.e.* 'when you come out, you are no longer a citizen of good standing (*iudex*), but a miserable slave.' Cf. *Sat.* 2, 5, 18, *spurco Damae*. — *lacerna*: a coarse cloak with a hood for concealing the face.

59. *auctoratus*: *bound over*, as a gladiator was.

60. *conscia*: cf. *Sat.* 1, 2, 130.

61 f. *Estne*: with the force of *nonne*, as often in comedy. — *iusta potestas*: this leads directly toward the point, that in such a case the man is no more than a slave.

66. *sub furcam*: a common punishment for a slave; his wrists were bound to the ends of a forked beam, which rested upon his neck.

68 f. *Evasti*: *i.e.* 'suppose you have got off once safely.' — *quaeres*: an adversative conjunction would be used, if the thought were fully expressed; 'on the contrary, you will seek.'

- 70 possis, o totiens servus! Quae belua ruptis,  
cum semel effugit, reddit se prava catenis?  
'Non sum moechus,' ais. Neque ego, hercule, fur, ubi  
vasa  
praetereo sapiens argentea. Tolle periculum,  
iam vaga prosiliet frenis natura remotis.
- 75 Tune mihi dominus, rerum imperiis hominumque  
tot tantisque minor, quem ter vindicta quaterque  
imposita haud umquam misera formidine privet?  
Adde super, dictis quod non levius valeat: nam,  
sive vicarius est qui servo paret, uti mos
- 80 vester ait, seu conservus, tibi quid sum ego? Nempe  
tu, mihi qui imperitas, alii servis miser, atque  
duceris, ut nervis alienis mobile lignum.

Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens, sibi qui imperiosus,  
quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula ter-  
rent,

70. *totiens servus*: this approaches still nearer to the point of the argument. Cf. *iusta potestas*, vs. 62.

75 f. *Tune mihi*: repudiating exclamation. — *imperiis*: abl. after *minor*; 'subject to so many and so severe commands.' — *vindicta*: the rod which the lictor laid upon (*imposita*) the slave in going through the old ceremony of manumission.

77. *privet*: 'deliver, set free.'

78-82. 'And there is another argument, not less forcible than these. For the fact that you are my master proves nothing; according to your own customs a slave

may be himself the owner of a slave and they are then simply fellow-slaves, like you and me.' — *vicarius*: a slave bought or hired by another slave to do his work for him. — *servis*: the verb. — *nervis*: puppets were made of wood and jointed so that their arms and legs could be moved by strings. — *alienis*: controlled by another person.

83. *Quisnam*: the Stoic form of argument, by brief questions and answers. — *Sapiens*: the Stoic philosopher.

85. *responsare*: *defy*; cf. *Sat.* 2, 4, 18. The infin. depends upon *fortis*.



- 85 responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores  
fortis, et in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus,  
externi ne quid valeat per leve morari,  
in quem manca ruit semper fortuna. Potesne  
ex his ut proprium quid noscere? Quinque talenta  
90 poscit te mulier, vexat foribusque repulsum  
perfundit gelida, rursus vocat : eripe turpi  
colla iugo. 'Liber, liber sum,' dic age! Non quis;  
urget enim dominus mentem non lenis, et acris  
subiectat lasso stimulos, versatque negantium.  
95 Vel cum Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella,  
qui peccas minus atque ego, cum Fulvi Rutubaeque  
aut Pacideiani contento poplite miror  
proelia rubrica picta aut carbone, velut si  
re vera pugnent, feriant, vitentque moventes  
100 arma viri? Nequam et cessator Davus; at ipse  
subtilis veterum iudex et callidus audis.

86 f. in se ipso: with *totus* only; *self-contained*, independent of all else. The phrase is usually quoted wrongly, as if *totus* by itself were an adjective like *teres*. — *externi* . . . *morari*: 'so that nothing foreign may be able to rest upon (*morari*) its smooth surface (*leve*).'

88. manca: *powerless*.

89. ex his: of the qualities just mentioned. The answer to the question is given in the following lines; he cannot be *sibi imperiosus* who is infatuated with a woman or a picture.

91. rursus vocat: cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 260 ff. The picture of the lover

is traditional; cf. Ter. *Eun.* 46-49.

94. stimulos, versat: as a rider subdues a horse by wearying him.

95. Pausiaca: a picture by the famous Greek painter Pausias of the fourth century. — torpes: cf. *stupet*, *Sat.* 1, 4, 28, of unbounded admiration for works of art.

96. Fulvi: names of gladiators, whose performance was advertised by pictures in black and red drawn on the walls.

100. cessator: *i.e.* 'you blame me for having stopped to look at the posters when you had sent me on an errand.'

- Nil ego, si ducor libo fumante : tibi ingens  
 virtus atque animus cenis responsat opimis?  
 Obsequium ventris mihi perniciosius est cur?  
 105 Tergo plector enim. Qui tu impunitior illa,  
 quae parvo sumi nequeunt, obsonia captas?  
 Nempe inamarescunt epulae sine fine petitae,  
 illusique pedes vitiosum ferre recusant  
 corpus. An hic peccat, sub noctem qui puer uvam  
 110 furtiva mutat strigili ; qui praedia vendit,  
 nil servile, gulae parens, habet? Adde, quod idem  
 non horam tecum esse potes, non otia recte  
 ponere, teque ipsum vitas, fugitivus et erro,  
 iam vino quaerens, iam somno fallere curam :  
 115 frustra : nam comes atra premit sequiturque fugacem.  
*H.* Vnde mihi lapidem? *D.* Quorsum est opus?  
*H.* Vnde sagittas?  
*D.* Aut insanit homo, aut versus facit. *H.* Ocius hinc te  
 ni rapis, accedes opera agro nona Sabino !

102. Nil ego: sc. *sum*.—libo: *pancake*.

105 f. plector enim: 'I get a thrashing, to be sure, but that proves nothing, for you suffer worse penalties.'

107. inamarescunt: *turn sour*.—sine fine: with *petitae*.

110. mutat: 'gets a bunch of grapes in exchange for a scraper that he has stolen.'

111. nil servile . . . habet: *has nothing of the slave about him*.—parens: with the subject of *vendit*.

111-115. These lines, which are rather more serious and penetrating than any other part of the

satire, seem to be a condensation of *Lucr.* 3, 1053-1070.

116. lapidem: of *Sat.* 2, 3, 128 f., where a master throws stones at his slaves.—sagittas: these unusual weapons of attack are named in order to give an opening for the final remark of *Davus*, *versus facit*; that is, *unde sagittas?* sounds as if it might be taken from a play.

118. opera . . . nona: 'You shall be the ninth slave.' The threat to send a slave from the city to the harder work of the farm is frequent in comedy.

Nothing in this satire fixes the date of composition. It can only be said that it was written between 35 and 30 B.C., and that in subject and general treatment it is like the other satires of this book.

In form it most closely resembles *Sat.* 2, 4; the main part of it is an account of certain sayings and doings related by another person to Horace at his request, with a brief introductory dialogue. The subject-matter connects it both with *Sat.* 2, 2, as a contrast to simple living, and with 2, 4, as a satire in a different vein upon the serious-minded epicure.

The main body of it is a description of a dinner, given in much detail. The names of the guests are mentioned and their places at the table and there are elaborate descriptions of the food and cookery. After the dinner had advanced a little and the host had shown a disposition to brag of his food and wines, some of the guests proposed heavy drinking. The host turned their attention again to the food, but while he was describing one of the dishes, a canopy over the table fell and covered the whole company with dust. The host at this mishap burst into tears and was with difficulty induced by the encouragements of some of his guests, which he did not perceive to be ironical, to proceed with the feast. When he did go on, he continued to talk so much about the food, that the guests, in revenge, declined to eat it. The satire ends abruptly, without the concluding dialogue or comment which is generally found in the satires of this book.

This is not a description of some actual dinner at the house of an individual who might be identified. All attempts to connect the host, Nasidienus Rufus, with some person known to us, — for example, with Salvidienus Rufus, — fail in details and are mistaken in their purpose. It is quite inconceivable that Horace should have made public the story of such a dinner, at which Maecenas and Varius were guests, and should have represented a well-known man like Fundanius as guilty of the extreme discourtesy of ridiculing the host whose invitation he had accepted. To readers of Horace's time the mere fact that the story is told by Fundanius, the writer of humorous plays, would at once have given the clew to the burlesque character of the whole. It is no more to be taken as serious narrative than the legal consultation in *Sat.* 2, 1, the discourse of Ofellus in 2, 2, the sermon of Damasippus in 2, 3, or in fact any satire of this book except the earlier half of the sixth.

But though the setting and the details are pure burlesque, there is a certain amount of serious purpose underneath, as in *Sat.* 2, 3, for example, where the Stoic is burlesqued, but the follies of mankind are also satirized. The host at the banquet, who is here ridiculed on his lighter side, is a type of the same man who is attacked with savage directness in *Epod.* 4, the man of low station and no culture, whose suddenly acquired wealth has not changed his nature. He is represented here as an aspiring epicure, proud of his knowledge of the art of cookery and seeking to advance his acquaintance with Maecenas by giving him a particularly fine dinner. But the ridicule is directed quite as much, perhaps even more, against the absurd solemnities of the epicure. There are passages (vss. 6 ff., 43 ff., especially 85 ff.) which are indistinguishable in tone and manner from parts of *Sat.* 2, 4, and which have no point at all unless we understand them as we do that satire, — as ironical parodies of the precepts of fine cookery.

This is not one of the best of the satires. The humor is not always in good taste; there is too close an approach to horse-play and, though Maecenas and the literary men are kept in the background, with the evident purpose of guarding their dignity, the rest of the guests are not superior in good-breeding to the host whom they ridicule. The scene is, with some differences, not unlike the supper described in *Sat.* 1, 5, 51 ff. and, in general, this satire has many of the characteristics, both positive and negative, of *Sat.* 1, 5. The explanation is that Horace is here also, as in 1, 5, following a satire of Lucilius (Charis. in *Gr. Lat.* p. 100 K., *Lucilius . . . deridens rusticam cenam*; the fragments are in Marx, 193 ff.), doubtless improving upon the form, but hampered by his model. The grave and sustained irony of *Sat.* 2, 4, when no Lucilian influence is discernible, is much superior to this.

*Horatius.* Vt Nasidieni iuvit te cena beati?

Nam mihi quaerenti convivam dictus heri illic

1. Vt . . . iuvit te: change the construction in translating; 'how did you enjoy yourself at the dinner of ——?' — Nasidieni: in four syllables, the second *i* being consonantal and lengthening the preceding syllable; this is probably a plebeian pronuncia-

tion, intentionally used in the first line. — beati: *rich, the millionaire*, with a touch of irony.

2. quaerenti convivam: sc. *te*; 'when I tried to get you to come and dine with me.' — dictus: sc. *es*; the omission is not at all infrequent in colloquial Latin, as in

de medio potare die. *Fundanius*. Sic, ut mihi numquam

in vita fuerit melius. *Hor.* Da, si grave non est,

5 quae prima iratum ventrem placaverit esca.

*Fund.* In primis Lucanus aper leni fuit Austro captus, ut aiebat cenae pater; acria circum rapula, lactucae, radices, qualia lassum

comedy. — *heri*: the pronunciation of the last letter was so indistinct that the word was written sometimes *heri*, sometimes *here*.

3. *de medio die*: the dinner began before the usual hour, which was three o'clock or later, as it was to be a formal affair. The Roman custom in this respect was the opposite of ours.

4. *fuerit melius*: *mihi bene est*, 'I am enjoying myself,' is a common colloquialism; cf. *Sat.* 2, 2, 120.

5. *iratum ventrem*: cf. *latratem stomachum*, *Sat.* 2, 2, 18. The question is ironical, as if the object of a formal dinner was to satisfy a natural hunger.

6-9. Our knowledge of Roman dinner customs is imperfect, the fashions changed from time to time, and this description is meant to be only a series of allusions. It is therefore quite impossible to arrange the *menu* or even to decide whether this course constituted the *gustatio* (*promulsis*); the relishes served with the boar would indicate that it did; the fact that

no drink (*mulsum*) is mentioned would, however, be a strange omission.

6 f. *leni* . . . *Austro captus*: not predicate with *fuit*; 'one of the first things was a Lucanian boar, killed, as the host said, when a mild southerly wind was blowing.' The Lucanian boar was especially prized and the state of the weather at the time the animal was killed was supposed to affect the flavor of the meat; cf. *Sat.* 2, 2, 32 ff. and the modern superstitions about the 'dark of the moon.' — *cenae pater*: he is called also *erus* (vss. 16, 43), *ipse* (23), *parochus* (36), and *convivator* (73), as well as *Nasidienus* (1, 75, 84) and *Rufus* (58).

7 f. *acria*: introducing the whole list and repeated in *qualia* . . . *stomachum*. The relishes are only partly in use now nor is the precise identification of them at all important: 'rape, lettuce, radishes, skirret, fish-pickle, and burnt tartar from Coan wine.' These were arranged around (*circum*) the boar, perhaps on the same platter.

pervellunt stomachum, siser, allec, faecula Coa.

- 10 His ubi sublatis puer alte cinctus acernam  
 gausape purpureo mensam pertersit et alter  
 sublegit quodcumque iaceret inutile quodque  
 posset cenantis offendere, ut Attica virgo  
 cum sacris Cereris procedit fuscus Hydaspes  
 15 Caecuba vina ferens, Alcon Chium maris expers.

10. *ubi*: introduces *pertersit et sublegit*; 'when these had been removed and after a slave had wiped . . .' — *alte cinctus*: the same as *succinctus*, 2, 6, 107; the slave was in the proper dress for waiting at the table. — *acernam*: *maple*, one of the more valuable woods for dining-tables; as one might speak of 'the mahogany table,' not as a rarity, but as the 'proper thing.'

11. *gausape purpureo*: abl.; this was a bit of unnecessary display. Lucilius, in a corresponding passage (Marx, 568), has *purpureo tersit tunc latas gausape mensas*.

12. *sublegit*: this is mentioned merely as a part of the ordinary table service in order to prepare for the formality of the next event; 'a slave in proper dress wiped the table — with a purple cloth, to be sure — and the crumbs were gathered up, when in came . . .'

13 f. *ut*: with *virgo*; 'like a girl at Athens in a religious procession.' The *κανηφόρος* (cf. *Sat.* I, 3, 10 f.) carried the sacred symbols in a basket on her head

and walked with slow step and upright carriage. — *Hydaspes*: an Eastern slave-boy, named after the river of his native land.

15 f. *Alcon*: another slave. The fact that his name is given would seem to indicate that there was some point in it, as in *Hydaspes*, but we do not know what it was. — *Caecuba*: one of the best of the Italian wines, as were also the Alban, in the time of Horace, and Falernian. The Chian was a fine Greek wine, with which seawater was sometimes sparingly mixed to give it a tang. Horace frequently mentions these and other special kinds of wine, contrasting them with the ordinary Sabine wine, as we might contrast special French or German wines with Californian claret, but he does not make sharp distinctions between them. The preference for Caecuban came later, when the vineyards were dying out and the wine was becoming rare. The many attempts of commentators to find hidden meanings in these lines are all misleading. The slaves brought in the best of wine,



**Hic erus:** 'Albanum, Maecenas, sive Falernum te magis appositis delectat, habemus utrumque.'

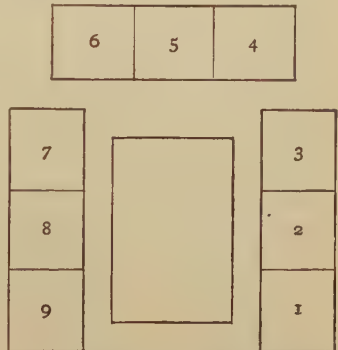
*Hor.* Divitias miseras! Sed quis cenantibus una, Fundani, pulchre fuerit tibi, nosse laboro.

20 *Fund.* Summus ego, et prope me Viscus Thurinus, et infra,

with a trifle more ceremony than was necessary, and the host, also with unnecessary display, said 'if you prefer, I can give you some Alban or Falernian.' The wines are all right, — the very best, — but why such a fuss about them? — *maris expers*: *i.e.* not mixed with sea-water. This was a proper, if less usual, way of serving Chian wine, but it might have been left to the guests to discover it, instead of making a formal announcement, as it is implied that the slave did.

18 f. *Divitias miseras*: 'oh, the curse of being so rich!' or perhaps like saying, 'oh, poor millionaire!' This exclamation interprets to us the point of the preceding lines. The unfortunate host thinks that the wines and cookery which his money can buy are the things that make a successful dinner. But Horace goes to the root of the matter by asking who the other guests were. — *quis*: *quibus*, interrogative. The English structure would make *cenantibus* the leading verb: 'but who were dining there with you, that you should have such a good time? That's what I want to know.'

20 ff. The guests reclined on couches on three sides of the table. The arrangement can be understood from the following diagram: —



1. Fundanius; 2. Viscus; 3. Varius; 4. Servilius Balatro; 5. Vibidius; 6. Maecenas; 7. Nomentanus; 8. Nasidienus Rufus; 9. Porcius.

20. *Summus*: the three places numbered 1, 4, and 7 were the *summi loci*, in position, not in honor, and *infra* and *super* refer to this designation. — *Viscus*: one of the brothers mentioned in *Sat.* 1, 10, 83, here distinguished by the addition of *Thurinus*.

- si memini, Varius ; cum Servilio Balatrone  
 Vibidius, quas Maecenas adduxerat umbras ;  
 Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra,  
 ridiculus totas simul absorbere placentas ;  
 25 Nomentanus ad hoc, qui, si quid forte lateret,  
 indice monstraret digito : nam cetera turba,  
 nos, inquam, cenamus avis, conchyliis, piscis,  
 longe dissimilem noto celantia sucum,  
 ut vel continuo patuit, cum passeris atque

21. Varius : cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 40 ; 1, 10, 44, and often ; one of Horace's and Vergil's closest friends. There is probably some little joke in *si memini*.

22. Maecenas : he was in the place of honor, the *locus consularis*, numbered 6 in the diagram. — *umbras* : persons whom the chief guest might bring with him, without special invitation from the host. So Horace, inviting a friend, says (*Epist.* 1, 5, 28), *locus est et pluribus umbris*. Men who came in such a way would ordinarily be of lower rank, and Servilius and Vibidius were evidently *scurrae* (see note on *Sat.* 2, 3, 229), who were expected to furnish entertainment for the others. In fact all the conversation reported (vss. 34, 65 ff., 80 ff.) comes from them or from the host and his own *scurrae*.

23. Nomentanus, Porcius : two parasites of the host. Nomentanus is not the spendthrift mentioned in other satires (1, 1, 102 ; 1, 8, 11 ; 2, 1, 22 ; 2, 3, 175, 224).

The name Porcius is coined from *porcus* ; cf. the next verse. — *super ipsum* : *i.e.* Nasidienus had given the host's place (no. 7) to his more fluent parasite, for the reason given in vs. 25.

24. *totas simul* : *all at once*. Various kinds of buffoonery like this are alluded to in Plautus as practiced by parasites.

25 f. *ad hoc* : also in *Sat.* 2, 1, 36, to introduce a clause of purpose. — *lateret* : *pass unnoticed* by the guests. — *indice digito* : *i.e.* he should not only speak of it, but also point to it. — *cetera turba* : the instruction was obviously given to Maecenas and the others were a mere *turba*, left for the most part uninstructed as to the nature of the food before them.

27. *inquam* : not strengthening the previous statement, but explaining it ; *we, I mean*.

28 ff. *celantia* : neut., agreeing with the three nouns of different gender. — *noto* : sc. *succo* ; dat. after *dissimilem*. — *vel* : *in fact*. — *passeris* : *flat-fish* ; the name

- 30 *ingustata* mihi porrexerat *ilia rhombi*.  
 Post hoc me docuit melimela rubere minorem  
 ad lunam delecta. Quid hoc intersit, ab ipso  
 audieris melius. Tum Vibidius Balatroni,  
 'Nos nisi damnose bibimus, moriemur inulti;'  
 35 et calices poscit maiores. Vertere pallor  
 tum *parochi* faciem, nil sic metuentis ut acris

of a bird transferred to a fish, as in 'sea-robin.' — *ingustata*: apparently found only here; it can mean either *untasted*, *i.e.* 'which I did not taste,' or *untasted hitherto*, 'of such a flavor as I had never known before.' — *porrexerat*: the subject is Nasidienus. — *ilia*: *the roe*. — The sense is: 'Nomentanus explained the excellence of the dishes to Maecenas only, for the rest of us were of no importance (*turba*) and ate all sorts of things without knowing what was fish, flesh, or fowl; for the ordinary taste was covered up by some extraordinary sauce. I in fact made a mistake at the outset by failing to recognize some fish-roe which my host had passed to me and which had a taste that I had never known before.'

31. *melimela rubere*: 'that the honey-apples were red because they were picked . . .' — *minorem*: the waning moon. This verse has nothing to do with the preceding, but is a bit of esoteric wisdom which the epicure obligingly imparted (*docuit*) to his ignorant guest. Cf. vs. 6 f. This

is exactly in the ironical manner of *Sat.* 2, 4.

32 f. *ab ipso*: *i.e.* 'you will have to ask him; I don't pretend to know.' — *audieris*: the potential with a comparative, as often.

34. *damnose*: *i.e.* to the ruin of the host; 'drink him bankrupt.' — *morietur inulti*: this is the cry of the epic hero facing death; so Hector, *Il.* 22, 304 f., *μὴ μὰν ἀσπονδί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην, ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξαστι*, and Aeneas, *Aen.* 2. 670, *numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti*.

35 ff. *Vertere pallor . . . faciem*: *i.e.* 'he turned pale,' but the expression is somewhat odd; not the same as *Epod.* 4, 9 ff. — *parochi*; *our steward, our caterer*; with some contempt. Cf. for the use of the word in its ordinary sense, *Sat.* 1, 5, 46. — *vel quod . . . vel quod*: there is no reason whatever for looking behind these perfectly good explanations to discover some discreditable motive, like stinginess. Vss. 41 and 81 are perfectly consistent with these lines taken in their simple sense. —

potores, vel quod male dicunt liberius vel  
fervida quod subtile exsurdant vina palatum.

Invertunt Allifanis vinaria tota

- 40 Vibidius Balatroque, secutis omnibus; imi  
convivae lecti nihilum nocuere lagenis.

Affertur squillas inter murena natantis  
in patina porrecta. Sub hoc erus 'Haec gravida,' inquit,  
'capta est, deterior post partum carne futura.

- 45 His mixtum ius est: oleo quod prima Venafri  
pressit cella; garo de sucis piscis Hiberi;  
vino quinquenni, verum citra mare nato,  
dum coquitur — cocto Chium sic convenit, ut non  
hoc magis ullum aliud; — pipere albo, non sine aceto,

male dicunt: as in *Sat.* 1, 4, 86 ff.  
— exsurdant: the real epicure is  
especially anxious that his fine  
cookery should be properly ap-  
preciated.

39. Allifanis: large cups,  
named from the town of Allifae.  
— vinaria: jugs; we should say  
'bottles,' 'decanter.'

40 f. imi . . . lecti: the three  
couches were called *summus* (nos.  
1, 2, 3 on the diagram), *medius*  
(nos. 4, 5, 6), and *imus*. The  
two parasites of the host of course  
followed his wish and drank little.  
— nihilum nocuere: the same idea  
is in the English 'to spare the  
bottle.'

42 f. The Roman cooks sought  
to produce odd or realistic effects  
in the arrangement of the food on  
the platter. — Sub hoc: at this, as  
this appeared.

44. futura: for it would be.

This piece of epicure's wisdom is  
accepted by commentators as  
sound and a matter of common  
knowledge; it may be so.

45 ff. His: 'the following in-  
gredients.' The other ablatives  
— oleo, garo, vino, pipere — are  
appositives of his. — Venafri: the  
olives of Venafrum were con-  
sidered especially good and the  
oil which came from the first press-  
ing was better than that extracted  
later. — garo: something like *ca-  
viare*. — piscis Hiberi: *mackerel*.  
— citra mare: Italian; the phrase  
is a little too fine to be used of  
wine. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 10, 31. — dum  
coquitur: while it is cooking. —  
cocto: after it is cooked Chian  
wine is exactly the right thing to  
pour in; here also the wisdom is  
clothed in fine language.

- 50 quod Methymnaeam vitio mutaverit uvam.  
 Erucas viridis, inulas ego primus amaras  
 monstravi incoquere; inlutos Curtillus echinos,  
 ut melius muria quod testa marina remittat.  
 Interea suspensa gravis aulaea ruinas  
 55 in patinam fecere, trahentia pulveris atrii  
 quantum non Aquilo Campanis excitat agris.  
 Nos maius veriti, postquam nihil esse periculi  
 sensimus, erigimur: Rufus posito capite, ut **si**  
 filius immaturus obisset, flere. Quis esset  
 60 finis, ni sapiens sic Nomentanus amicum  
 tolleret: 'Heu, Fortuna, quis est crudelior in **nos**  
 te deus? Vt semper gaudes illudere rebus

50. The sense is almost hidden under the poetic expression; 'vinegar made by fermentation (*vitio*) of the Methymnaean cluster,' *i.e.* from Lesbian wine.

51 ff. A little claim to original research by Nasidienus—he had discovered the good effect of boiling green rockets and bitter elecampane into the sauce—with a generous acknowledgment of the investigations of a certain Curtillus, who had observed that if sea-urchins are not washed in fresh water before boiling, the brine from their shells is better than the ordinary brine. The construction in vs. 53 is *ut (id) quod marina testa* (the shell of the sea-urchin) *remittat melius (est) muria*. Cf. 89, note.

54 ff. While Nasidienus was speaking, the canopy which hung

from the ceiling suddenly fell upon the table, destroying the valuable sauce and covering the guests with dust.—**Campanis**: the level lands of Campania were especially dusty in the dry season.

57. **maius**: the fall of the ceiling itself.—**veriti**: make this a leading verb in the translation.

58. **erigimur**: like a middle voice and in a literal sense, 'we lifted up our heads,' to contrast with *posito capite*.—**Rufus**: *i.e.* Nasidienus.—**posito capite**: this also should be a leading verb in the English; 'put down his head and wept.'

59 f. **Quis . . . finis**: 'what would have ended it?' *i.e.* 'he would be crying still, had not Nomentanus . . . '—**sapiens**: like a philosopher, with the philosophic remarks which follow.

- humanis !' Varius mappa compescere risum  
vix poterat. Balatro suspendens omnia naso,  
65 'Haec est condicio vivendi,' aiebat, 'eoque  
responsura tuo numquam est par fama labori.  
Tene, ut ego accipiar laute, torquerier omni  
sollicitudine districtum, ne panis adustus,  
ne male conditum ius apponatur, ut omnes  
70 praecincti recte pueri comptique ministrent !  
Adde hos praeterea casus, aulaea ruant si,  
ut modo, si patinam pede lapsus frangat agaso.  
Sed convivoris, uti ducis, ingenium res  
adversae nudare solent, celare secundae.'  
75 Nasidienus ad haec : 'Tibi di quaecumque preceris  
commoda dent ! Ita vir bonus es convivaque comis :'

63. Varius: a little joke at the expense of a good friend, possibly with some special point to it which their common friends would see.

64. suspendens . . . naso: cf. *Sat.* I, 6, 5, *naso suspendis adunco*, and note. Greenough translates, *always a scornful cynic*. He felt himself to be a great man's attendant.

65. eo: *for that reason*, because we are all subject to the chances of life.

67 ff. A distinct reminiscence, both in structure and in substance, of the parasite's speech in Terence, *Phorm.* 339 ff., to which there is a reference also in *cena dubia*, *Sat.* 2, 2, 77. — ego: ironical, since Balatro had come merely as Maecenas' *umbra*. — laute: colloquial; *handsomely*. — male conditum ius:

with reference to the sauce which Nasidienus had just been describing. — *compti*: the dressing of the hair of the young slaves who waited on the table was attended to as carefully as their attire.

71 f. Adde . . . praeterea: 'and on the top of it all come such misfortunes as these.' — *ut modo*: *as happened just now*, to distinguish the actual occurrence from the imagined mishap of a fallen platter. — *agaso*: *i.e.* some clumsy slave, no better than a stable-boy.

73 f. uti ducis: a flattering comparison; 'the giver of a dinner is like a general.' — nudare: *disclose, reveal* his powers.

75 f. Tibi di . . . dent: a common kind of wish, often used in greetings; Plaut. *M. G.* 1038, *di tibi dent quaequomque optes*, and cf.



et soleas poscit. Tum in lecto quoque videres  
stridere secreta divisos aure susurros.

*Hor.* Nullos his mallet ludos spectasse; sed illa  
80 redde, age, quae deinceps risisti. *Fund.* Vibidius dum  
quaerit de pueris num sit quoque fracta lagna,  
quod sibi poscenti non dantur pocula, dumque  
ridetur fictis rerum Balatrone secundo,  
Nasidiene, redis mutatae frontis, ut arte  
85 emendaturus fortunam; deinde secuti

*Sat. 1, 9, 5, cupio omnia quae  
vis.* It is like 'God bless you!' Nasidienus takes the ill-bred irony of Balatro quite seriously and simply, showing in fact better manners than some of his guests.

77. soleas poscit: the light shoes ordinarily worn in the house were removed when the guests took their places, and to ask for them was to express a desire to rise from the table. Nasidienus, encouraged by what the two parasites had said, prepares to go on with the feast and gets up in order to have the damage repaired and the other dishes brought in. — Tum: when he had gone out to give his orders. — quoque: from *quisque*. — videres: *you might see*; indefinite 2d pers. with potential meaning, as often; cf. *Sat. 1, 5, 76*.

78. divisos: first to one side, then to the other. The alliteration with *s* imitates the sound of whispering.

79 f. The interruption by Horace marks the end of the main

story and introduces the conclusion, giving the effect of dialogue. Cf. the similar and rather more skilful dialogue in *Sat. 2, 3, 300-307*, followed by the speech of Damasippus, 307-323. — Nullos . . . ludos: 'I'd rather have seen this than any games.' — Greenough compares the English 'as good as a play.' — quae deinceps: 'what you found next to laugh at.'

81 f. quoque: with *sit fracta*; he asked whether there was another breakage, of the wine-jugs as well as of the *aulaea*. — quod: *that*. — pocula: the wine, not the cups. In the confusion the slaves had forgotten to keep the cups filled.

83. fictis rerum: they invented jokes to cover their laughter at the fall of the canopy and the simplicity of the host. Cf. *vanis rerum, Sat. 2, 2, 25*. — secundo: playing second to Vibidius, who led the pretended jesting.

84 f. Nasidiene: the vocative and the phrase *arte emendaturus* are parodies of the epic style.

- mazonomo pueri magno discerpta ferentes  
 membra gruis sparsi sale multo, non sine farre,  
 pinguibus et ficis pastum iecur anseris albae,  
 et leporum avolsos, ut multo suavius, armos,  
 90 quam si cum lumbis quis edit. Tum pectore adusto  
 vidimus et merulas poni et sine clune palumbes,  
 suavis res, si non causas narraret earum et  
 naturas dominus; quem nos sic fugimus ulti,  
 ut nihil omnino gustaremus, velut illis  
 95 Canidia afflasset peior serpentibus Afris.

86. **mazonomo**: properly a platter for bread, here put to a different use as a novelty in table-service. — **discerpta**: already carved; the custom was to serve fowls and game whole and have them carved on the table by a specially trained slave.

87 f. **gruis**: here masc., though commonly fem., as *anser*, commonly masc., is here made fem. The gender of such words is grammatical and somewhat shifting, but apparently the unusual gender is chosen to indicate sex, as though the epicure could tell the sex by the taste. — **albae**: used in the same way, to ridicule the epicure's claim to delicacy of palate. — **iecur**: a kind of *pâté de foie gras*. And the white goose must have been fed upon ripe figs.

89. **avolsos, ut suavius**: an exact parallel to *inlutos ut melius*, vss. 52 f.; but the order here expresses the sense better. The doctrine

that in this case the shoulders should be torn off, not cut, is like the notion that a pear should never be cut, a pure fantasy.

90 ff. **edit**: pres. subjv., the older optative form, for the most part displaced by the regular subjv. *edat*. — The peculiarity of the dishes is in *pectore adusto* 'with the breasts broiled' and *sine clune*, 'without the rump.' — **suavis res**: 'very good eating, if only . . .' — **causas . . . et naturas**: philosophical terms; Nasidienus discoursed about his dishes as a philosopher might *de rerum natura*.

93. **sic**: with *ulti*, anticipating *ut*; 'taking our revenge for his talk by not eating any more of his food.'

95. **Canidia**: often mentioned as a sorceress and poisoner and directly attacked in *Sat.* 1, 8 and *Epod.* 5 and 17. This personal stroke at the end is like *Sat.* 1, 1, 120 f.; 1, 2, 134.

HORACE  
THE EPISTLES

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

EDWARD P. MORRIS

PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN YALE COLLEGE

NEW YORK ·· CINCINNATI ·· CHICAGO  
AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

COPYRIGHT, 1911, BY  
EDWARD P. MORRIS AND MORRIS H. MORGAN.

ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL, LONDON.

---

MORRIS. HORACE, EPISTLES

W. P. 8

## PREFACE

It has been taken for granted in the preparation of this edition that the Epistles are not read until after the Satires and perhaps after the Odes, and parallels in the earlier poems have been rather freely used for illustration. In other respects the commentary is like that upon the Satires, and is intended to direct the attention of the reader both to the artistic structure of the Epistles and to the body of ideas which Horace was endeavoring to express in them. I have tried to remember that the student, learning his lessons, is in reality a reader.

E. P. MORRIS.





## INTRODUCTION

THE Epistles were written, with perhaps a single exception, between 23 B.C. and 17. No event of Horace's life during this period is on record, but from occasional references in his writings it is to be seen that he was at this time living a quiet life, partly in Rome, more often on his farm, and sometimes in the winter months at Baiae or in Southern Italy. His circle of friends was large and included many men of high character and position, both in literature and in public life. But it was already a narrowing circle. Men of the earlier generation, whom he had known when he was a young man, were passing off the stage and, of his contemporaries, Quintilius Varus had died in 23, Vergil died in 19, and Varius not long after. He was already, at a little more than forty, feeling himself to be a representative of an older generation. On the other hand, as the letters show, he was on terms of friendly intercourse with the younger men of all sets, and he seems, indeed, to have made a deliberate effort to cultivate and maintain such relations. His own position in literature was assured. There is evidence, it is true, that he was not beyond the reach of criticism; the tone of *Epist.* I, 19 shows that; and it is possible that the first reception of the Odes had been less favorable than he had hoped it would be. Undoubtedly, also, the school of the *docti*, the poets and critics who preferred the more ornate manner of the Alexandrian literature, was at this time strong in popular favor. But, with all allowance for the difference between contemporary judgments and the judgment of posterity, it is quite

## INTRODUCTION

certain that Horace was, at the time when the Epistles were written, a leader, perhaps a sort of dean of letters, among Roman writers.

The course of his life as an artist up to the year 23 B.C. is clearly revealed in his writings. He had begun by writing satires in the general form set by Lucilius, but finding this in several ways unsuited to his temperament and recognizing its artistic limitations, he had made such modifications in it as to amount to the creation, or perhaps the crystallization, of a new literary form, the *sermo*, the 'talk' on life and art. These modifications were carried still further in the Second Book of the Satires; the dialogue, which in the earlier book is only half recognized, becomes in the Second Book the framework of the *sermo*, and is worked out in the different satires with very great care. During the same period, before 30 B.C., Horace was also making his first attempts in lyric poetry. For this he chose the somewhat restricted field of *iambi*, that is, of the form that had been fixed by Archilochus, in which the iambic couplet was used to express a more emotional satire than could be expressed in hexameters. He did not, however, remain long content with this simple form; it was only the bridge that carried him over from satire to the more complex lyric.

The Odes, of which three books were published as a completed whole in 23, represent a second and quite distinct stage in Horace's artistic development. In them he did not consider that he was creating a new art form, but only that he was introducing into Latin literature a form which had not before been used there, the lyric form of Alcaeus and Sappho. We have too little of the Greek lyric poetry to be able to judge in detail of the closeness with which he followed his models, and it would perhaps not be correct to claim for him more than he claimed for himself. Yet it is probable enough that, as he became master of this new form and learned to use it freely for his own purposes, he did with it what Vergil had done with

## INTRODUCTION

the idylls of Theocritus, that is, employed it for purposes different from those for which it was used by its originators. The connected group of Alcaic odes which stand at the beginning of the Third Book would then represent a modification in use like that which is represented in Vergil's Fourth Eclogue. Such an adaptation of the Alcaic stanza to new uses is in fact a modification and development of the artistic form, less in amount than Horace had undertaken in the development of the Lucilian satire, but similar in kind and revealing the same underlying artistic purpose.

Horace's career, then, as an artist, had been, up to the year 23 B.C., that of a man whose interest had been in the shaping of given poetic forms to new uses. In satire the modifications had been deliberate and of considerable effect, so that he was in this field almost a creator; in lyric poetry the adaptations had been of narrower scope, yet not without influence upon the poetic form. He was now to take up a third form of literature, the Epistle.

The history of the epistle as a literary form is not yet wholly clear. In early Latin literature it was used chiefly for practical ends. Cato published letters addressed to his son, probably of a didactic character, and there existed in Cicero's time a collection of letters by Cornelia to her sons, the Gracchi. Cicero's own letters have come down to us, a most interesting collection, but they are real letters and can have been only in an incidental way models for Horace. In verse the historical sequence is even less clear. The custom of dedicating a poem to an individual by a direct address, as Horace inscribes his first satire to Maecenas, is an approach to the epistolary form; no distinct line can be seen between the manner in which Lucretius addresses Memmius at intervals in the *de Rerum Natura* and the occasional address to the Pisones in the *Ars Poetica*. Some of the poems of Catullus are epistolary in form and even in substance. But from these scattered approximations to the

## INTRODUCTION

epistolary type we are not able to form an accurate conception of any models that Horace may have had before him or even to be sure that he had such models at all.

The artistic problem, however, is clear. It was to unite two elements, the personal and the public, into a harmonious whole, that is, to preserve a measure of personality and individuality and a certain degree of spontaneity, and at the same time to introduce a considerable element of a kind that would be interesting to the general reader. The two are to some extent antagonistic. The easy confidence which characterizes the best private letters is so delicate that it almost surely disappears if it is known to the writer that the letter is to be read by others than the person addressed. Yet if this disappears entirely, the epistle is a letter only in form. In the solution of this problem, Horace has gone from one side to the other, as circumstances led him, allowing first one, then the other, element to predominate. The invitation to dinner (1, 5) addressed to Torquatus is so personal and natural that this may well have been a real letter for a real purpose, put into verse form for the mere pleasure of the writer and for the compliment which it paid to the recipient. The same thing is true of 1, 9, introducing Septimius to Tiberius. One of the three Epistles to Maecenas (1, 7) is extremely personal, both to the writer and to the recipient, so much so that it seems almost too confidential for publication, yet it contains some of Horace's best stories and is in parts not distinguishable from *Sat.* 2, 6. In others, 1, 3; 1, 11; 1, 12; 1, 15, the situation of the recipient or the writer is made the occasion for comments equally interesting to the general public; in 1, 3 this has been done with special success, and the two elements are so harmoniously blended that it is impossible to tell whether this is really a letter, sent as is implied, or an Epistle written on the model of a personal letter. At the other extreme, 1, 16 opens with a description of the farm, but runs off into a poem which has nothing of the tone of a letter in it,

## INTRODUCTION

while 1, 2 is a letter chiefly by virtue of the address and the closing lines, and 1, 6 is not a letter at all, but a *sermo* on philosophy addressed to an individual. To the skillful mingling of these two elements, the personal and the public, Horace has plainly devoted much thought, shaping the Epistle into a literary form, as he had shaped the dialogue-satire, and perhaps extending its range, as he had extended the range of the Alcaic stanza.

All this, however, applies chiefly to the First Book. In the Second Book there is less attempt to preserve the epistolary form. The *Ars Poetica* has scarcely anything but the address to remind the reader that it is an Epistle. In 2, 2 the fiction of excusing himself from further writing of lyrics is used by Horace to furnish a framework for the thought through the first half, but the latter part is quite impersonal. The letter to Augustus (2, 1) is inevitably formal, but the consciousness that it is addressed to one who had it in his power to influence the trend of literary taste is present through the whole and influences the thought.

It is not to be thought, however, that Horace's attention was given wholly to the form of his writings. He was primarily an artist in words and phrases and forms of expression, but he had also something to say. In the First Epistle he announces the subject of the new collection; he has given up lyric poetry and is to devote himself hereafter to philosophy, not, indeed, the philosophy of a sect, but the philosophy of life. This announcement fairly describes the subject-matter or the point of view of the book. A few of the Epistles (1, 5; 1, 9; 1, 13) make no reference to it; in others (1, 2; 1, 4; 1, 6; 1, 16) it is the staple of the Epistle; in several, including some of the best (1, 3; 1, 8; 1, 11; 1, 12; 1, 15), it is not quite the subject, but is the conclusion, as if to show how in the writer's mind all things lead back to the large philosophy of life. But Horace was not by temper or habit a student or what is called a pro-

## INTRODUCTION

found thinker. He was a man who had seen much of life on various sides, had observed many men and had given serious thought to their conduct and his own. Out of this experience and consideration, he had come to certain conclusions which he had formulated into what we call, loosely, a philosophy of life. It was not, of course, a philosophy of the schools; it did not concern itself with questions of natural or physical science or with the nature of knowledge, and, though it was ethical, it did not involve the fundamental problems of ethics. But it had this in common with ethical philosophy, that it was based upon a real comprehension of vital interests and that it was to Horace a true and determining principle of life. In this sense he was justified in regarding himself as a philosopher and in feeling it to be his right and his duty to summon other men to accept his doctrine. He is thus, as indeed he had been in the earlier days of the *Satires*, a preacher, uttering his doctrine with conviction and seriousness. Perhaps it should rather be said that he was at once preacher and artist. The variety of setting and of personalities which a collection of letters involves afforded him an opportunity to set forth his philosophy with variety, as a climax and a final answer to all troubles and queries and situations.

The subject of the Second Book is literature; the three long letters consist of comments on the prevailing tendencies of literature in Rome. In this comment some two or three elements are combined. Horace had read, though perhaps not very deeply or widely, the treatises on rhetoric and on the history of literature, and he made considerable use of the knowledge thus acquired. Much of this, however, must be recognized as conventional and traditional, without any very real connection with the condition of things in Rome. Especially the history of literature, of the drama or the *satura*, or the origins of certain poetic forms, which was once accepted as authoritative, must not be taken seriously. Horace had no access to real sources,



## INTRODUCTION

for example, of the early Latin literature; no such sources existed. This element in his writings has no great value or interest. A second element has more life in it; in so far as his comments reveal the tendencies of contemporary literature, they have real value. The extant remains of the literature of the Augustan Age, even though they include so much, are but scanty in amount compared with the writings of all kinds that were published in that period, and all the glimpses that we get in Horace of the work of younger men or of minor writers enable us to understand better the literature that has survived. A third element is the most important of all; it is the personal judgment which Horace expresses. For the work of the critic he was all the better qualified because his own work was not inspired, but was the result of a conscious process. He had thought much of the choice of words, of the combination of phrases, of the enlargement of vocabulary, and all that he says on such things is weighty with authority. One of the most interesting of experiences is to hear a good craftsman speak of the art that he practices. It is this which makes Cicero's *Brutus* and *Orator* interesting; Horace's presentation is more indirect than Cicero's and less systematic, but it has the same essential quality of authority.

It is not always possible to distinguish these three elements, the traditional, the contemporary, and the personal, but so far as it is possible it throws much light upon the meaning of these Epistles. Thus it is probable that the great space given to the drama has nothing to do with Horace's own interest; it may be due to some transient public interest, but it is probably a tradition from the books of rhetoric. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the discussion of the satyric drama is to be explained by a revived interest in mimes and farces. But much of the general discussion of poetry, the injunctions to frequent revision, the constant reference to Greek models, comes from Horace himself and constitutes the most attractive element

## INTRODUCTION

in these writings. For behind the artist and critic the Epistles reveal to us a man of most human temper and judgment, at once shrewd and mellow, by turns an observer of men and a lover of retirement. To turn back after reading the latest of these letters, *Epist.* 2, 1, and reread *Sat.* 1, 7 and 1, 8, is to see what some twenty years of life had done for Horace.

Q. HORATI FLACCI

EPISTVLAE

LIBER PRIMVS

I

The date of this Epistle is not fixed by any definite allusion in the text. It is, however, clearly introductory to the book and was therefore written after the others, at about the same date as Epist. 20, in the year 20 B.C. This was three years after the publication of the first three books of the Odes ; the writer was nearly forty-five years old.

‘ My dear Maecenas, you are proposing that I should go back to my verse writing. I must decline the invitation ; I have won my discharge and am through with the follies of youth. Philosophy is now my only interest. “What school ?” you ask. My own school ; sometimes I rise to Stoic heights, and then, before I know it, I am a follower of Aristippus. But, school or no school, I am impatient of delay. For even the rudiments of philosophy have their value ; they will cure our avarice, our ambition, our laziness. And to get rid of our faults is the beginning of wisdom. See what pains men take to satisfy their desires, when half the labor would rid them of the desire itself. But all the Roman world is money-mad and careless, in its madness, of the higher claim of character.

‘ I know that I am setting myself against the common judgment, but the common judgment is both inconsistent and inconstant. It is, in fact, a ludicrous exhibition of whims and contradictions. You laugh at it yourself, as you laugh, rightly enough, at my carelessness in dress. But don’t you see that carelessness in regard to the principles of life is much worse ? This is the very thing that I am trying to cure by the study of philosophy. I tell you, philosophy is a cure for everything — except influenza.’

This introductory epistle has two objects, which are not distinctly stated, but are left to be inferred from the general tone. The first is

to explain the writer's change from lyric poetry back to the social comments with which he began his career in the Satires. This is accomplished by the device of a supposed request from Maecenas — which may or may not have been real — that Horace would continue his writing of lyrics. In answering this request the writer is able to give, without the appearance of egotism, his reasons for following a different course. The second purpose is to announce the fact that this collection of writings contains, more distinctly than the Satires, a kind of life philosophy, not systematic and not too serious, yet by no means wholly humorous.

Of the change of form, from the satire to the epistle, nothing is said. It is evident and is left to explain itself.

Prima dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena,  
spectatum satis et donatum iam rude quaeris,  
Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo.  
Non eadem est aetas, non mens. Veianius, armis

1. This verse, like the first two verses of the first Ode, is distinct in thought from the rest of the poem and constitutes therefore a more formal dedication than that with which the first Satire and the first Epode begin. — The thought is entirely general; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 11, *a te* (Pollio) *principium, tibi desinam*; Horace is not thinking of the precise chronology of his writings nor, in using *Camena* (the Latin equivalent of *Musa*), is he distinguishing between satire and lyric poetry.

2. *spectatum*: a technical term applied to a gladiator who had fought with credit. The letters *sp.* or *spect.*, on medals (*tesserae*) presented to such gladiators, seem to be an abbreviation of this word. — *rude*: the *wooden sword* was given to a gladiator when he was

finally discharged from service; he was thereafter *rudarius* (= *donatus rude*). The implied comparison of one who had completed his term of service to a discharged gladiator occurs in other writers also.

3. *antiquo . . . ludo*: 'in the old gladiatorial school where I used to serve.' But there is also a suggestion of the other meaning of *ludus*, which is taken up again in vs. 10. — *includere*: this word is selected to contrast the discipline of the gladiator's life with the freedom of the *rudarius*.

4-6. *Veianius*: the context implies that he had been successful and had retired. — *Herculis*: so Horace, *Carm.* 3, 26, 3 f., proposes to dedicate to Venus the lyre with which he had accompanied his love songs and in *Carm.*

- 5    **Herculis** ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro,  
       ne populum extrema totiens exoret arena.  
       **Est** mihi purgatam crebro qui personet aurem :  
       ‘Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne  
       peccet ad extremum ridendus et ilia ducat.’  
 10   **Nunc** itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono ;  
       quid verum atque decens curo et rogo et omnis in hoc  
       sum ;

1, 5, 13 ff., the shipwrecked sailor hangs his dripping garments in the temple of Neptune. — **latet abditus**: to be taken together; ‘goes and buries himself in the country.’ — **ne . . . exoret**: *i.e.*, lest he should be tempted again into his old life, with its inevitable consequences. — **extrema . . . arena**: the defeated gladiator laid down his arms and went toward the barrier between the seats and the arena to ask for favor and pardon. This would be granted by the giver of the games when the spectators (*populus*) indicated that they were satisfied with the fight. — **totiens**: *so many times*, as he would probably be obliged to, if he went back into the profession. — This line suggests what is put more clearly in vss. 8–9, that Horace felt himself to be too old for resuming the writing of poetry.

7. **est qui**: render freely; ‘I hear a voice that warns me. . . .’ — **purgatam, crebro, personet**: these emphasize in different ways the idea that the warning is clear

and unmistakable. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 25, *pervideas . . . lippus*, see *dimly*.

8–9. The figure of the old race-horse repeats more distinctly the whole thought of vss. 2–7. — **sanus**: ‘if you are wise,’ as in *Sat.* 1, 5, 44, *nil ego contulerim incundo sanus amico*, and *Sat.* 1, 6, 89. — **ilia ducat**: *strain his flanks*, become broken-winded.

10. **itaque**: acknowledging the force of the argument which underlies the preceding comparisons. — **cetera ludicra**: *i.e.*, ‘as I lay aside all the other light pursuits, amusements, in order to devote myself to serious philosophy.’ The implication is that verse writing is also *ludicrum*; cf. *Sat.* 1, 10, 37, *haec ego ludo*, of the Satires.

11. **verum**: the general term. — **decens**: more specific, translating the technical term τὸ πρέπον, which Cicero translates also by *honestum*; *true and right*. — **omnis in hoc**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 9, 2, *totus in illis*.

- condo et compono quae mox depromere possim.  
 Ac ne forte roges quo me duce, quo lare tuter,  
 nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri,  
 15 quo me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes.  
 Nunc agilis fio et mersor civilibus undis,  
 virtutis verae custos rigidusque satellites;  
 nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor,  
 et mihi res, non me rebus, subiungere conor.

12. *condo, depromere*: regularly used of *laying in* and, later, *drawing out* a stock of provisions at a country house. — *compono*: *arrange* in order.

13. *ne . . . roges*: cf. *ne te morer*, *Sat.* 1, 1, 14. A leading clause may be expressed (*audi, scito*), but is not necessary. — The question to what school of formal philosophy Horace proposed to attach himself is one which, in fact, would not have been asked by Maecenas or by any reader of the Satires and Odes, since Horace has made it abundantly clear that he did not belong to any school. But the question with the humorous answer, vss. 14–19, leads on to the illustrations of a practical social philosophy, which make up the main body of the epistle. — *lare*: a school of philosophy was sometimes called *familia* or *domus* (*Carm.* 1, 29, 14) and might therefore be supposed to have a hearth and a *Lar familiaris*.

14. *addictus*: property of a debtor, *bound over* or assigned to the creditor, but also used of a

gladiator; the line is thus a reminiscence of vss. 2–6 and the figure is continued in *iurare* and *magistri*, which may be either master of a gladiatorial school or of a philosophical sect.

15. *tempestas*: the figure was a common one; cf. *Cic. Acad.* 2, 3, 8, *ad quamcumque sunt disciplinam quasi tempestate delati*, and *Ephes.* 4, 14, ‘carried about with every wind of doctrine.’

16–17. The sense is ‘I become for a time a Stoic.’ — *agilis*: *πρακτικός*. The Stoic doctrine was that intelligent action was a necessary part of the philosopher’s life and that he should therefore take his part in public matters. — There is humorous irony in almost every word of vs. 17, especially *verae, custos, rigidus*.

18–19. ‘Then again I slip quietly back into the school of Aristippus.’ Cf. the story referred to in *Sat.* 2, 3, 100 ff., which illustrates the way in which Aristippus released himself from the bondage of things. — There is irony also in these lines, in *furtim, relabor, conor*.



- 20 Vt nox longa quibus mentitur amica, diesque  
longa videtur opus debentibus, ut piger annus  
pupillis quos dura premit custodia matrum,  
sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora, quae spem  
consiliumque morantur agendi gnaviter id quod  
25 aequae pauperibus prodest, locupletibus aequae,  
aequae neglectum pueris senibusque nocebit.  
Restat ut his ego me ipse regam solerque elementis.  
Non possis oculo quantum contendere Lynceus,  
non tamen idcirco contemnas lippus inungi;

21. *opus debentibus*: 'to those who are obliged to work by the day,' servants and day laborers.

21-22. A year seems an endless time to a boy eagerly anticipating the day when he shall be his own master and chafing under restraint. To him any control seems harsh and oppressive (*dura*, *premit*), especially control by a woman, even by his mother. Strictly, a fatherless boy would be under the guardianship (*tutela*) of a man; *custodia* is used only in a general sense.

23-24. *spem consiliumque*: the intention already announced in vss. 11-12. — *morantur*: it is not precisely the time which causes the delay, but the obstacles in the form of other occupations, like the writing of poetry. — *agendi . . . id quod*: *i.e.*, 'of devoting myself wholly to philosophy.'

25-26. Instead of using some single word for philosophy (*vir-*

*tus*, *sapientia*, vs. 41) or some phrase like *verum atque decens* (vs. 11) which would emphasize the theoretical side, Horace here lays stress upon philosophy as a guide in the practical affairs of life. There is a half-humorous earnestness in the sweeping phrases; not only *prodest*, but also (*si neglectum fuerit*) *nocebit*, and it applies to all ages and conditions.

27. *restat*: *i.e.*, 'in spite of delays (20-24) and of my inability to attain to perfection (24-29), I can at least get a rudimentary knowledge that will meet my practical needs.' — *his*: without definite reference either backward or forward; 'such rudiments as I have.' — *ipse regam solerque*: since he has no *dux* or *lar* (vs. 13) to guide or protect him.

28-31. The same idea is expressed twice in the two comparisons, with slight variation in the construction. *Non possis* is repeated in *desperes*, both being

- 30 nec, quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis,  
 nodosa corpus nolis prohibere cheragra.  
 Est quadam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.  
 Fervet avaritia miseroque cupidine pectus:  
 sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem  
 35 possis et magnam morbi deponere partem.

potentials of the indefinite second person, and the two clauses are at the same time concessive, as is implied by *tamen*, and causal; the causal meaning is expressed by *idcirco* in the first main clause and by *quia* in the second subordinate clause. — *oculo* . . . *contendere*: so *quantum poterō voce contendam*, Cic. *pro Lig.* 3, 6. — *Lynceus*: the far-sighted Argonautic hero, referred to also in *Sat.* 1, 2, 90. — *Glyconis*: a famous athlete, to whom a Greek epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 7, 692) is addressed; he is called ὁ παμμάχων and the adj. ἀνίκτος (*invictus*) is applied to him. — *prohibere cheragra*: for the construction cf. *Epist.* 1, 8, 10, *me arcere veterno*. The other construction, *prohibere cheragram a corpore*, is more frequent. Gout in the hand or in the foot (*podagra*) was called *nodosa* because of the chalk stones that it produces in the joints.

32. *est*: almost the same as *potest*, but with the implication that it is also worth while, since it is possible. This is the main thought of the whole passage, 27–

40, expressed in *possis*, 28, *possis*, 35, *poterunt*, 37, and *possit*, 39. — *quadam* . . . *tenus*: like *quatenus, hactenus*.

33. *avaritia*: the vice which Horace everywhere puts at the head of his list; cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, *Epod.* 1, 33 f., and often. — *cupidine*: the general term, *passion*, following the particular; they mean only one thing, as *hunc dolorem* shows.

34. *verba et voces*: *words and sayings, i.e.*, teachings of philosophy which will be as effectual as the magic formulas by which disease is cured. This does not imply a real belief in charms, any more than the English phrase 'it acts like magic.' The line is a paraphrase of a well-known line of Euripides, *Hippol.* 478.

35. *morbi*: a translation of πάθος, the technical term for a disturbing passion, used here with literal meaning also; cf. *fervet, lenire, dolorem, tumes, recreare*, all words from the medical vocabulary. — *partem*: the same idea already expressed in *elementis, est quadam prodire tenus*, and in *vss.* 28–31.

Laudis amore tumes : sunt certa piacula, quae te  
ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.

Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator,

nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,

40 si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem.

Virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima

stultitia caruisse. Vides quae maxima credis

esse mala, exiguum censum turpemque repulsam,

quanto devites animi capitisque labore ;

36. *laudis amore* : *ambition* ; cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 164 ff., esp. *tumidum*, 213. — *piacula* : = *verba et voces*.

37. *ter* : the sacred number, carrying on the thought of *piacula* ; cf. *Sat.* 2, 1, 7 f., *ter uncti transnanto Tiberim*. — *pure* : after religious purification. — *libello* : the little book of magic verses and also the book of philosophic teaching.

38-40. The list of sins — not unlike the seven deadly sins of early Christian teaching — is summed up in *nemo*, by a kind of apposition. — *amator* : cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 247-280. — *ferus* : a change of figure ; the cure of envy or hot temper by philosophy is like the taming (*mitescere*) of a wild animal. — *culturae* : properly of the cultivation of land, but in this line the figurative meaning is almost lost sight of and *patientem commodet aurem* is used simply of the listener to philosophic teaching.

41. *prima* : with *virtus* as well as with *sapientia*. The sentence is used in a condensed form (*prima*

*virtus est vitio carere*) by Quintilian, 8, 3, 41, and was probably a current maxim of philosophy. It summarizes and enforces the thought of vss. 28-40 ; 'it is worth while to take the first steps by listening to the teachings of wisdom, by which our faults may be cured. For to get rid of our follies is the beginning of wisdom.' At the same time it introduces the argument of 42-52 ; 'take the first steps, which are not difficult ; for half the labor you spend in the pursuit of your foolish ends would suffice to rid you of your folly.'

43. *exiguum censum* : referring to *avaritia*. — *turpem repulsam* : referring to ambition, *laudis amor*.

44. *animi capitisque labore* : this cannot be simply 'labor of mind and body.' — *animi labor* is 'trouble of spirit,' *capitis labor* is 'risk of life' ; *labor* is used in a vague sense for which there is no exact English equivalent and must therefore be translated twice, 'anxiety of spirit and peril of life.'

- 45 impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos,  
 per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignis  
 ne cures ea, quae stulte miraris et optas,  
 discere, et audire, et meliori credere non vis?  
 Quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnam  
 50 magna coronari contemnat Olympia, cui spes,  
 cui sit condicio dulcis sine pulvere palmae?  
 Vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum.

‘O cives, cives, quaerenda pecunia primum est,

45-46. The thought is often expressed by Horace, in substantially this form; cf. *Sat.* I, I, 30; I, 4, 29 ff.; *Carm.* I, 31, 10 ff. It was undoubtedly proverbial.

47-48. ‘Are you not willing to attain the same end, freedom from anxieties, by the easier method of learning from philosophy to be indifferent to your foolish ambitions?’—*ne cures*: a clause of purpose, depending on the whole of the next line; ‘in order to attain to indifference.’—*meliori*: the wise philosopher, whose superiority the learner acknowledges by the act of seeking instruction from him.

49. *circum . . . pugnam*: an allusion to the wrestlers and boxers who gave street shows to the crowds gathered for feast days like the Paganalia and Compitalia. They are alluded to in other places (*Suet. Oct.* 45, *catervarii oppidani, inter angustias vicorum pugnantibus*).—*circum compita*: also in *Sat.* 2, 3, 281.

50. *Olympia*: a cognate accus.,

like *visit Olympia*, *Cic. Cat. M.* 14, both from the Greek στεφανοῦσθαι Ὀλύμπια.

51. *sine pulvere*: ἀκοντί. The expression was proverbial and was extended beyond its strict meaning, so that it came to be used of prizes awarded to athletes whose fame was so great that no one dared to contend with them. It suggests therefore the ease with which the benefits of philosophy may be obtained, in contrast to the struggles necessary to get money or satisfy ambition (44-46).

52. The conclusion of the argument; ‘just so character, the product of philosophy, is better than the rewards which men rate so high.’ But, as often, the conclusion is put in the form of a general assertion, without indication of its connection (*Sat.* I, I, 59 f., 78 f., 105; I, 3, 24; I, 6, 23, and often), and in a form which leaves its real force intentionally in the background.

53-69. ‘But this conclusion, we must acknowledge, runs counter to

virtus post nummos.' Haec Ianus summus ab imo  
 55 prodocet, haec recinunt iuvenes dictata senesque,  
 laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.  
 Est animus tibi, sunt mores et lingua fidesque,  
 sed quadringentis sex septem milia desunt:  
 plebs eris. At pueri ludentes, 'Rex eris,' aiunt,  
 60 'si recte facies.' Hic murus aeneus esto,

the opinion of Rome, which places money above character.'

54. *summus ab imo*: from top to bottom; cf. *A. P.* 254, *primus ad extremum*, from beginning to end. But the precise meaning of the phrase as applied to *Ianus* is not clear, because our knowledge of the topography of the Forum in the Augustan period is very limited. The same spot is referred to in *Sat.* 2, 3, 18 (*medius Ianus*) and by Cicero as the center of the banking business in Rome; it was in the lower corner of the Forum. Translate 'Janus, from top to bottom,' like 'all Wall Street,' 'the whole Stock Exchange.'

55. *prodocet*: only in this passage; *proclaims loudly*. — *recinunt*: the pupils repeated in a kind of chant the words pronounced slowly (*dictata*) by the teacher. — *senesque*: a humorous addition to the picture of the school children.

56. Repeated without change from *Sat.* I, 6, 74. There are a few other repetitions of lines in Horace, some of which are mere errors in the MSS. In this case,

however, the point of the comparison of business men to school children is heightened by the quotation; 'like the children I described once, with their satchels and slates hanging from their arms.' — *loculos tabulamque*: accus. of the part with *suspensi*.

57. The four nouns are carefully chosen and arranged, *animus*, *ability*, is balanced by *mores*, *character*, and then each is repeated in a more specific way in *eloquence* and *loyalty*.

58. *quadringentis*: sc. *milibus sestertium*. This sum, 400,000 sesterces, was the rating necessary to enrollment among the *equites*. — *sex septem*: used in this way, without connective, in several other places (*Ter. Eun.* 331, *Cic. Att.* 10, 8, 6), apparently for phonetic reasons. No other cardinal numbers are so used.

59–60. The full verse is given by the Scholiast: 'rex erit qui recte faciet, qui non faciet non erit,' a trochaic septenarius, sung by boys in some game.

60–61. The underlying thought is, 'in this song of children at play

nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.

Roscia, dic sodes, melior lex, an puerorum est  
nenia, quae regnum recte facientibus offert.  
et maribus Curiis et decantata Camillis?

- 65 Isne tibi melius suadet qui rem facias, rem,  
si possis, recte, si non, quocumque modo rem,  
ut propius spectes lacrimosa poemata Pupī,  
an qui Fortunae te responsare superbae  
liberum et erectum praesens hortatur et aptat?

one may find a rule of life; upright conduct gives secure happiness.' *Murus aeneus* is a common figure to express security and stability, here in contrast to the troubles of a life spent in the pursuit of money or position (43-46). The whole of vs. 61 is nothing but an expansion of *recte facere*. — *conscire*: absolute, as the noun *conscientia* is occasionally. — *sibi*: not *tibi*, because the words are a maxim of general application. The line should be paraphrased, rather than rendered literally.

62. *Roscia . . . lex*: the law which reserved the first fourteen rows behind the *orchestra* for the knights. As the *equites* were in general the capitalists, the law is taken as an embodiment of the public opinion which gave undue honor to wealth (vs. 53).

63. *nenia*: used of any rhyme or jingle in rhythm, like charms and proverbs, in distinction from formal poetry. Here with intention, to contrast the song of boys at play with the law of the Roman people.

64. *maribus: manly*. As these heroes of the good old times sang the verse when they were boys, so they acted upon the principle when they became men. *Curius* and *Camillus* are named together in *Carm.* I, 12, 41 f. as products of *saeva paupertas*.

65-66. *rem . . . rem . . . rem*: the repetition is made more emphatic by the position of the monosyllable at the end of the hexameter. — *facias*: in parataxis with *suadet* to be supplied as the verb for *qui*; it represents an independent *fac*.

67. *propius: i.e.*, 'become a knight by reason of your money and sit in one of the front rows.' — *Pupī*: unknown. The Scholiast quotes a couplet in which *Pupius* is supposed to pride himself upon his success in moving his audience to tears. But *lacrimosa* is of course ironical, like all the rest of the line.

68. *responsare: defy*, as in *Sat.* 2, 7, 85, 103.

69. *praesens*: most frequently used of a god who is present in



- 70 Quod si me populus Romanus forte roget, cur  
non, ut porticibus, sic iudiciis fruar isdem,  
nec sequar aut fugiam quae diligit ipse vel odit,  
olim quod vulpes aegroto cauta leoni  
respondit referam: 'Quia me vestigia terrent,  
75 omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.'  
Belua multorum est capitum. Nam quid sequar aut  
quem?  
Pars hominum gestit conducere publica; sunt qui

person to give help. The use here suggests that the help of the moral philosopher is like that of a divinity.

70-93. 'If I am asked why I advocate views so opposed to the popular standards, my answer is that there is no common standard; men are utterly at variance with each other and inconsistent with themselves.'

70. **Romanus**: not in contrast to the Greek, but 'the great Roman people, my countrymen, with whom I might be expected to agree.' Cf. *cives*, 53, and *Roscia lex*, 62.

71. **porticibus**: the public colonnades, where men met for talk; cf. *Sat.* I, 4, 133, *cum lectulus aut me porticus excepit*. This is a figurative way of saying 'since I live in the same city, in the same society.'

72. An expansion of *iudiciis fruar isdem*. — *sequar*: = *diligit*. — *fugiam*: = *odit*. The variety of expression prepares the way for vs. 76.

73. **olim**: *once, once upon a time*,

as often (*e.g.*, *Sat.* 2, 6, 79) to introduce a fable. The story which follows is not in Phaedrus, but was one of Aesop's fables and had been used by Lucilius (30, 80 ff. M.). The moral is that one who gives up his own judgment and adopts the popular views surrenders his independence beyond recovery.

76. **belua . . . capitum**: the figure was proverbial and has passed over through Horace into modern literature. There is a change of argument here, from the danger of losing one's independence to the new argument drawn from the confusing variety in public opinion (76-80), but the figure of the beast of many heads is suggested by the previous comparison of the people to a lion.

77. **conducere publica**: *to take government contracts*. This was one of the chief uses of large capital in Rome, but it was looked upon with some contempt, as is shown by its association here with legacy hunting and usury.

- crustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras,  
 excipiantque senes quos in vivaria mittent;  
 80 multis occulto crescit res faenore. Verum  
 esto aliis alios rebus studiisque teneri:  
 idem eadem possunt horam durare probantes?  
 'Nullus in orbe sinus Bais praelucet amoenis'  
 si dixit dives, lacus et mare sentit amorem  
 85 festinantis heri; cui si vitiosa libido  
 fecerit auspicium, 'Cras ferramenta Teanum  
 tolletis, fabri.' Lectus genialis in aula est:  
 nil ait esse prius, melius nil caelibe vita:  
 si non est, iurat bene solis esse maritis.

78-79. The practice of seeking for legacies from rich and childless old people is the subject of *Sat.* 2, 5, where illustrations of these lines can be 'found; *crustis et pomis*, vs. 12; *viduas*, 84-88; *vivaria*, 44.

80. *occulto*: the context requires that this should mean *secret* and therefore discreditable, because the loan was in some sense illegal or improper.

81. *esto . . . teneri*: *i.e.*, 'passing over this point without further argument'; a frequent use of *esto*, *Sat.* 1, 6, 19; 2, 2, 30.

82. *idem*: nom. plur. 'Can these same persons, who are so at variance with each other, be consistent with themselves?'

83. *Bais*: a fashionable resort on the shore of Campania.

84. *lacus et mare*: houses were built out into the sea or into the shallow salt water pools, like the

Lucrine lake. Cf. esp. *Carm.* 3, 1, 33 ff.

85. *vitiosa libido*: *morbid fancy*, carrying on to an extreme the figure suggested in *amorem*.

86. *auspicium*: *gives the signal*. Properly *auspicium* is a sign sent by the gods, but to the capricious and self-indulgent man his own whim is as good as a sign from heaven. — *Teanum*: an inland resort in Campania; he changes in a day from the seashore to the mountains. The order is given by the master to the workmen who are still engaged upon the unfinished villa at Baiae.

87. *lectus genialis*: the *marriage couch* which stood in the *atrium* in honor of the *Genius* of the family, the god of fruitfulness.

88. *prius, melius*: *better, more desirable*. The same idea is also expressed by *antiquius*.

- 90 Quo teneam voltus mutantem Protea nodo?  
 Quid pauper? Ride: mutat cenacula, lectos,  
 balnea, tonsores, conducto navigio aequē  
 nauseat ac locuples quem ducit priva triremis.  
 Si curatus inaequali tonsore capillos
- 95 occurri, rides; si forte subucula pexae  
 trita subest tunicae vel si toga dissidet impar,  
 rides: quid, mea cum pugnat sententia secum,  
 quod petiit spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,  
 aestuat et vitae disconvenit ordine toto,
- 100 diruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis?

90. Protea: cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 71 ff.

91-93. 'And as the rich man (84) is subject to his whims, so the poor man in his small way indulges his caprices.' All the details are intentionally petty; *cenacula*, lodgings, is a parody upon vss. 83-87, the *lectos*, *balnea*, *tonsores* are the cheap luxuries of the poor, and the poor man, seasick in his hired boat, is an especially keen hit. There is in these lines a tone of sharpness not usual in Horace and more like the bitterness of Juvenal's satire.

94-108. 'These and other like inconsistencies, ridiculous as they are, are small compared to the inconsistencies of judgment from which I hope to save myself by philosophy.'

94. *curatus*: almost a technical term of attention to health or the toilet. Cf. *Sat.* 2, 5, 38, *pelliculam curare*. — *inaequali*: uneven, a

humorous transfer of the adj. from the work to the workman.

95-96. *subucula*: *undertunic*. The inconsistency is between the well-worn undergarment, from which the nap has been rubbed off (*trita*), and the new tunic with long and fresh nap (*pexae*). — *dissidet impar*: sets badly, hangs unevenly; cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 31, *rusticius tonso toga defluit*. The careful creasing of that part of the toga which hung across the chest was a matter of importance to a Roman who wished to be well dressed.

98-100. The list of moral inconsistencies is given rapidly, as if they had only to be named in order to be recognized and acknowledged. — *aestuat*: ebbs and flows like the tide. — *diruit, aedificat*: i.e., is guilty of the same foolish vacillation that was described in vss. 83-87. — *quadrata rotundis*: a proverbial figure, used of making a meaningless change.

Insanire putas sollemnia me neque rides,  
 nec medici credis nec curatoris egere  
 a praetore dati, rerum tutela mearum  
 cum sis et prave sectum stomacheris ob unguem  
 105 de te pendentis, te respicientis amici.  
 Ad summam: sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives,  
 liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum,  
 praecipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est.

101. 'You think that my madness is merely the usual thing — not remarkable at all — and do not laugh.' — *neque rides*: recalling *ride* 91, *rides* 95 and 97. All the laughter that external incongruities excite comes to an end when the inconsistency is in the moral sphere.

102. *medici, curatoris*: i.e., 'you do not see that this is real insanity which calls for the care of a physician and the appointment of a guardian.'

103. *tutela*: this is an intentional reminder of *Carm.* I, 1, 2, *o et praesidium et dulce decus meum*. — *prave sectum*: cf. *Epist.* I, 7, 51. — *stomacheris*: not of serious anger, but humorously and with recognition of the friendly concern which causes the annoyance of Maecenas. 'Though you are so anxious to have me avoid even the most trifling carelessness.'

105. The line is an explicit and intentional profession of friendship, to guard against the possibility that the preceding reproaches (94-104) addressed directly to Maecenas might be taken too seriously by any reader.

106-108. Cf. the abrupt and humorous conclusion of *Sat.* I, 1; I, 3; I, 4; I, 6. On the Stoic paradox which is here ridiculed cf. *Sat.* I, 3, 124 ff. — *sanus*: this, in contrast to the *insania* of all other men, was the quality which the Stoic philosopher especially claimed as his own. It is the subject of the longest of the Satires, 2, 3. But Horace, accepting its correctness on the philosophical side, turns it into a joke by taking it in a physical sense; 'healthy — except for an occasional cold in the head.'

## 2

This letter is addressed to a certain Lollius Maximus, who is also addressed in *Epist.* I, 18. From the latter, written in 20 B.C., it appears that he had served as a soldier in the war against the Cantabri,

25-24. This letter was therefore written somewhere between 24 and 20.

Beyond this nothing is known of the young man, but he may well have been a relative of the distinguished M. Lollius to whom *Carm.* 4, 9, is addressed.

‘My dear young friend, I have just been re-reading Homer and am struck with the wealth of illustration of philosophic doctrines in his poems. He is really better than the philosophers themselves. Just consider the debate between Antenor and Paris or the quarrel between the two chiefs of the Greeks. The follies of kings could not be better shown. And Ulysses, in the *Odyssey*, is as good as a Stoic ; recall the description of him in the opening of the poem. And you and I are there, too, in the picture of the easy-going Phaeacians.

‘But don’t be too easy-going ; don’t postpone too long the beginning of serious philosophic living. There are temptations everywhere. Do not be like the men who hope to find happiness in their possessions, instead of cleansing their own hearts. Avoid pleasure, love of money, envy, anger ; especially anger. Begin early to train yourself. But don’t expect me to be your companion in the path of reform ; I am middle-aged and I go my own sober way.’

The tone of the letter is half serious, half light, as suits an older man’s advice to a younger friend. It is probable that the advice has some personal applications which can no longer be understood, but the general tenor is impersonal ; begin in youth to train yourself to virtue.

Troiani belli scriptorem, Maxime Lolli,  
dum tu declamas Romae, Praeneste relegi ;

1. **Maxime** : the family name is not infrequently put before the gentile name, *e.g.*, *Carm.* 2, 2, 3, *Crispe Sallusti*.

2. **declamas** : with *scriptorem* as a cognate accus., meaning to write and deliver declamations based upon situations in the Homeric poems, *e.g.*, the prayer of Priam to Achilles for the return of the body of Hector. This was a very common practice in the

schools of rhetoric. The sense therefore is ‘while you at Rome are studying Homer from the rhetorical point of view, I at Praeneste have been re-reading him and find him a philosopher.’ — **Praeneste** : a summer resort among the mountains. The mention of the two towns where the writer and the recipient were gives the epistle a more distinct letter form.

qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid  
non,

planius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.

5 Cur ita crediderim, nisi quid te detinet, audi.

Fabula, qua Paridis propter narratur amorem

Graecia barbariae lento collisa duello,

stultorum regum et populorum continet aestus.

Antenor censet belli praecidere causam :

10 quid Paris? Vt salvus regnet vivatque beatus

cogi posse negat. Nestor componere litis

3. *pulchrum, turpe, utile* : the technical terms of ethical philosophy, which taken together define the *summum bonum*.

4. *planius* : more clearly, and therefore better, than any philosopher. — *Chrysippo* : the Stoic, mentioned several times by Horace. — *Crantore* : a leader of the Academy.

5. *detinet* : draws you away, distracts you from giving me your undivided attention.

6-31. 'The Iliad gives us pictures of the follies of mankind, the Odyssey a picture of a practical philosopher; and we may even find our own portraits there.'

7. *Graecia . . . collisa* : the frequent construction of noun with participle instead of a gen. with an abstract noun. — *barbariae* : Phrygians, who did not speak Greek, but with a suggestion of the modern meaning. — *lento* : the ten years' war. — *duello* : this old form for *bello* is used several times

by Horace, perhaps with some epic tone.

8. *stultorum* : i.e., not philosophers. — *aestus* : passions; not from the ebb and flow of the tide, as in *Epist.* I, I, 99, but from the irregular tossing of waves, making a slight contrast with the literal meaning of *continet*.

9. *Antenor* : *Il.* 7, 347 ff. — *censet* : in the formal sense, almost like the English *moves*. — This line is merely preliminary to vs. 10, which gives the example of *stultitia*; 'when Antenor gives good advice, Paris refuses to consider it, and when Nestor tries to heal the breach between Achilles and Agamemnon, their foolish passions prevent.'

10. *salvus . . . beatus* : this is what the giving up of Helen would really bring about. But Paris cannot even be compelled, much less persuaded, to take the sensible course.

11. *Nestor* : *Il.* I, 247 ff. and 9, 96 ff.



- inter Peliden festinat et inter Atriden ;  
 hunc amor, ira quidem communiter urit utrumque.  
 Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.  
 15 Seditione, dolis, scelere, atque libidine et ira,  
 Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.  
 Rursus, quid virtus et quid sapientia possit,  
 utile proposuit nobis exemplar Vlixen ;  
 qui, domitor Troiae, multorum providus urbes  
 20 et mores hominum inspexit, latumque per aequor,  
 dum sibi, dum sociis reditum parat, aspera multa  
 pertulit, adversis rerum immersabilis undis.  
 Sirenum voces et Circae pocula nosti ;  
 quae si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,  
 25 sub domina meretrice fuisset turpis et excors

12. *inter . . . et inter*: so in *Sat.* 1, 7, 11; an example of slightly illogical colloquialism.

13. *hunc*: Agamemnon, who in *Il.* 1, 113 speaks of his love for Chryseis. In fact, both were moved by the same motives, *amor* and *ira*, but as the wrath of Achilles is the announced subject of the *Iliad*, only this passion is attributed to him.

14-16. 'Every folly of the chiefs involves the people, too, and it is all a mad world, within Troy and without.' A concise summary of the meaning of vss. 9-13, repeating the statement of vs. 8.

17. *rursus*: on the other hand, as vs. 3 had spoken of *quid pulchrum*, *quid utile*, as well as the opposite.

19-22. A paraphrase of the

first lines of the *Odyssey*. — *domitor Troiae*: this is the standing Roman tradition from Plautus down. — *providus . . . inspexit*: ἴδεν καὶ νόον ἔγνων. — *immersabilis*: an addition to the Homeric description; the Stoic phrase (cf. *Epist.* 1, 1, 16, *mensor civilibus undis*) suggests 'like a true Stoic philosopher.'

23. *Sirenum*: *Od.* 11, 39 ff. — *Circae pocula*: *Od.* 10, 136 ff.

24. *stultus cupidusque*: with foolish eagerness; he did in fact drink, but not until he had taken the antidote and not, therefore, *stultus*.

25. *turpis*: in the form of an animal, losing his human form. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 100, *mutum et turpe pecus*. — *et*: connects the verbs; *turpis* goes with *fuisse*, and *excors* with *vixisset*.

vixisset canis immundus vel amica luto sus.  
 Nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati,  
 sponsi Penelopae nebulones, Alcinoique  
 in cute curanda plus aequo operata iuventus,  
 30 cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies et  
 ad strepitum citharae cessantem ducere somnum.  
 Vt iugulent hominem, surgunt de nocte latrones;  
 ut te ipsum serves, non expergisceris? Atqui  
 si noles sanus, curres hydropicus; et ni

26. *canis*: not in the Homeric story. But the legend easily took various forms.

27-31. 'We too may find our prototypes there, among the common people, of course, and the easy-going.'

27. *numerus*: *mere ciphers*. ἀριθμός is used in this sense, but *numerus* apparently only here. The rest of the line is also Greek, οἱ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν, 'mere consumers of the fruits of the earth.'

28. *sponsi*: *suitors*. Strictly, they were *proci*, but all these words of relation, *sponsus*, *sponsa*, *gener*, *socer*, are loosely used. — *nebulones*: here as an adj., *wasteful*. — *Alcinoi*: king of the Phaeacians, *Od.* 8, 11 and 249 f.

29. *cute curanda*: cf. esp. *pelliculam curare*, *Sat.* 2, 5, 38 and *membra, corpora curare*. — *operata*: with intentional irony; their only labors are the labors of the toilet.

30-31. *pulchrum*: the philosophical term; they found their *summum bonum* in sleeping late.

— These details are not in Homer nor is the character of the Phaeacians so entirely self-indulgent. But on the basis of a few lines, esp. *Od.* 8, 248 f., they had become types of ease and luxury in philosophical writings, and Horace is here following the later interpretation, rather than the pure Homeric description.

32 ff. The following lines, almost to the end of the epistle, contain a series of exhortations in philosophical form. There is no real relation between them and the Homeric allusions, but the two parts are connected by the exhortation to energetic living which is itself suggested by the slothfulness of the Phaeacians.

33. *serves*: *i.e.*, 'if robbers will get up early to take life, will you not do it to save your own soul?'

— *expergisceris*: with a literal reference backward, but also in the figurative sense.

34. *noles*: *sc. currere*. This is one of the forms of exercise prescribed for dropsy.

- 35 posces ante diem librum cum lumine, si non intendes animum studiis et rebus honestis, invidia vel amore vigil torquere. Nam cur quae laedunt oculum festinas demere; si quid est animum, differs curandi tempus in annum?
- 40 Dimidium facti qui coepit habet: sapere aude: incipe. Qui recte vivendi prorogat horam, rusticus exspectat dum defluat annis; at ille labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum. Quaeritur argentum puerisque beata creandis

35-36. The two meanings, literal and figurative, are intentionally run together; 'unless you waken early to work, you will find yourself sleepless as a result of your self-indulgence, and unless you study philosophy, you will suffer from the passions that philosophy would have cured.'—*posces*: so *Epist.* 2, 1, 112 f., *prius orto sole vigil calamum et chartas et scrinia posco*. The habit of reading or writing in the early morning, reclining on a couch, was general.—*rebus honestis*: *i.e.*, philosophy, which is alluded to with increasing distinctness in *curandi* 39, *sapere* 40, and *recte vivendi* 41.

37. *cur*: with both verbs, *festinas* and *differs*; 'why is it that you hasten . . . and yet postpone . . . ?'

39. *est*: from *edo*.

40. *dimidium* . . . *habet*: a familiar proverb; 'well begun is half done.'

42. *rusticus*: *i.e.*, 'is like the countryman who . . .,' with the condensed comparison so frequent in Horace. The story is not otherwise known to us, but the brief form of the allusion presupposes a knowledge of it on the part of the readers.—*ille*: *annis*.

43. The repetition of the letter *l*, the feminine caesura, and the rapid movement of the line are intentional. Cf. *Epod.* 16, 48, *levis crepante lympa desilit pede*.

44. From this point the exhortations become more specific, beginning, as always in Horace, with exhortations addressed to men of wealth (44-54).—*quaeritur*: emphatic; 'men are always seeking.'—*beata*: *rich*; *dotata*.—*creandis*: the formula of marriage contract contained the words *liberorum quaerundorum causa* as expressing the legitimate object of marriage, the founding of a family. The insertion of *beata* into the phrase is intentional irony.

- 45 uxor et incultae pacantur vomere silvae;  
 quod satis est cui contingit, nihil amplius optet.  
 Non domus et fundus, non aeris acervus et auri  
 aegroto domini deduxit corpore febris,  
 non animo curas; valeat possessor oportet,  
 50 si comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti.  
 Qui cupit aut metuit, iuvat illum sic domus et res,  
 ut lippum pictae tabulae, fomenta podagram,  
 auriculas citharae collecta sorde dolentes.  
 Sincerum est nisi vas, quodcumque infundis acescit.

45. *incultae . . . silvae*: merely a vivid mention of one form of wealth, like *domus et fundus*, 47. Cf. also *Carm.* 1, 31, 7-10.

46. The apodosis of 44-45, in paratactic form. For the thought cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 50, 62 ff., 92 ff.

48. *deduxit*: perfect tense of "an action often done, or [with a negative, as here] never done"; Lane, § 1611. 'has never removed the fevers from the body.' The two parts of this sentence also, like 44-46, are in paratactic relation. The thought is, 'as they have never cured bodily ills, so they have never cured the soul.'

49-50. 'The owner of all this wealth must first be well, must first cure himself of his passions, if he hopes to enjoy his property.' — *valeat . . . oportet*: parataxis. — *bene*: with *uti*. — The thought is expressed at greater length in *Sat.* 2, 3, 104-120.

51. *cupit aut metuit*: *i.e.*, is

under the dominion of the passions. — *sic ut*: *no more . . . than*.

52. *lippum*: this disease, frequently referred to in Horace, would not actually blind the victim, but would render the use of his eyes so painful that he could not enjoy the finest painting. — *fomenta*: not poultices to cure the gout, but warm wrappings or foot muffs used by the luxurious (*Sen. de Provid.* 4, 9; *de Vita Beat.* 11). But a sufferer from the acute pains of gout would get no pleasure from them.

53. *collecta sorde*: with *dolentes*.

54. This summarizes the arguments of 44 ff., esp. that of 49-50, in a single condensed comparison: 'the man, I say, must first be sound himself in order to find his possessions sweet to him, as a jar must be clean if it is to keep sweet the wine that is poured into it.' It will be seen that this treatment of the familiar theme is more

- 55 Sperne voluptates; nocet empta dolore voluptas.  
Semper avarus eget; certum voto pete finem.  
Invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis;  
invidia Siculi non invenerunt tyranni  
maius tormentum. Qui non moderabitur irae,  
60 infectum volet esse dolor quod suaserit et mens,  
dum poenas odio per vim festinat inulto.  
Ira furor brevis est: animum rege, qui nisi paret,  
imperat; hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce catena.  
Fingit equum tenera docilem cervice magister  
65 ire viam qua monstret eques; venaticus ex quo  
tempore cervinam pellem latravit in aula,  
militat in silvis catulus. Nunc adhibe puro  
pectore verba puer, nunc te melioribus offer.

mature and more profound than the earlier treatment in *Sat.* I, 1 or 2, 3.

55-63. Brief apothegms on pleasure, avarice, envy, and anger.

56. *certum*: definite, fixed, since the great danger is that the *avarus* will never know *quod satis est*. — *voto*: to the desires, which are expressed as solemnly as a vow.

58. *Siculi . . . tyranni*: their cruelty and their ingenuity in inventing tortures had become proverbial.

60. *infectum volet*: i.e., 'shall often have occasion to wish that he could undo . . . ' — *dolor et mens*: 'anger (*mens*) roused by a sense of injury (*dolor*). ' — *odio . . . inulto*: 'for his unsatisfied hatred.'

62. *brevis*: while it lasts; the emphasis is upon *furor*, a raging madness.

63. *frenis*: anticipating the figure of the horse. — *catena*: anticipating the comparison with the hound.

64. *tenera docilem*: the emphatic words. Training should begin early.

65-66. *ex quo tempore*: i.e., his training is begun in the courtyard, as in a school. The hound was trained by means of a stuffed figure of a deer, which he was taught to bark at.

67-68. *nunc, puer, nunc*: emphasizing in its direct application to Lollius the truth which had been set forth in figures, that youth is the time to learn. — *melioribus*: cf. *Epist.* I, 1, 48, *meliori credere*,

Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem  
 70 testa diu. Quodsi cessas aut strenuus anteis,  
 nec tardum opperior nec praecedentibus insto.

of acknowledging the authority of the philosopher.

69. recens: continuing the idea of *tenera, catulus, puer*. For the general thought cf. *Carm.* 1, 20, 2, *Graeca quod ego ipse testa conditum levi*, which refers to the fact that the jar kept the flavor of the Greek wine.

70-71. The frequent jesting close, with humorous abruptness. 'Such is my advice. Take it and go your way. But, as for me, I am middle-aged and shall neither wait for you, if you are slow, nor press after you, if you hurry on . . .'

## 3

The date is fixed by the first lines. In the year 20 Tiberius went to the East as the personal representative of Augustus, taking with him, as was usual on such occasions, a considerable retinue. Among those who accompanied him were several young men interested in literature, as was Tiberius himself.

Julius Florus, to whom the letter is addressed, is the same person to whom *Epist.* 2, 2 is dedicated. Both letters are evidence of his friendship with Tiberius, as of his interest in literature, but beyond this nothing is known with certainty of him.

'I am anxious to know, my dear Florus, where you and your companions are. In Thrace? Or on the Hellespont? Or already in Asia? And what are you doing? Who has undertaken the epic on Augustus? How is Titius, my Pindaric hero? Or has he turned tragic poet? And how is Celsus? Remind him again of that fable of Aesop. And what are you undertaking? I expect great things of you, whatever line you choose to follow. If only you would drop some of your ambitions and turn to philosophy! This — as I am telling everybody nowadays — is the duty of us all. And, speaking of duty, have you made up your quarrel with Munatius? I hope so, for I think too well of you both to be satisfied with anything less than a complete reconciliation.'

This Epistle deserves careful study. It is, on the one hand, a perfectly natural letter, expressing the interest of the writer in his correspondent, revealing the personality of both and the friendly relation between them. It reads like a letter dashed off in high spirits, full of



friendly banter, and yet at bottom serious enough. On the other hand, it is a most carefully written piece of literature, artistic in expression and in the transition from one topic to another. The combination of spontaneity of feeling with artistic expression, which is one of the charms of the lyric poetry of Catullus, is rarely to be found in the Odes. In the Satires there is a nearer approach to it. In this letter it is attained.

Iuli Flore, quibus terrarum militet oris

Claudius, Augusti privignus, scire laboro.

Thracane vos Hebrusque nivali compede vinctus,  
an freta vicinas inter currentia turre,

5 an pingues Asiae campi collesque morantur?

Quid studiosa cohors operum struit? Hoc quoque curo.

Quis sibi res gestas Augusti scribere sumit?

1. *terrarum*: the plural makes the question more general; cf. *ubi terrarum*.—*militet*: he was in command of troops, though the mission was not in reality a campaign.—*oris*: *distant lands*; *ora* is not necessarily a seashore, but any edge; cf. 'ends of the earth.'

2. *Claudius*: Tiberius Claudius Nero, the stepson and successor of Augustus, not yet adopted as a son.—*laboro*: so *Sat.* 2, 8, 19, *nosse laboro*; repeated in *curo*, vs. 6.

3. *Thraca*: the form *Thracia* is later. In the Odes Horace uses the Greek form *Thrace*.—*nivali* . . . *vinctus*: this fixes the time of the year. But *compede vinctus* is not to be taken quite literally; the cold of Thrace was proverbial.

4. *freta*: the Hellespont, on opposite sides of which stood, in poetic tradition, the towers of Hero

and Leander, near Sestos and Abydos. The Hellespont is here less than a mile wide (*vicinas*) and the current runs swiftly.

6. *studiosa cohors*: the suite of young men who accompanied Tiberius, as Catullus went on the staff of Memmius to Bithynia. Tiberius was himself in early life interested in literature and was doubtless inclined to follow the example of Maecenas and Messala and Augustus in the patronage of men of letters.—*operum*: with *quid*; in this context necessarily works of literature.

7. *sumit*: *chooses, takes upon himself*. This is the task which had more than once been suggested to Horace (cf. *Sat.* 2, 1, 10 ff.), but which he had always declined to undertake. There is a little irony in *sumit*.

- Bella quis et paces longum diffundit in aevum?  
 Quid Titius, Romana brevi venturus in ora,  
 10 Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus,  
 fastidire lacus et rivos ausus apertos?  
 Vt valet? Vt meminit nostri? Fidibusne Latinis  
 Thebanos aptare modos studet auspice musa,  
 an tragica desaevit et ampullatur in arte?

8. *diffundit*: of the extensive circulation that an epic poem on Augustus ought to merit.—in *aevum*: such a poem should be good enough to endure for all time.

9. *Titius*: unknown. The accounts in the Scholiasts are made up from the text.—in *ora*: so in the epitaph attributed to Ennius, *volito per ora virum*; ‘soon to be famous in Rome.’

10–11. *non expalluit*: it required a certain audacity to attempt a Pindaric ode (cf. *Carm.* 4, 2, 1, *Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari*). The thought is repeated in positive form in *ausus*, vs. 11. For the accus. *haustus* cf. *Carm.* 3, 27, 27, *fraudes palluit*.—The contrast between the draughts from the fountain of the Muses on Helicon and the waters of the public pool (*lacus*) or the stream, easy of access to all (*apertos*), is used by Quintilian, 10, 1, 109, *non enim pluvias, ut ait Pindarus, aquas colligit, sed vivo gurgite exundat*, with a slightly different sense.

13. *Thebanos*: i.e., Pindaric.—*auspice musa*: ‘with the help of the Muses’; the sense is affected

by the proximity of *studet*, so that it means ‘hoping for the blessing of the Muses.’

14. *desaevit*: only here in Horace. The word is coined to go with *ampullatur* and to express humorously, because it is coined, the high emotions of tragedy.—*ampullatur*: a translation of *ληκυθίζει* (cf. *A. P.* 97). This word, from *ληκύθος*, *ampulla*, a flask, was used in derision of the tendency of tragedy to run into bombast. The figure seems to be taken from the hollow humming sound made by the wind in the neck of a jar.—It is certainly impossible to take these lines, which are in effect a message to Titius, quite seriously; the phrasing (*non expalluit, ausus, auspice, musa, desaevit, ampullatur*) forbids that interpretation. But neither can they be taken, in so friendly a letter meant for publication, as mere irony. They are the friendly banterings of an older man addressed to a young friend of high ambitions and they are at the same time a reminder of the writer’s disinclination to attempt either tragedy or the Pindaric ode.

- 15 Quid mihi Celsus agit? Monitus multumque monen-  
 dus,  
 privatas ut quaerat opes et tangere vitet  
 scripta, Palatinus quaecumque recepit Apollo,  
 ne, si forte suas repetitum venerit olim  
 grex avium plumas, moveat cornicula risum  
 20 furtivis nudata coloribus. Ipse quid audes?  
 Quae circumvolitas agilis thyma? Non tibi parvum  
 ingenium, non incultum est et turpiter hirtum:  
 seu linguam causis acuis seu civica iura  
 respondere paras seu condis amabile carmen,  
 25 prima feres hederæ victricis præmia. Quodsi

15. *mihi*: an excellent example of the ethical dative. — *Celsus*: this must be Celsus Albinovanus, addressed in *Epist.* 1, 8 as *comes scribaque Neronis*. — *monitus*: already, when he was with me in Rome.

16-17. *privatas*: explained by the rest of the line; he should not imitate the great and well-known writers, whose works were already in the library of the temple of Apollo, but should seek after some originality.

18-20. The fable of the bird that dressed itself out in the feathers of other birds, Phaedrus 1, 3. Horace has slightly changed the story to fit his purpose here. — *olim*: *sometime*. — *cornicula*: the diminutive form is apparently derisive, *the poor crow*; but in all fables the birds and animals are changed about without much regard to tradition or natural history,

and *cornicula* may be some smaller bird of the crow family. — The bantering tone of 9-14 is continued in these lines.

20. *audes*: *attempt*; used absolutely the word suggests more of encouragement and less of raillery than is implied in *fastidire . . . ausus*, vs. 11.

21. *thyma*: *i.e.*, 'from what flowers do you gather honey?'

22. *turpiter hirtum*: the figure is of a field left uncultivated and therefore ugly with rough-growing bushes.

23-24. *causis*: as pleader in court, as orator. — *iura respondere*: as *iuris consultus*, like Trebatius in *Sat.* 2, 1. — *carmen*: lyric poetry.

25. *hederæ*: cf. *Carm.* 1, 1, 29, *doctarum hederæ præmia frontium*. This is applicable only to the last of the three forms of literary activity, but is somewhat

frigida curarum fomenta relinquere posses,  
 quo te caelestis sapientia duceret, ires.  
 Hoc opus, hoc studium parvi properemus et ampli,  
 si patriae volumus, si nobis vivere cari.

30 Debes hoc etiam rescribere, sit tibi curae,  
 quantae conveniat, Munatius. An male sarta  
 gratia nequicquam coit et rescinditur? At vos

generalized by *prima feres*; 'you will reach the first rank, you will get the reward of the ivy wreath.'

26-27. *fomenta*: not like the *fomenta* of *Epist.* 1, 2, 52, but bandages to be kept wet with cold water. This kind of water cure was used by Augustus on the advice of his physician (Sueton. *Aug.* 81) and was at this time in fashion. — *curarum*: gen. of definition (Lane, § 1255) or material, like *hederæ præmia*, vs. 25. Cf. *Vic. de Fin.* 2, 29, 95, *patientiae, fortitudinis fomentis dolor mitigari solet*. The sense is, 'if you could bring yourself to give up the practice of treating your soul with the cold-water bandages that your anxieties wrap around you, you would follow where philosophy would lead.' — *sapientia*: this single reference, with the two vs. which follow, is the only connection between the epistle and the social philosophy which is the general theme of this Book.

28. *parvi*: not necessarily a reference to the circumstances of either Florus or Horace; cf. *Epist.* 1, 1, 25 f.

29. *nobis . . . cari*: not different, in spite of Lachmann's dictum, from *nobis amici* (*Epist.* 1, 18, 101); the sense is 'to be in harmony with others and with ourselves.'

30-31. *debes*: *i.e.*, 'I especially urge you,' 'you are especially bound to tell me.' — *etiam*: the earlier part of the letter contains many questions, direct and indirect, which call for a reply to the epistle. — *sit tibi curae*: indirect question after *rescribere*, the second member being expressed in the direct form *an . . . rescinditur?* The sense is 'whether Munatius is as dear to you (*curae* dat.) as he ought to be.' — *Munatius*: another of the young men in the retinue of Tiberius, with whom Florus had quarreled. The quarrel had been partly made up, and Horace is asking whether the reconciliation was proving permanent. — *sarta*: transferred figuratively from the sewing up of a rent in cloth or a wound; cf. Engl. 'patch up a quarrel.'

32. *coit*: also a surgical term, used of the healing of a wound.

seu calidus sanguis seu rerum inscitia vexat  
indomita cervice feros, ubicumque locorum  
35 vivitis indigni fratrum rumpere foedus,  
pascitur in vestrum reditum votiva iuvenca.

33. *rerum inscitia*: i.e., 'inexperience in life, in affairs.' As *calidus sanguis* would be to a young man a grateful excuse, so *rerum inscitia* is just the form of reproach which would be most efficacious in bringing him back to good sense.

34. *cervice*: like young cattle or horses that have not yet felt the yoke.

35. *vivitis indigni*: to be taken together; *indigni* is the important word; 'you ought not, wherever you may be (cf. vs. 1), to break so close a friendship.'

36. 'Nor shall I permit it; for I feel affection for you both, and

you must dine together at my house when you return.'

Vss. 30-36 are a kind of postscript containing the only wholly serious thoughts of the epistle. The opening word, *debes*, connects them directly with the preceding exhortation to philosophy, and the closing invitation to both to dine with him is a most graceful expression of his determination to see their friendship renewed. The lines are scrupulously neutral and yet there is not a word that could give offense to Florus. It would not be possible to express such thoughts as these with greater tact.

## 4

The date of this Epistle cannot be definitely fixed. The absence of any allusion to the Odes in vs. 1 seems to require a date before 23 B.C., when the Odes were published, and the reference to a favorable judgment expressed by Tibullus in regard to the Satires points to a still earlier date. Tibullus returned to Rome from a campaign in Aquitania in 27 and may then for the first time have read the Satires.

Albius Tibullus, addressed in this epistle and in *Carm.* 1, 33, the elegiac poet, was a younger friend of Horace and a man of attractive character. He was, however, of a somewhat melancholy temperament, and this note of general invitation and inquiry is intended to cheer him.

'What are you doing at your home in Pedum, my dear Albius? Writing or philosophizing in silence? The gods have given you much; be grateful for what you have. If you will make me a visit, you will find me fat and cheerful, as an Epicurean ought to be.'

Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex,  
 quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?  
 Scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat,  
 an tacitum silvas inter reptare salubris,  
 5 curantem quicquid dignum sapiente bonoque est?  
 Non tu corpus eras sine pectore: di tibi formam,  
 di tibi divitias dederunt artemque fruendi.  
 Quid voveat dulci nutricula maius alumno,  
 qui sapere et fari possit quae sentiat, et cui

1. **sermonum**: the Satires. — **candide**: the opposite, *niger*, is used in *Sat.* 1, 4, 85, 91, and *candidae animae* of Plotius and Varius and Vergil, *Sat.* 1, 5, 41. It means *fair* or *friendly*, rather than 'candid.'

2. **dicam**: often inserted into a question in colloquial style (*quo te dicam ego ire?* Plaut. *Curc.* 12, *unde id futurum dicam?* *Ps.* 106) to increase the effect of uncertainty. Cf. Engl. 'what am I to suppose that you are doing?' — **Pedana**: Tibullus had an estate near Pedum, which was not far from Horace's Sabine farm.

3. **scribere**: sc. *dicam te*. — **Cassi**: one of the assassins of Caesar, called *Parmensis* here to distinguish him from Cassius Longinus. He was put to death after the battle of Actium by the order of Augustus. Of his literary activity almost nothing is known, but the comparison here is entirely respectful. — **opuscula**: the word could properly be used of elegies, which would afford a

natural standard of comparison for the poems of Tibullus.

4. **tacitum . . . reptare**: this coincides well with the character of Tibullus, as it is revealed in his elegies.

5. **curantem**: *i.e.*, intent upon philosophy.

6-7. **eras**: the tense refers back to the time in the past when they were together, in contrast to Horace's present state (*nunc*, vs. 2) of ignorance. 'You were not, when I knew you.' — **formam, divitias, artem**: the blessings of the fortunate, expressed in somewhat conventional terms, and made more individual and specific in vss. 9-11.

8. **voveat**: *wish, pray for*. — **maius**: *i.e.*, *what more, what besides*; the standard of comparison is implied in vss. 6-7.

9-10. **qui**: *i.e.*, 'if he have the power. . .'. — Tibullus had all the gifts of fortune here specified — intelligence, power of expression, attractiveness, a good name — except perhaps *valetudo*; he was



- 10 gratia, fama, valetudo contingat abunde,  
et mundus victus non deficiente crumina?  
Inter spem curamque, timores inter et iras  
omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum:  
grata superveniet quae non sperabitur hora.
- 15 Me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises,  
cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum.

of a somewhat melancholy temperament, and *valetudo* is added to the list as an encouragement to him in his depression. — Vs. 10 is a more accurate statement than *divitias* (7); Tibullus had an estate and money enough for his moderate needs.

12. 'In the ordinary experiences of life, which is a succession of varying emotions.' This description, not quite in Horace's usual vein, is in reality meant to be encouraging to Tibullus by reminding him that there is nothing unusual in his experience.

13-14. The doctrine of the Odes (1, 9, 9-16; 1, 11; 2, 3; 2, 10). — The two lines are in paratactic relation; 'accept each day as your

last; (then) you will be grateful when a new day dawns.'

15-16. The allusions to Horace's own cheerful state of mind are humorously clothed in allusions to his physical well-being. It is said of him in the *Vita* of Suetonius, *habitu corporis brevis fuit atque obesus*. — *cute*: cf., *Epist.* 1, 2, 29, note. — *vises*: *i.e.*, 'you shall find me in the best of condition, when you come to see me, as I hope you will.' — *grege*: in a double sense, as the usual word for a school of philosophy, and with reference to *porcum*. — *porcum*: often used as a term of reproach of Epicureanism, which the Romans generally understood only in its less elevated form.

## 5

The year in which this Epistle was written is left entirely uncertain, as is natural in an invitation to dinner. The day of the month was Sept. 22d (vs. 7).

Torquatus was probably of the family of the Manlii Torquati, a lawyer and orator, but otherwise unknown. He is addressed in *Carm.* 4, 7, where his *genus*, *facundia*, and *pietas* are mentioned.

The letter has all the appearance of being a real invitation to a dinner that actually took place on a special occasion. Two things make it

worthy of preservation in this collection of letters. It is, in the first place, a very successful illustration, in concrete form, of a fundamental principle of Horace's social philosophy. He is here in the position of the host of no wealth or social position approaching a man of high standing and of importance in the world of affairs. The merit of the invitation is that it recognizes these differences, but with such openness and humor as to show that the writer did not overestimate their importance and was confident that his guest also did not give them undue weight. As host, Horace is humorously profuse in saying that he is making anxious preparations for the dinner; as a friend, he takes for granted the absolute equality which is the only foundation for friendship, without either servility or self-assertion. To this subject his relation to Maecenas had led Horace to give careful attention, and it is the theme of *Sat.* 1, 6 and of two Epistles, 7 and 18, of this Book.

In the second place, the occasion gave an opportunity for the recommendation of that philosophy of moderate enjoyment of pleasure to which Horace so frequently recurs. The praise of wine was a standing theme of Greek and Roman lyric; an invitation to dinner furnished an appropriate motive for introducing it again.

Si potes Archiacis conviva recumbere lectis  
nec modica cenare times olus omne patella,  
supremo te sole domi, Torquate, manebo.  
Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa palustris

1. **Archiacis**: the implication is that this was some modest kind of couch, not quite fitted for use at a dining table. The Scholiast says *Archias breves lectos fecit*, which may be a genuine tradition. — **conviva**: to be taken with *recumbere*; 'to recline as one does at the table.' Horace does not use the ordinary verb, *accumbere*; but it is possible that there is some special point in *recumbere*; 'if you are able to stretch yourself out in the usual way on a short couch.'

2. **olus omne**: *i.e.*, 'nothing but the plainest food.' — **patella**: the diminutive form is expressive of the pretended humility.

3. **supremo sole**: 'at the end of the day.' The more usual hour was in the middle of the afternoon, but this dinner was to be prolonged into the night, 10-11.

4. **iterum Tauro**: *sc. consule*. Taurus was consul for the second time, with Augustus, in 26 B.C. The wine was of a respectable age, though not at all remarkable. —

- 5 inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum.  
 Si melius quid habes, arcesse, vel imperium fer.  
 Iamdudum splendet focus et tibi munda supellex.  
 Mitte levis spes et certamina divitiarum  
 et Moschi causam : cras nato Caesare festus  
 10 dat veniam somnumque dies ; impune licebit  
 aestivam sermone benigno tendere noctem.  
 Quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti ?

**diffusa** : *bottled, i.e.,* poured from the single large jar in which it had fermented into the many smaller *amphorae* (hence *dis-fusa*) in which it was sealed up to ripen.

5. These places were all in the better wine-producing district, though not in the best part of it ; the wine was neither Falernian nor Massic, but still pretty good, as the careful description shows.

6. **arcesse** : *send it.* — **imperium fer** : 'or put yourself under my command,' *i.e.,* 'take what I give you,' but with a secondary reference to the office of *magister bibendi*, which Horace pretends to assume for himself. — The line is to be taken humorously, as a sort of climax to the description of the dinner.

8-9. **mitte** : a natural and perhaps also a conventional part of an invitation to a banquet ; cf. *Carm.* 3, 8, 17, *mitte civilis super urbe curas* ; *Carm.* 1, 26, 1-6. — **spes** : a very general reference to all kinds of ambition. — **certamina divitiarum** : a more definite reference to the struggle for wealth which,

in Horace's judgment, was far too common at Rome ; *divitiarum* is an objective gen. — **Moschi causam** : a direct allusion to a case which was then occupying the attention of Torquatus. Moschus was a rhetorician, accused of poisoning, and defended by Torquatus and Asinius Pollio.

9. **nato Caesare** : to a reader of Horace's time this bare phrase would have been perfectly intelligible ; to us, knowing little of the circumstances, it is not clear whether the reference is to Julius Caesar or to Augustus. But we know of no custom of celebrating the birthday of Julius Caesar so long after his death and, on the other hand, the birthday of Augustus was an occasion for festivities (Sueton. *Oct.* 62). This fell on September 23, and we must therefore take *aestivam* (vs. 11) in a general sense. The weather would still be summer-like at that date. — **festus** : there would be no session of courts and no public business.

12. **fortunam** : the accus. is regular in this exclamation ; cf. *Sat.*

- Parcus ob heredis curam nimiumque severus  
 adsidet insano; potare et spargere flores  
 15 incipiam, patiarque vel inconsultus haberi.  
 Quid non ebrietas designat? Operta recludit,  
 spes iubet esse ratas, ad proelia trudit inertem,  
 sollicitis animis onus eximit, addocet artes.  
 Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum,  
 20 contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?  
 Haec ego procurare et idoneus imperor et non  
 invitus: ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa

2, 5, 102; 2, 7, 116; with slight variations the phrase occurs half a dozen times, followed by a *si*-clause. It is not necessary to supply any definite verb. 'What is fortune for if not for use?' Cf. the same thought more fully expressed in *Carm.* 2, 3, 9 ff.

13. *parcus* . . . *curam*: 'the man who starves himself in order to provide for his heir.' Cf. *Carm.* 2, 14, 25, *absumet heres*.

14. *adsidet*: Engl. 'is next door to.' Cf. 'sitteth in the seat of the scornful.' Those who are alike will naturally sit together. — *flores*: a usual accompaniment of a feast.

15. *inconsultus*: Horace's best phrase for this is *dulce est desipere in loco* (*Carm.* 4, 12, 28); here, however, the word is selected with reference to his guest, who is *iuris consultus* and would regard *inconsultus* as a synonym of *in-sanus* or *in-sipiens*.

16-18. *ebrietas*: not, of course, intoxication, but the exhilaration

produced by wine. The best commentary on this passage is *Carm.* 3, 21, 13-20; *designat* (effect, accomplish) is the same as *tu lene tormen um* (i.e., *stimulus*) *ingenio admoves* | *plerumque duro*; *operta recludit* is a short phrase for *tu sapientium* | *curas et arcanum iocoso* | *consilium retegis* *Lyaeo*; *spes iubet esse ratas* is equivalent to *tu spem reducis mentibus anxiiis*, and *ad proelia trudit inertem* to *virisque et addis cornua pauperi*. The following phrases, however, have no precise parallel in the Ode.

19-20. *fecundi*: frequent, frequently refilled; in effect the same as *ebrietas*. — *contracta*: contrasted with *solutum* at the end of the verse; 'freed from the limitations of poverty.'

21. *haec*: the details of arrangement and preparation which follow in *ne* and *ut* clauses. — *imperor*: *I am bound*, as host, 'I take it upon myself.'

22-25. Cf. in general, *Sat.* 2, 4,

- corruget nares; ne non et cantharus et lanx  
ostendat tibi te; ne fidos inter amicos  
25 sit qui dicta foras eliminat; ut coeat par  
iungaturque pari. Butram tibi Septiciumque  
et nisi cena prior potiorque puella Sabinum  
detinet adsumam. Locus est et pluribus umbris;  
sed nimis arta premunt olidae convivio caprae.  
30 Tu quotus esse velis rescribe et rebus omissis  
atria servantem postico falle clientem.

81-87, where some emphasis is laid upon the fact that these matters demand only attention, not expense, and are therefore within the reach of persons of moderate means, as Horace represents himself to be. — *ostendat*: *i.e.*, 'be brightly polished.' — *eliminat*: 'carry beyond the threshold of the dining room.'

26-27. The three men named are all unknown to us. — *prior*: *earlier*, one to which he has already been invited.

28-29. *umbris*: persons whom

the chief guest might bring with him. Cf. *Sat.* 2, 8, 22, *quas Maecenas adduxerat umbras*. — But not so many as to make it necessary to sit close together.

30-31. *quotus*: *i.e.*, 'name your number,' and I will provide accordingly. — *rescribe*: the note was sent by a slave, who would wait for an answer. — *rebus omissis*: 'drop your business'; a renewal of the exhortation in vs. 8. — The humorous suggestion of vs. 31 is also an indirect compliment to the busy lawyer.

## 6

There is no evidence to determine the date of this Epistle, and Numicius, whose name stands in the first line, is entirely unknown.

'The steady composure of philosophy is the only source of happiness, Numicius. If men can look without superstitious dread upon the wonders of the universe, they must surely be able to look without passion upon the petty attractions of ambition and wealth, neither desiring their rewards nor fearing their loss. For they are all a passing show, here to-day and gone to-morrow. But the rewards of philosophy are permanent.

'You think otherwise? Very well; follow your own course. Hurry and labor to get rich and then to get richer, until you are so rich that

your money is a mere superfluity to you and a temptation to thieves. Or is it office that is to make you happy? Then crawl in the dirt to get votes. Or are you going to be a lover of good dinners? That is a simple ambition, and certainly a low one. Or is it to be love and jests? You know where that ends.

'If this statement of your views does not suit you, make a better one or else accept my ideals.'

This Epistle is not a letter. In its general form it is not essentially different from the Satires of the First Book. The only indications of that personal tone which distinguishes a letter from a short essay are the purely formal address in vs. 1, the two closing lines, and the possible allusion to the opinions of Numicius in vs. 31, *virtutem verba putas*. These, however, are too slight to produce the impression of a letter. For this reason it may be surmised that this is one of the earlier of the Epistles, in which Horace is endeavoring to shape a new form for his social comments, different from the Lucilian form of the First Book and from the dialogue form of the Second Book.

In the substance of the Epistle, however, in the handling of the familiar thoughts about wealth and ambition, there is a decided change. Horace here writes as one to whom philosophy is a reality, an actual and accepted guide in the affairs of life. In this respect the Epistle is quite unlike the earlier work and this element brings it into harmony with the other writings in this collection.

Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici,  
solaque, quae possit facere et servare beatum.  
Hunc solem et stellas et decedentia certis  
tempora momentis sunt qui formidine nulla

1. *nil admirari*: to be undisturbed in spirit, 'to be free from the distractions of fear and desire.' No words in Horace or perhaps in Latin literature have been more completely misunderstood than these. Horace is not preaching indifferentism; the words stand for that self-control and inward composure which, under various names (*ἀταραξία*, *ἀπάθεια*),

was the end sought after in all Greek systems of philosophy. To express this he translates τὸ μὴδὲν θαυμάζειν, a phrase used by Pythagoras and often repeated in later philosophical writings. The same thought is expressed in vs. 14, below.

3-5. *hunc*: as if pointing to it. — *tempora*: the seasons. — *momentis*: not times, but changes,



- 5 imbuti spectent; quid censes munera terrae,  
 quid maris extremos Arabas ditantis et Indos,  
ludicra quid plausus et amici dona Quiritis,  
 quo spectanda modo, quo sensu credis et ore?  
 Qui timet his adversa, fere miratur eodem  
 10 quo cupiens pacto; pavor est utrobique molestus,  
 improvisa simul species exterret utrumque.  
 Gaudeat an doleat, cupiat metuatne, quid ad rem,  
 si quidquid vidit melius peiusque sua spe  
 defixis oculis animoque et corpore torpet? <sup>1</sup>

*alternations (movi-mentis).*—The machinery of the universe is looked upon by the savage as something awful, something to be feared, but some men (especially the Epicurean philosophers like Lucretius) can gaze upon its wonders without superstitious dread. The whole sentence is a paratactic protasis to the thought of vss. 5-8; 'if men can look upon the wonders of nature without undue excitement, can we not remain unmoved by trifles like wealth or office?'

5-8. *quid censes*: the question is put in its most general form and then taken up at the end in the more definite form in vs. 8. This is a colloquialism, like the use of *quid ais?* to introduce a question. Cf. Cic. *pro Rosc.* 17, 49, 'quid censes hunc ipsum Sex. Roscium, quo studio et qua intellegentia esse in rusticis rebus?' and often.—*maris*: with *munera*; the reference is to pearls from the eastern seas.—*ludicra . . . plausus*: the

*absurd applause*; *plausus* is appositional gen. with *ludicra*. [The line is, however, by no means clear in sense.] —*dona*: *i.e.*, offices.—*ore*: *expression*; *i.e.*, 'with what kind of looks.'

9. *his . . . adversa*: the opposites of wealth (vs. 6) and honors (vs. 7).—*miratur*: his fear of poverty is in effect the same kind of emotion as love of money; either is an unworthy passion.

11. *simul*: = *simulac*, as often.—*species*: *i.e.*, the unexpected appearance of either success or defeat.

12. *quid ad rem*: *i.e.*, what difference does it make whether it is pleasure or pain?—The argument of these lines is enforced by being repeated in different forms. *miratur* = *pavor* = *torpet*; *improvisa species* = *melius peiusque sua spe*; but the variation is produced by the use of slightly changed figures, so that there is no impression of useless repetition.

- 15 Insani nomen sapiens ferat, aequus iniqui,  
 ultra quam satis est virtutem si petat ipsam.  
 I nunc, argentum et marmor vetus aeraque et artes  
 suspice, cum gemmis Tyrios mirare colores;  
 gaude quod spectant oculi te mille loquentem;  
 20 navus mane forum et vespertinus pete tectum,  
 ne plus frumenti dotalibus emetat agris  
 Mutus et — indignum, quod sit peioribus ortus, —  
 hic tibi sit potius quam tu mirabilis illi.  
 Quicquid sub terra est in apricum proferet aetas,

15-16. This is a summary of the argument in an extreme, almost paradoxical, form; 'even the pursuit of the philosophic coolness may be too ardent.'—*insani nomen . . . ferat*: cf., with the same meaning, *adsidet insano*, *Epist.* 1, 5, 14.—*aequus*: this particular virtue is selected for specification, after the general word *sapiens*, because this is precisely the virtue which should prevent *ultra quam satis est*.

17-18. *i nunc*: *i.e.*, 'in view of these facts go on, if you can, and surrender yourself to the passion for art or honors or wealth.'—The objects named in these lines have not been mentioned above; they are the signs of a life of luxury and self-indulgence, silver plate, statues, and other artistic objects. Cf. the reference in *Sat.* 2, 7, 95 to excessive devotion to the enjoyment of art, which is there satirized as a form of slavery.

19. The gratified ambition of the orator.

20-23. The seeker after money.—*forum*: as the market place, the Exchange, not the place of public business.—*vespertinus*: only the especially eager man of business would stay so late.—*frumenti*: one form of wealth, as in *Sat.* 1, 1, 49 ff. and often.—*dotalibus*: this is parenthetical in sense, like the formal parenthesis in the next line; 'lest Mutus should have a larger income than you—his money came from his wife, by the way, and he is a man of very humble origin.'—*emetat*: *reap, harvest*; only here in classical Latin.—*Mutus*: unknown. He is of the same class as the man who is attacked in *Epod.* 4.

24-25. The emphasis is on the second part of the sentence, *defodiet condetque*, and the first part is in sense a clause of comparison; 'as time has brought all this to light, so time will bury it all.'—

- 25 defodiet condetque nitentia. Cum bene notum  
porticus Agrippae et via te conspexerit Appi,  
ire tamen restat Numa quo devenit et Ancus.  
Si latus aut renes morbo tentantur acuto,  
quaere fugam morbi. Vis recte vivere: (quis non?)  
30 si virtus hoc una potest dare, fortis omissis  
hoc age deliciis. Virtutem verba putas et

**in apricum:** *i.e.*, into the light of day, into our range of vision. This particular expression for a thought which is more frequently expressed by birth and death or growth and decay is chosen in order to continue the figure of seeing, gazing upon, which is prominent in the earlier lines (*spectent* 5, *spectanda* 8, *species* 11, *vidit* 13, *oculis* 14, *suspice* 18).

25. **bene notum:** *i.e.*, when you win the fame you are seeking.

26. **porticus Agrippae:** a new portico opened in the year 25. Cf. also *Epist.* 1, 1, 71. — **via . . . Appi:** the same form (for *Appia via*) in *Epist.* 1, 18, 20. This was a favorite place for driving; cf. *Epod.* 4, 14, *Appiam mannis terit.*

28–68. ‘Since philosophy is, as I have proved, the only source of happiness, give up all else—money making, ambition, pleasure—and seek this.’ The thought is clear, but its connection with the earlier part of the Epistle is somewhat obscured by the detailed description of the three pursuits which are to be abandoned.

28. This line, with *quod* instead

of *si*, is repeated from *Sat.* 2, 3, 163; cf. *Epist.* 1, 1, 56. In this case there is no point in the repetition, which seems to be merely an accidental reminiscence.

29. **vis:** a condition in the form of a statement, in order to avoid the awkwardness of two conditions with one main clause, *hoc age*.

30. **virtus . . . una:** referring back to vs. 1. — **omissis:** this is the real verb, corresponding to *quaere fugam*; ‘if you have a disease of the body, go to a doctor and be cured; if you have a disease of the soul and wish to be freed from it (*recte vivere*), then give up the follies that have caused it and—if my argument has convinced you that philosophy is the only cure—go to philosophy.’

31. The opposite of vs. 30; ‘but if you think that philosophy is nonsense, then go your own way.’ The rest of the Epistle is an amplification of this thought, expressed in words which reveal the unsoundness of the hope of finding happiness in such ways and therefore, by indirection, re-

- lucum ligna: cave ne portus occupet alter,  
 ne Cibyratice, ne Bithyna negotia perdas;  
 mille talenta rotundentur, totidem altera, porro **et**  
 35 tertia succedant, et quae pars quadret acervum.  
 Scilicet uxorem cum dote fidemque et amicos  
 et genus et formam regina pecunia donat,  
 ac bene nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.  
 Mancipiis locuples eget aeris Cappadocum rex:  
 40 ne fueris hic tu. Chlamydes Lucullus, ut aiunt,  
 si posset centum scaenae praebere rogatus,  
 'Qui possum tot?' ait, 'Tamen et quaeram et quod  
 habebo

mind the reader of the doctrine of vs. 1 and vs. 30.

32. **lucum ligna**: *i.e.*, to think that philosophy is mere words is as foolish as to think that a sacred grove is nothing but so much firewood. — **portus occupet**: not as in *Carm.* 1, 14, 2, where the port is a harbor of refuge from storm; the *portus* is here the harbor where the cargo is to be sold and the first comer will get the best prices.

33. **Cibyratice**: business with Cibra, a city in Asia Minor. — **negotia**: *ventures* was the word used in the China trade.

35. **quadret**: 'make the pile four-square,' add still a fourth thousand talents.

36. **scilicet**: *of course, you know*, often as here with irony. — **fidem**: *credit*, in the business sense.

37. **regina**: another ironical suggestion of the absurdity of this ideal.

38. **Suadela**: goddess of persuasive eloquence. — The terms used here are in part the same used in stating the Stoic Paradox that the *sapiens* possesses everything; cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 123 ff.

39. **mancipiis**: with *locuples*. — **aeris**: after *eget*. — Cappadocia furnished many slaves to Roman masters, but the kingdom was hard pressed for cash (*aeris*). Of the previous king Cicero says, 'nullum aerarium, nullum vectigal habet . . . nihil illo regno spoliatus, nihil rege egentius,' *ad Att.* 6, 1, 3.

40. **ne fueris**: *i.e.* 'do not be content unless you have wealth of every kind,' of course ironically. — The following story of Lucullus is repeated also by Plutarch, *Lucull.* 39, with a reference to Horace's comment in vs. 45.

41. **scaenae**: the cloaks were needed to dress a large chorus, who were to appear in rich dress.

mittam.' Post paullo scribit sibi milia quinque  
esse domi chlamydum ; partem vel tolleret omnes.

- 45 Exilis domus est, ubi non et multa supersunt  
et dominum fallunt et prosunt furibus. Ergo  
si res sola potest facere et servare beatum,  
hoc primus repetas opus, hoc postremus omittas.  
Si fortunatum species et gratia praestat,  
50 mercemur servum qui dictet nomina, laevum  
qui fodicet latus et cogat trans pondera dextram  
porrigere. 'Hic multum in Fabia valet, ille Velina ;  
cui libet hic fasces dabit, eripietque curule

43. **milia quinque**: Plutarch, with the sobriety of a biographer, puts the number at two hundred.

44. **tolleret**: the subject is the praetor who was giving the games ; in the note it would be *tolle*.

45-46. The application of the story. 'Don't be like the king of Cappadocia, but be really rich, like Lucullus, who had more things than he could possibly use — mere plunder for thieves.'

47. A reminder of vss. 1-2 and therefore of the ironical meaning of all this exhortation.

48. This also repeats vs. 20, in a slightly different form, and the repetition has the effect of saying, 'we are back where we were before.'

49-55. 'If office holding is your ideal, then use the unpleasant methods of the politician.'

49. **species**: the state and splendor of high office. — **gratia**: the personal influence that wins votes.

50. **servum**: the *nomenclator*,

whose business it was to know the names of citizens and remind his master, so that the master might greet them as if he remembered them.

51. **fodicet**: a colloquial word, *nudge*. — The rest of the verse contains an allusion to some action of a candidate soliciting votes, some act which would not be agreeable to a self-respecting man, but which his desire to propitiate a voter compels him to perform. But there are many details of Roman life about which we know so little that an allusion to them must remain unintelligible. It is not worth while to repeat here the attempts that have been made by scholars to explain *trans pondera*; the data are not sufficient to make the allusion clear.

52. **Fabia, Velina**: sc. *tribu*. These are voting districts, frequently mentioned.

53-55. **curule** . . . **ebur**: the

cui volet importunus ebur.' 'Frater,' 'pater'  
adde;

- 55 ut cuique est aetas, ita quemque facetus adopta.  
Si, bene qui cenat, bene vivit, lucet; eamus  
quo ducet gula: piscemur, venemur, ut olim  
Gargilius, qui mane plagas, venabula, servos,  
differtum transire forum populumque iubebat,  
60 unus ut e multis populo spectante referret  
emptum mulus aprum; crudi tumidique lavemur,  
quid deceat, quid non, obliti, Caerite cera

ivory chair of the curule magistrate.  
— **importunus**: 'when he is in a bad temper.' It is an added humiliation that the candidate must keep surly voters in good humor. — **pater**: Horace represents himself as addressing Trebatius as *pater optime*, *Sat.* 2, 1, 12. — **facetus**: not *jokingly* but *with ready speech*, suiting the address to the age of the voter.

56-64. 'If the pleasures of the table seem to you the highest good,' then follow where appetite leads.' The new thought is introduced abruptly, as in vs. 49.

56. **lucet**: 'it's morning' and the time to provide food for the day's feasting.

57. **piscemur, venemur**: not literally, but in the market; 'let us look for fish and game as earnestly as Gargilius did.'

58-60. The comparison is carried out into ludicrous details which have nothing to do with the argument. Cf. the allusion to

Ruso, *Sat.* 1, 3, 86 ff. — **differtum** . . . **populumque**: for *differtum populo*. The repetition in the next line is intentional. — **ut**: grammatically a clause of purpose, but in content an expression of the very small results of so much preparation. — **emptum**: this joke is still in circulation.

61. **crudi**: so in *Sat.* 1, 5, 49, of one who began to take exercise too soon after a meal. The three words go together; 'let us go at once from a gluttonous meal to a hot bath, from one indulgence to another.' The verb *lavemur* resumes the construction of *piscemur, venemur*, vs. 57, after the long comparison, *ut . . . aprum*.

62. **Caerite cera**: the wax-covered tablets on which were the lists of citizens who had not the right of suffrage. These were called *tabulae Caeritum*, and *Caerite cera digni* therefore means 'unworthy of the rights of Roman citizens.'



digni, remigium vitiosum Ithacensis Vlixī,  
cui potior patria fuit interdicta voluptas.

- 65 Si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore iocisque  
nil est iucundum, vivas in amore iocisque.  
Vive, vale: si quid novisti rectius istis,  
candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

63. remigium: collective, for *remiges, the crew*. The words contain, of course, a condensed comparison.

65-66. A fourth object in life, which, however, is regarded as scarcely distinct from the one which has just preceded and is therefore barely mentioned. Cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, where the main heads of the sermon are given in vss. 78-79 and amorousness is treated as a subdivision of *luxuria*, 247-280. —

**Mimnermus**: a writer of erotic elegy, a contemporary of Solon.

67-68. *vive, vale*: so *Sat.* 2, 5, 110. — *istis*: 'than these ideas of yours,' with the proper force of the second person. Cf. the words which introduce these ideals of life, *virtutem verba putas*. — *his*: 'my views,' as set forth in the first part, 1-27.

The abruptness of the close is characteristic of Horace, *e.g.*, *Sat.* 1, 1; 1, 2; 1, 3.

## 7

In spite of the personal allusions in the early part of this Epistle, it is impossible to determine with certainty the year in which it was written. Nor is it clear where Horace was when he wrote; he was in the country, and it may be inferred from the fact that there is no reference to his Sabine farm that he was at some other place in the mountains. Maecenas was in Rome.

'I have changed my mind, my dear Maecenas, and am not coming to Rome now nor even soon. I shall go down to the coast for the winter and shall not see you, my dear friend, until spring comes. My debt to you is great, but I count with confidence upon your consideration for me; I am not as young as I was once. Perhaps my refusal to return seems to you ungrateful; you are reminded, perhaps, of the fable of the fox in the corn bin. I admit the justice of the application and stand ready to submit. I can return your gifts without any change in the esteem I have long felt for you. Telemachus, you remember, returned the gift of Menelaus, saying that he could not use horses and a chariot

on his little island. So it is with me ; Rome is too big for me, and I am too small for Rome. Let me tell you a story. Philippus, the lawyer, once made acquaintance with a small tradesman and, partly for his own amusement, induced him to give up his life in Rome and turn farmer. The natural result followed ; the amateur farmer came to utter grief. As he looked at the ruins, he saw his mistake, galloped back to Philippus and begged to be allowed to return the gift. The moral is that every man must go his own way.'

This Epistle was written late in August or early in September. Horace had left Rome in midsummer, promising to return after a short stay in the mountains. He had, however, stayed for a month, and Maecenas, detained in Rome, had written him, asking him to come back and reminding him of his promise and probably of his obligation to his benefactor. To that letter Horace replies in this Epistle. The personal tone is strong in vss. 1-13, 24-28, 34-39, but the greater part of the Epistle consists of the four stories which are woven into it, the story of the Calabrian, vss. 14-19, of the fox, 29-33, of Telemachus, 40-43, and the long story of Philippus, 46-95. The effect of the introduction of this large amount of impersonal material is to make the Epistle read like a Satire. And a comparison with *Sat.* 1, 6 and *Sat.* 2, 6 will show that Horace has here, in treating a serious subject, returned in part to his earlier form. The fusion, however, of the two elements is carried out with great skill, and this Epistle is justly regarded as one of the poet's most finished productions.

But the personal aspect of it is even more interesting than the artistic form. The position was one of real difficulty. It is handled with admirable independence and candor and with most friendly consideration for the feelings of Maecenas. Undoubtedly, as the fact of publication shows, it was received by him with appreciation and with generous cordiality.

Quinque dies tibi pollicitus me rure futurum  
Sextilem totum mendax desideror. Atqui  
si me vivere vis sanum recteque valentem,

1. **quinque dies**: a 'round' number, as in *Sat.* 1, 3, 16; 2, 3, 289, and often; 'a week.'

2. **Sextilem**: not at this time named after Augustus. — **mendax**:

the blunt confession is meant to take off the edge of Maecenas' annoyance.

3. **sanum . . . valentem**: such expressions are frequently doubled,

- quam mihi das aegro, dabis aegrotare timenti,  
 5 Maecenas, veniam, dum ficus prima calorque  
 dissignatorem decorat lictoribus atris ;  
 dum pueris omnis pater et matercula pallet,  
 officiosaque sedulitas et opella forensis  
 adducit febris et testamenta resignat.  
 10 Quodsi bruma nives Albanis illinet agris,  
 ad mare descendet vates tuus et sibi parcet  
 contractusque leget ; te, dulcis amice, reviset

without any real difference in the meaning of the two words ; so *valere et vivere, vive vale*.

4. *aegrotare timenti* : the next lines amplify this thought. — Verbs of fearing are occasionally followed by an infin. ; Lane, 1959.

5. *ficus prima* : *i.e.*, late August, the time when the first figs ripen, but with reference also to the belief that early-ripening figs were injurious to the health.

6. *dissignatorem* : *the undertaker* ; he directed the funeral procession, with attendants (*lictiores*) dressed in black to clear the way.

7. *dum* : the thought is better expressed in Engl. by an independent sentence ; ‘and meanwhile,’ ‘and all the time.’ — *matercula* : cf. *nutricula*, *Epist.* 1, 4, 8.

8. *officiosa* : not with reference to public duties, but to those social obligations which Horace himself found so oppressive when he was in the city ; cf. *Sat.* 2, 6, 23 ff. — *opella* : the diminutive

form expresses the writer’s feeling of the pettiness of all such things.

9. *resignat* : *i.e.*, brings fatal disease and therefore causes the opening of wills.

10. *quodsi* : temporal, not conditional ; *but when*. This is regularly the meaning of *si* when the fact stated in the *si*-clause is certain to occur.

11. *ad mare* : to some place on the southern seacoast, perhaps not yet definitely selected, or perhaps Tarentum ; cf. vs. 45. — *vates* : this old word had fallen into disuse, but was restored to good usage by the Augustan writers as a substitute for the Greek *poeta*. Here it is probably a quotation from the letter of Maecenas, to which this is a reply.

12. *contractus* : ‘huddled together,’ as if drawn up by the chill of cold. — *leget* : *read*. The expression here is rather brief, but is made easier by the plainer phrase *sibi parcet*.

- cum zephyris, si concedes, et hirundine prima.  
 Non quo more piris vesci Calaber iubet hospes,  
 15 tu me fecisti locupletem. 'Vescere sodes!'  
 'Iam satis est.' 'At tu quantum vis tolle.' 'Benigne.'  
 'Non invisa feres pueris munuscula parvis.'  
 'Tam teneor dono quam si dimittar onustus.'  
 'Vt libet; haec porcis hodie comedenda relinques.'  
 20 Prodigus et stultus donat quae spernit et odit;  
 haec seges ingratos tulit et feret omnibus annis.  
 Vir bonus et sapiens dignis ait esse paratus;  
 nec tamen ignorat, quid distent aera lupinis.

13. *si concedes*: if you will permit. This friendly formula, like the address *dulcis amice*, is inserted with real delicacy of feeling into the sentence which conveys to Maecenas the full extent of Horace's purpose, to remain away from Rome not only through August and September, but all winter, until the signs of spring come. — *hirundine*: the poetic herald of spring.

14. There is both firmness and delicacy in the immediate turning to the story, without argument or excuse. — *Calaber*: merely to make the story seem real, as names are often used in the Satires, e.g., I, 1, 6; 20, 58.

15. *locupletem*: it is only in this connection, where it emphasizes his gratitude, that Horace speaks of himself as rich.

16. *benigne*: a courteous formula of refusal; so *tam gratia*. Used again in vs. 62.

20. *quae spernit*: i.e., things that

are of no value to him, *porcis comedenda*. The thought is expressed with a slight difference by Seneca, *Epist.* 120, 8, *multi sunt, qui non donant, sed proiciunt*; cf. the whole section.

21. *seges*: the use of this figure is suggested by a proverb like that quoted by Cicero, *de Or.* 64, 261, *ut sementem feceris, ita metes*.

22. *vir bonus*: the adversative connection is merely suggested, as often in Horace, by the contrast between these words and *prodigus et stultus*. — *dignis . . . paratus*: 'is ready to give to men of worthy character.' Cf. the similar thought in *Sat.* I, 6, 51, *praesertim cautus dignos adsumere*, used also of Maecenas, as if that was a principle definitely laid down by him in bestowing his friendship. Cf. also *Sat.* I, 6, 7 f.

23. *lupinis*: *lupines*, a kind of bean used as stage money; Plaut. *Poen.* 597. — This line amplifies

Dignum praestabo me etiam pro laude merentis.

- 25 Quodsi me noles usquam discedere, reddes  
forte latus, nigros angusta fronte capillos ;  
reddes dulce loqui, reddes ridere decorum et  
inter vina fugam Cinarae maerere protervae.  
Forte per angustam tenuis vulpecula rimam  
30 repserat in cumeram frumenti, pastaque rursus  
ire foras pleno tendebat corpore frustra.  
Cui mustela procul : ' Si vis,' ait, ' effugere istinc,  
macra cavum repetes artum, quem macra subisti.'  
Hac ego si compellor imagine, cuncta resigno ;

*sapiens*; he knows the value of his gifts.

24. *dignum*: as you, *bonus et sapiens*, are ready for the worthy, so I am ready to show myself *dignum* by my gratitude, *pro laude merentis*.

25-36. 'I am indeed grateful, but I must have my freedom too; I am no longer young, and you must not expect from me a constant attendance. If you expected that, I should have to remind you of the story of the fox in the corn bin and act according to the moral of the tale.'

26. *latus*: *lungs, chest*; but we do not know that Horace suffered from any disease of the kind this would suggest. — *nigros*: he says that he was *praecanus*, 'gray before his time'; *Epist.* I, 20, 24. — *angusta fronte*: *i.e.*, not yet beginning to get bald.

27-28. 'Give me again the power to enjoy the pleasures of youth.' The details are not meant to be

personal, but general; 'the pleasant voice and laughter of youth.'

— *Cinarae*: cf. *Carm.* 4, 1, 3-4, *non sum qualis eram bonae | sub regno Cinarae*. She is the only one of the girls mentioned by Horace who seems to have had a real existence.

29. *vulpecula*: the fox is the hero of many of the Fables, as of many of the tales of Uncle Remus. In such stories almost no attention is paid to the real habits of the animals; indeed, it is common to find that in different versions the animals are changed about freely, as, for example, this fable is also told with a mouse for the chief actor.

30. *cumeram*: *bin or jar* for storing grain; cf. *Sat.* I, 1, 53.

32. *procul*: *at a little distance*; this is a common meaning; cf. *Sat.* 2, 6, 105.

34. *ego*: emphatic. — *compellor*: not as in *Sat.* 2, 3, 297, but in the legal sense; 'I too, if I

- 35 nec somnum plebis laudo satur altilium, nec  
otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto.  
Saepe verecundum laudasti, rexque paterque  
audisti coram, nec verbo parcius absens;  
inspice si possum donata reponere laetus.
- 40 Haud male Telemachus, proles patientis Vlixi:  
'Non est aptus equis Ithace locus, ut neque planis  
porrectus spatii nec multae prodigus herbae;  
Atride, magis apta tibi tua dona relinquam.'  
Parvum parva decent: mihi iam non regia Roma,
- 45 sed vacuum Tibur placet aut imbelles Tarentum.

am summoned on the analogy of this fable, . . .' — **resigno**: also formal; *restore*, 'transfer back to you under my hand and seal.' The word is used in a similar context in *Carm.* 3, 29, 54, *resigno quae [Fortuna] dedit*.

35–36. **altilium**: with *satur*; it means, properly, fowls fattened for eating, then any specially fine food. The meaning is, 'I am in earnest in saying *cuncta resigno*; I am not so inconsistent as to be praising a simple life while I live in luxury; I do not wish to give up my freedom for all the wealth of Arabia.'

37. **verecundum**: *for my modesty*; cf. *Carm.* 2, 18, 12, *nec potentem amicum largiora flagito, satis beatus unicus Sabinis*. — **rex**: = *patronus*. — **pater**: Maecenas was only a few years older than Horace, but the difference was enough to justify the use of this term of respect.

38. **audisti**: *you have been*

*called*; so *Sat.* 2, 6, 20 and often. — **absens**: with no reference to his separation at this time, but in contrast to *coram*.

39. 'Try me and see whether I cannot do as I say, and without repining, too.' *laetus* at the end of the line is emphatic.

40–43. Menelaus presented horses and a chariot to Telemachus as an expression of friendship for him and his father. The reply of Telemachus, of which vss. 41–43 are a paraphrase, is in *Odys.* 4, 601 ff. — **patientis**: an ornamental epithet, translating the Homeric πολύτλας.

44–45. **parvum parva**: *i.e.*, 'so it is with me; I can accept only gifts that are suitable to my tastes, not gifts that require a change of life.' — **regia**, **vacuum**, **imbelles**: *royal, quiet, peaceful*; the adjectives are carefully chosen to carry on the modesty of *parvum*. — There is a change of emphasis



Strenuus et fortis causisque Philippus agendis  
 clarus, ab officiis octavam circiter horam  
 dum redit atque foro nimium distare Carinas  
 iam grandis natu queritur, conspexit, ut aiunt,  
 50 adrasum quendam vacua tonsoris in umbra  
 cultello proprios purgantem leniter unguēs.  
 'Demetri,' (puer hic non laeve iussa Philippi  
 accipiebat,) 'abi; quaere et refer, unde domo, quis,

at this point. Hitherto the stress has been upon Horace's inability to stay in Rome, upon the sincerity of his gratitude to Maecenas, and upon his unwillingness to be bound by the gifts he had received. From vs. 44 the emphasis is rather upon his unfitness for such a life as he must lead if he were to be constantly in attendance upon his patron.

46-95. The story of Philippus and Volteius Mena is a companion piece to the story of the Town Mouse and the Country Mouse, which enforces the moral of *Sat.* 2, 6.

46. **Philippus**: one of the famous Roman orators, consul in the year 91. The description of him in *Cic. de Orat.* 3, 1, 4, *et vehementi et diserto et imprimis forti ad resistendum*, agrees with the description given here.

47. **octavam**: the courts opened early, by nine o'clock (*Sat.* 1, 9, 35 f.), and all public business was over early in the afternoon. This bit of detail, with others below (vss. 50 f., 71, 76, 80, 90), is in-

tended to give vividness to this traditional (*ut aiunt*, vs. 49) tale.

48. **Carinas**: a part of the city in which it is known that various persons of importance (Pompey, Q. Cicero) resided. It was not, in fact, far from the Forum, but it seemed so to an old man, tired with his day's work.

50. **adrasum**: *i.e.*, he was already shaved and therefore at leisure. — **vacua . . . in umbra**: the barber's shop was a booth, open toward the street, at this time empty and, in contrast with the hot street, cool and shaded.

51. **proprius**: this was sometimes done by the barber; the only reason for representing the man as doing it for himself is that the leisurely (*leniter*) occupation adds to the picture of ease and independence, which attracted the attention of the tired old lawyer as he passed.

52. **puer hic**: the *pedisequus* who accompanied any respectable man in the streets, *e.g.*, Horace himself (*Sat.* 1, 9, 10).

53. **unde domo**: this colloquial

- cuius fortunae, quo sit patre quove patrono.’
- 55 It, rexit et narrat Volteium nomine Menam,  
praeconem, tenui censu, sine crimine, notum  
et properare loco et cessare, et quaerere et uti,  
gaudentem parvisque sodalibus et lare certo  
et ludis et post decisa negotia campo.
- 60 ‘Scitari libet ex ipso quodcumque refert; dic  
ad cenam veniat.’ Non sane credere Mena;  
mirari secum tacitus. Quid multa? ‘Benigne,’  
respondet. ‘Negat ille mihi?’ ‘Negat improbus,  
et te

doubling of expression is frequent in Plaut. and Ter., and *unde* is often used for *a quo* (*Sat.* 1, 6, 12) or *a qua*.

54. *patrono*: *i.e.*, if, in answer to the question *cuius fortunae*, he should say that he was a freedman.

55. *Volteium . . . Menam*: the names show that he was a Greek, freedman of some patron named Volteius.

56–59. These details answer the question *cuius fortunae*. — *praeconem*: an auctioneer, but in a small way, cf. vs. 65. This was one of the occupations which Horace mentions (*Sat.* 1, 6, 86) as a possible one for himself, had matters not turned out otherwise. — *loco*: ‘in the proper place,’ as occasion might demand; cf. the well-known *dulce est desipere in loco* (*Carm.* 4, 12, 28). The two verbs are further defined by *et quaerere et uti* and form a combination of quali-

ties which Horace often recommends to the man of business. — *lare certo*: *i.e.*, a respectable householder. — *post . . . negotia*: further evidence of good character; he did not neglect his business for amusements. — The description gives an interesting picture of a kind of person who does not often find a place in Latin literature.

61–62. The historical infinitives, the short sentences, and the phrase *quid multa?* are characteristic of the story teller, hurrying over unimportant details. — *benigne*: cf. vs. 16.

63. *negat ille*: ‘does he refuse me?’ A repudiating exclamation. [There are many instances of this kind of exclamation in Plaut. with the indic., but none parallel to this with the subjv. *neget* and answered by an indic. *negat*.] — *improbus*: the slave shares his master’s indignation.

- neglegit aut horret.' Volteium mane Philippus  
 65 vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello  
 occupat et salvere iubet prior. Ille Philippo  
 excusare laborem et mercennaria vincla,  
 quod non mane domum venisset, denique quod non  
 providisset eum. 'Sic ignovisse putato  
 70 me tibi, si cenas hodie mecum.' 'Vt libet.' 'Ergo  
 post nonam venies: nunc i, rem strenuus auge.'  
 Vt ventum ad cenam est, dicenda tacenda locutus  
 tandem dormitum dimittitur. Hic ubi saepe  
 occultum visus decurrere piscis ad hamum,  
 75 mane cliens et iam certus conviva, iubetur

64. *mane*: *i.e.*, the next morning. The story again hurries over details.

65. *tunicato*: the toga was an inconvenient dress for persons engaged in active work, and was, therefore, worn by the common people only on formal occasions. — *popello*: the diminutive carries on the suggestion of disparagement in *tunicato*. — *scruta*: *trash*, second-hand stuff; a rather rare Lucilian word.

66. *occupat*: 'gets ahead of him,' explained in the following words, *salvere iubet prior*. Cf. *Sat.* I, 9, 6.

67. *laborem*: an accus. of the 'inner object,' the 'object effected'; 'he gives his occupation as his excuse.'

68. *mane*: for the morning *salutatio*; he was aware that politeness required that he should acknowledge the invitation, though

he had declined it, by the Roman equivalent for a dinner call.

68-69. *non providisset*: this is implied by vs. 66. — *sic*: correlative with *si*; *on this condition, that . . .*

70. *ut libet*: '*as you please*'; a formula of assent (cf. vs. 19), which would take its tone from the manner of the speaker.

72. *dicenda tacenda*: the corresponding phrases (*ῥητὰ ἀπηρητα*, *fanda nefanda, honesta inhonesta*) usually imply blame, but here it is merely that he was talkative, spoke of whatever came into his head; *i.e.*, he was at his ease with his patron, as he had been in the barber's shop.

73. *hic*: nomin. masc.; 'the man whom I have described'; the story now passes on to the climax.

75. *mane*: now accustomed to the *salutatio*, which he had at first neglected. — *certus conviva*: =

- rura suburbana indictis comes ire Latinis.  
 Impositus mannis arvum caelumque Sabinum  
 non cessat laudare. Videt ridetque Philippus,  
 et sibi dum requiem, dum risus undique quaerit,  
 80 dum septem donat sestertia, mutua septem  
 promittit, persuadet uti mercetur agellum.  
 Mercatur. Ne te longis ambagibus, ultra  
 quam satis est, morer, ex nitido fit rusticus atque  
 sulcos et vineta crepat mera, praeparat ulmos,  
 85 immoritur studiis et amore senescit habendi.  
Verum ubi oves furto, morbo periere capellae,  
 spem mentita seges, bos est enectus arando,

*convictor*, a regular guest, as Horace was a guest at the table of Maecenas, *Sat.* 1, 6, 47.

76. *indictis . . . Latinis*: the great Latin festival in April or May, when all public business was suspended.

77. *impositus mannis*: 'in a carriage.' In Homer ἵπποι is used for the chariot, and the same usage is found occasionally in Latin. *manni* were Gallic ponies used for driving, *Epod.* 4, 14.

79-81. *requiem, risus*: *relief* from the burden of work, which he expected to get from the *amusement* afforded by the experiment. — *dum . . . dum . . . dum*: the second clause, *dum donat*, is quite different in sense from the first, *dum quaerit*; 'seeking relief and amusement, by giving . . . and lending . . .'; the use of the same construction for the two dif-

ferent thoughts is intended to give the effect of hurrying the story forward.

83. *nitido*: as he had been when he was sitting in the barber's booth.

85. *immoritur, senescit*: with intentional exaggeration of the severity of a farmer's labor. Cf. also the description of his former life in vs. 57.

86-87. These details also are intentionally exaggerated and are mentioned as if they were the ordinary incidents of a farmer's life, in order to make the point of the story more effective. They are, of course, in humorous contrast to the idyllic pictures of country life which Horace had so often drawn, e.g., in *Epod.* 2. — *periere*: *are lost*. — *mentita*: this figure is often used; cf. *Carm.* 3, 1, 30, and the opposite in *Carm.* 3, 16, 30, *segetis certa fides*.

offensus damnis media de nocte caballum  
arripit iratusque Philippi tendit ad aedes.

- 90 Quem simul adspexit scabrum intonsumque Philippus,  
'Durus,' ait, 'Voltei, nimis attentusque videris  
esse mihi.' 'Pol me miserum, patrone, vocares,  
si velles,' inquit, 'verum mihi ponere nomen.  
Quod te per genium dextramque deosque Penates  
95 obsecro et obtestor, vitae me redde priori.'  
Qui semel adspexit, quantum dimissa petitis  
praestent, mature redeat repetatque relicta.  
Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est.

88. *media de nocte*: in order to get to town in time for the *salutatio*. And the early hour expresses also his hasty determination. Cf. *arripit* and *iratus*.

90. *scabrum intonsumque*: again in contrast to the first picture, vs. 50, *adrasum*.

91. *durus . . . attentus*: so the country mouse, *Sat.* 2, 6, 82, *asper et attentus quaesitis*.

92. *miserum*: i.e., '*durus attentusque* do not half express my condition; you must call me *miserum*.'

94. *quod*: *wherefore*; formulaic in such sentences as this, with *oro*, *obsecro*; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2, 141,

Ter. *Andr.* 289. — *per genium*: the guardian spirit which attends each man through life. A modern parallel would be 'by your own soul.' — *dextram*: *your honor*.

96-97. This is at bottom the same moral as that of *Sat.* 2, 6, and the same situation as that depicted in *Sat.* 1, 1, 4 ff.

98. *modulo*: the general word, followed by the more specific, *pede*, which at the same time suggests that each man has his own natural standard in himself. — *verum*: *right*. — As at the end of *Sat.* 2, 6, the personal application of the universal rule is left to the reader.

## 8

This Epistle was written, either in the summer of the year 20 or in the next summer, to a young friend who was in the suite of Tiberius on his mission to the East. It goes, therefore, with *Epist.* 1, 3, in which also Celsus is mentioned.

'My greetings, O Muse, to Celsus! If he asks of me, tell him that I

am well in body, but not in spirit, that I am idle and hesitating and unsatisfied with myself. Ask, too, how it is with him and give him from me a friendly warning not to misuse his fortunes.'

In this note the personal and the artistic motives are successfully combined. Both must be kept in mind in the interpretation of it. The fact that it was deliberately selected for publication is a warning against taking the personal element too seriously; doubtless the bit of advice at the end had a real meaning, but neither that nor the expressions of discontent which skillfully pave the way for the advice should be over-interpreted. The warning is a very general one, such as might be addressed to many young men, and the sense of dissatisfaction with himself and his work is more than once expressed by Horace.

Celso gaudere et bene rem gerere Albinovano  
Musa rogata refer, comiti scribaeque Neronis.  
Si quaeret quid agam, dic multa et pulchra minantem  
vivere nec recte nec suaviter; haud quia grando  
5 contuderit vitis oleamque momorderit aestus,

1. Celso: mentioned, with a message, in the letter to Florus, *Epist.* 1, 3, 15 ff. — The change in the order of the names is common, e.g., *Epist.* 1, 2, 1. — *gaudere, gerere*: i.e., χαίρειν καὶ εὖ πράττειν. The phrase is treated as a whole and put after *refer* ('take my greeting and good wishes'), so that the need of the ordinary *iube* is not felt.

2. Musa: as if she were a letter carrier, who was to deliver the message orally. In form, the whole letter is therefore addressed to the Muse. — *rogata*: by Horace; *at my request*. — *scribae*: *private secretary*, an office of trust and honor. Augustus had asked Horace to be his secretary. — *Neronis*: Tiberius.

3. *minantem*: cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 9, *atqui voltus erat multa et praeclara minantis*, used, as here, of one who is trying to work, but not succeeding. Horace felt at times very strongly the self-reproach of a man who was conscious of yielding to the temptation to postpone his work.

4. *nec recte*: i.e., not as his sense of right, his philosophy, requires of him. — *nec suaviter*: a consequence of *nec recte*; 'and therefore not happily.'

5-6. These are merely typical of external discomforts and misfortunes. They are referred to or suggested in other places as peril: to which the wealthy are exposed — *longinquis*: i.e., in the distant mountain pastures to which cattle



- nec quia longinquis armentum aegrotet in agris;  
 sed quia mente minus validus quam corpore toto  
 nil audire velim, nil discere, quod levet aegrum;  
 fidis offendar medicis, irascar amicis,  
 10 cur me funesto properent arcere veterno;  
 quae nocuere sequar, fugiam quae profore credam;  
 Romae Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Romam.  
 Post haec ut valeat, quo pacto rem gerat et se,  
 ut placeat iuveni percontare utque cohorti.  
 15 Si dicet recte, primum gaudere, subinde

were driven in the heat of summer;  
 cf. *Carm.* 1, 31, 5.

7. minus . . . quam: the comparison is aside from the main thought and might have been put into a parenthesis; 'because in weariness of mind — my bodily health is good enough — I am unwilling. . . .' The words *corpore toto* of course serve as an assurance to Celsus.

8. 'I am unwilling (cannot bring myself) to listen to the teachings of philosophy.' Almost a repetition of *Epist.* 1, 1, 48.

9. medicis: the philosophers, whose writings would minister to a mind diseased.

10. cur: an indirect question used instead of a causal clause; cf. *Carm.* 1, 33, 3, *ne doleas . . . neu . . . decantes elegos, cur tibi iunior . . . praeniteat*. It is the causal meaning of *cur* that makes the substitution possible. — veterno: the many references to lethargy as a disease seem to

point to something more definite than the nervous breakdown which is the modern counterpart. The abl. is after *arcere*, as after *prohibere*, *Epist.* 1, 1, 31.

11. sequar: after *quia*, like *offendar*, *irascar*. — The tenses of *nocuere* and *profore* are significant and should not be neglected in translation. — For the general sense cf. Ovid's phrase (*Met.* 7, 21), *video meliora proboque; deteriora sequor*.

12. ventosus: *fickle as the wind*. Cf. the same reproach, put into the mouth of his slave, in *Sat.* 2, 7, 28, *Romae rus optas; absentem rusticus urbem tollis ad astra levis (= ventosus)*.

14. iuveni: Tiberius, who was at this time about twenty-two years old. — percontare: imperative, addressed to the Muse as messenger. — cohorti: especially the young men mentioned in *Epist.* 1, 3.

15 gaudere: grammatically de-

praeceptum auriculis hoc instillare memento :  
ut tu fortunam, sic nos te, Celse, feremus.

pendent upon *memento*; 'remember to say *gaudeo*, as a polite messenger should.'

17. The friendly little admonition to self-control in prosperity is all the more friendly and the

less likely to give offense because of the confessions of weakness which form the body of the letter and because of the lightness of tone in vss. 15-16.

## 9

It is altogether probable, though it is not definitely stated, that this Epistle was written in the year 20, when Tiberius was making preparations for his trip into Asia Minor. Of the Septimius whom the letter introduces nothing is known with certainty; but one of the Odes (*Carm.* 2, 6) is addressed to a Septimius, and a man of this name is mentioned in a letter of Augustus to Horace, quoted in the *Vita* of Suetonius.

Some other letters of introduction have come down to us (*Cic. ad Fam.* 2, 14; 7, 5; Pliny, 4, 4), but none so skillful and so charming as this. Tiberius, even as a young man, was both scornful and suspicious of the attentions paid to him on account of his relation to Augustus, but he was not incapable of perceiving the mingled frankness and deference of such a letter as this. And he was also a lover of literature, to whom the delicate art of expression and thought would appeal strongly. The publication of the Epistle is evidence that it was successful.

Septimius, *Claudi*, nimirum intellegit unus,  
quanti me facias: nam cum rogat et prece cogit,  
scilicet ut tibi se laudare et tradere coner,

1. *Claudi*: more formal than *Nero*. — *nimirum*: *no doubt*, with a little touch of irony. In this compound *ni* has no conditional force, but is the old negative, a form of *ne*. — *unus*: *i.e.*, 'he and he alone.'

3. *scilicet*: continuing the ironical tone; to be taken with the *ut*-

clause, as in *Sat.* 2, 3, 185; 2, 3, 240; 2, 6, 58; *Epist.* 1, 15, 36; 1, 18, 16; 1, 20, 2; 2, 2, 44. It is not, as is commonly said, a compound of *scire* and *licet*, but a paratactic combination of the impv. *sci* w'th *licet*. So *vide-licet*. — *tradere*: *introduce*, as in *Sat.* 1, 9, 47.

- dignum mente domoque legentis honesta Neronis,  
 5 munere cum fungi propioris censet amici;  
 quid possim videt ac novit me valdius ipso.  
 Multa quidem dixi, cur excusatus abirem;  
 sed timui, mea ne finxisse minora putarer,  
 dissimulator opis propriae, mihi commodus uni.  
 10 Sic ego maioris fugiens opprobria culpae  
 frontis ad urbanae descendi praemia. Quodsi  
 depositum laudas ob amici iussa pudorem,  
 scribe tui gregis hunc et fortem crede bonumque.

4. legentis: *gathering about him*, with special reference to his Eastern journey. — honesta: the neuter is more general than *honestos* would have been. — Neronis: *i.e.*, of one who bears an honorable name. With the rise of Tiberius into prominence through his mother's marriage to Augustus there was an inclination to magnify the past of his family, which had not, in fact, been especially prominent in Roman history. Cf. *Carm.* 4, 4, 28 and 37 ff.

5. munere fungi: *i.e.*, 'That I am in the position of an intimate friend'; the tense is significant. — cum: here and in vs. 2 in the explicative use, not temporal.

6. valdius: stronger than *melius*; 'puts a higher estimate upon my powers.'

7. cur: cf. *Epist.* 1, 8, 10, note.

8-9. mea . . . minora: the rather vague expression is made more definite in the next line. — dissimulator: cf. *Sat.* 1, 10, 13 f., *parcen-*

*tis viribus atque extenuantis eas consulto*. — mihi . . . uni: *i.e.*, 'thinking only of my own convenience.'

11. frontis . . . praemia: 'desiring to avoid the reproach of selfishness, I have chosen to incur the reproach — and, if you choose, to receive the reward also — of putting on a bold front and asking a favor.' — urbanae: 'of a man of the world,' a city man, less modest than the rustic. — descendi: the other course would have shown a loftier virtue. — praemia: this is a suggestion of the hope that Tiberius may be inclined to grant the favor.

12. depositum . . . pudorem: the same in sense as *frontis urbanae*.

13. fortem . . . bonumque: the only words of praise of Septimius in the letter, and all the more effective because they are so simple.

## IO

There is no definite indication of the date of this Epistle ; it may have been written about the same time as *Epist.* 1, 7.

Fuscus Aristius is the friend who figures in a humorous way in *Sat.* 1, 9, 61 ff. and to whom the *Integer Vitae* (*Carm.* 1, 22) is addressed. He is named also in *Sat.* 1, 10, 83 in the list of friends whose approval Horace regards with satisfaction.

‘Greetings, my dear Fuscus, to the lover of town from the lover of the country. This is an old dispute between us, but I stand by my opinion ; country air and sleep and grass for me ! You are all wrong ; that life in town is enslaving you. Suit your life to your needs, as I mean to do, and be content. I am the picture of contentment at this moment, writing in the shade of that old shrine of Vacuna on my farm — or I should be content if only you were here.’

The thought of this epistle has been so often expressed by Horace that he can scarcely find novel form for it. But the fact that he was writing to a friend whose general attitude toward life was harmonious with his own gives to the familiar thoughts an easy simplicity and an air of true contentment.

Urbis amatorem Fuscum salvere iubemus  
 ruris amatores. Hac in re scilicet una  
 multum dissimiles, at cetera paene gemelli,  
 fraternis animis (quicquid negat alter, et alter)  
 5 adnuimus pariter vetuli notique columbi.  
 Tu nidum servas ; ego laudo ruris amoeni  
 rivos et musco circumlita saxa nemusque.

1. *salvere iubemus* : a common formula of greeting, which here gives a humorous formality to the opening phrase. The first person plural is often used in Latin, *e.g.*, in the letters of Cicero, for the singular, apparently without difference of meaning.

2. *ruris amatores* : the position in the line is intentional, to con-

trast with *urbis amatorem*. — *scilicet* : *you know*, without irony.

5. *adnuimus* : like two doves ‘billing and cooing.’ — *vetuli notique* : though these adjectives agree with *columbi*, they are meant to apply especially to Fuscus and Horace, whose friendship was intimate and of long standing.

7. *circumlita* : an unusual and

- Quid quaeris? Vivo et regno, simul ista reliqui,  
 quae vos ad caelum effertis rumore secundo.  
 10 utque sacerdotis fugitivus liba recuso;  
 pane egeo iam mellitis potiore placentis.  
 Vivere naturae si convenienter oportet  
 ponendaeque domo quaerenda est area primum,  
 novistine locum potiore rure beato?  
 15 Est ubi plus tepeant hiemes, ubi gratior aura  
 leniat et rabiem Canis et momenta Leonis,

poetic word, as if the moss were a color spread over the rock.

8. *quid quaeris?* a common phrase in Terence and in Cicero's letters, to cut short further details; lit., 'what do you ask (want further)?' 'in short,' 'what more need I say?' Such phrases are rather characteristic of Horace; cf. *ne te morer, quid multa? ne longum faciam.* — *vivo et regno:* with emphasis; 'I really live and am a king.' — *ista:* in the proper second person sense.

9. A free quotation of an epic phrase; Ennius, *Ann.* 260, *mox efferre domos populi rumore secundo*; Verg. *Aen.* 8, 90, closes the line with *rumore secundo*; it is in sense the same as *summis laudibus ad caelum extulerunt.*

10-11. *liba:* cakes offered in sacrifice, and therefore very abundant in a priest's house, so that the slave had become tired of them and had run away to get plain food. The condensed comparison is made clearer in the next

line; in which *pane egeo* explains *recuso*, and *mellitis placentis* amplifies *liba*. There is perhaps an allusion in these lines to some comic story or play popular at the time.

12. *vivere:* this is the Stoic doctrine, used somewhat humorously, since neither Fuscus nor Horace was a Stoic.

13. *domo:* dative, a rarer form for *domui*. The whole expression is condensed; 'if we ought to live naturally, and if we are seeking a place for natural living—as one seeks a site for his house—then the country is best.'

15. *tepeant hiemes:* i.e., the winters in southern Italy; cf. *Carm.* 2, 6, 17, *ver ubi longum tepidasque praebebat Iuppiter brumas*, of Tarentum. All of Italy outside of Rome was *rus*.

16. *momenta Leonis:* with poetic personification; 'the quick movements,' 'the rushing of the Lion,' further carried out in *furi-bundus*.

- cum semel accepit Solem furibundus acutum ?  
 Est ubi divellat somnos minus invida cura ?  
 Deterius Libycis olet aut nitet herba lapillis ?  
 20 Purior in vicis aqua tendit rumpere plumbum,  
 quam quae per pronum trepidat cum murmure rivum ?  
 Nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas,  
 laudaturque domus longos quae prospicit agros.  
 Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret  
 25 et mala perrumpet furtim fastidia victrix.  
 Non, qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro  
 nescit Aquinatem potantia vellera fucum,

17. *accepit . . . acutum*: the rays of the sun are like sharp arrows that wound (*accepit*) the Lion and rouse him to fury.

18. *somnos*: this is one of the traditional advantages of country life, often alluded to by Horace.

19. *Libycis . . . lapillis*: Lybian marbles set to make mosaic patterns in the floor. — *olet*: perfumed water was sprinkled over the floor.

20. *rumpere plumbum*: *i.e.*, 'rushes out of the lead pipes.' The distribution of water under pressure in pipes was well understood by Roman engineers, though it was somewhat less elaborately carried out than it is in modern houses.

22-23. *nempe*: *in fact, you know*; cf. *Sat.* 1, 10, 1. — *varias*: of the colored patterns of marble. — *silva*: trees were planted in the open court of a city house, within the colonnades. — *prospicit*: the hills of the city afforded sites from

which a wide view could be had. Maecenas' house on the Esquiline commanded a view of the mountains toward the north and east.

24. *expelles*: a paratactic condition, with *recurret* as apodosis. The line has become proverbial; it is usually quoted with the older reading *expellas*, which, however, has no good support from the Mss.

25. *furtim*: 'in unexpected fashion,' 'when you least expect it.' — *victrix*: at the end of the line, with emphasis; 'and finally win the victory.'

26-29. 'But, though nature conquers in the end, the process of learning to distinguish the real from the imitation involves losses and mistakes, like those which a man suffers in buying artistic objects without real knowledge of the things he is purchasing.' — *Sidonio*: the genuine Tyrian purple was very expensive. — *callidus*:



certius accipiet damnum propiusve medullis,  
quam qui non poterit vero distinguere falsum.

- 30 Quem res plus nimio delectavere secundae,  
mutatae quatient. Si quid mirabere, pones  
invitus. Fuge magna; licet sub paupere tecto  
reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos.  
Cervus equum pugna melior communibus herbis  
35 pellebat, donec minor in certamine longo  
imploravit opes hominis frenumque recepit.  
Sed postquam victor violens discessit ab hoste,  
non equitem dorso, non frenum depulit ore.  
Sic qui pauperiem veritus potiore metallis  
40 libertate caret, dominum vehet improbus atque

*i.e.*, one who believes, mistakenly, that he knows how to compare (*contendere*) and distinguish; cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 23, and the whole description of such a connoisseur, vss. 20-25. — *Aquinatem . . . fucum*: after *potantia*; a dye made from lichens which produced a color like the true Sidonian purple. — *medullis*: to his heart. — *vero, falsum*: this is a slight reference to the standards of philosophy.

30-31. The same thought that is expressed more fully in *Epist.* 1, 6, 9 ff., and, with more personal reference, in the letter to Maecenas, *Epist.* 1, 7. It was a familiar thought to Horace. — *mirabere*: cf. *Epist.* 1, 6, 1, *nil admirari*. — *pones*: almost technical in this sense; *Epist.* 1, 1, 10; *Sat.* 2, 3, 16, etc.

34-38. This fable was often used to teach a serious lesson; it is found in Phaedrus, 4, 4. — *pugna melior*: cf. note on *Epist.* 1, 7, 29. — *imploravit*: the subject is *minor*, to be taken as a substantive; but the omission of a more definite subject is in the manner of fables.

37. *violens*: *i.e.*, 'after a fierce contest'; to be joined with *discessit*, not directly with *victor*.

39. *metallis*: one of the various ways of expressing the general idea of riches; cf. Engl. 'a gold mine.' Horace uses the word only here.

40. *improbus*: *i.e.*, 'because of his immoderate desire for wealth'; cf. *Carm.* 3, 24, 62, *improbæ crescunt divitiæ*, in a context similar to this.

- serviet aeternum, quia parvo nesciet uti.  
 Cui non conveniet sua res, ut calceus olim,  
 si pede maior erit, subvertet, si minor, uret.  
 Laetus sorte tua vives sapienter, Aristi,  
 45 nec me dimittes incastigatum, ubi plura  
 cogere quam satis est, ac non cessare videbor.  
 Imperat aut servit collecta pecunia cuique,  
 tortum digna sequi potius quam ducere funem.  
 Haec tibi dictabam post fanum putre Vacunae,  
 50 excepto quod non simul esses, cetera laetus.

41. *serviet*: this is the theme of *Sat.* 2, 7. — *uti*: as in *Sat.* 1, 1, 37; 2, 3, 109, 167, and often.

42. *conveniet*: cf. vs. 12. — *olim*, *sometimes*.

44-46. 'Live content, therefore, and remind me of this admonition, if I seem to you to need it.' — *cessare*: as in *Epist.* 1, 7, 57.

47-48. The thought is expressed more diffusely by Seneca, *de Vita Beat.* 26, 1, 'divitiae enim apud sapientem virum in servitute sunt, apud stultum in imperio.' — *tortum* . . . *funem*: the line repeats in a figurative form the thought of *imperat* (= *ducere*) *aut servit* (= *sequi*), but the allusion is to some custom or some story which

is unknown to us; it may be the figure of an animal led by a rope, or of a machine of which a rope forms part. Cf. note on *Epist.* 1, 6, 51, *trans pondera*, and *Sat.* 2, 7, 20. — *tortum*: an ornamental epithet.

49-50. As the letter begins with a formal greeting, so it closes with a formal giving of the exact place of writing. In Cicero's letters the place is usually named at the end of the letter, if at all. — *dictabam*: the epistolary imperfect; see grammar. — *putre*: 'falling into decay.' — *Vacunae*: a local goddess. The meaning of the name is quite unknown. — *laetus*: with reference back to vs. 44.

## II

There is nothing to fix the date of this Epistle nor is Bullatius, to whom it was addressed, mentioned elsewhere.

'And how do you like the famous cities of Asia, my friend? Are you thinking of home or of settling down there, far from the world? But one doesn't settle down for life in some inn, just because one is tired

of travel. Pleasant scenery will not make you happy. It is better to stay at home and sing the joys of travel at your ease. For happiness is not in some distant future or in some far-off country; it is here and now, in our own hearts, if we are wise enough to take it.'

Horace was not a traveler. He went to Athens in early life for study, but after his return his life was spent in the neighborhood of Rome or about Tarentum. He was free from that form of restlessness which seeks excitement in novelty and was perhaps not quite just to those who find stimulus in sight seeing. In this Epistle he has used the fact that Bullatius was abroad as an occasion for restating the doctrine which he often preaches, that the sources of happiness are within, setting it in contrast to the pleasures of travel.

Quid tibi visa Chios, Bullati, notaque Lesbos,  
quid concinna Samos, quid Croesi regia Sardis,  
Smyrna quid et Colophon? Maiora minorane fama?  
Cunctane prae campo et Tiberino flumine sordent?  
5 An venit in votum Attalicis ex urbibus una?  
An Lebedum laudas odio maris atque viarum?  
Scis Lebedus quid sit; Gabiis desertior atque  
Fidenis vicus: tamen illic vivere vellem,

1-3. These are the names of cities in Asia Minor, known in history and in literary tradition to all Romans, even those who had not visited them, as European cities are known to Americans. Cf. Catull. 46, 6, *ad claras Asiae volumus urbes*. — *nota* = *nobilis*; Lesbos was the home of Alcaeus and Sappho. — *concinna*: *handsome*, with reference apparently to the regularity of the streets. — *Sardis*: the Greek nom. plur. Σάρδεις. — *fama*: *i.e.*, 'than you had expected from what you had heard of them.'

4. *campo*: the Campus Martius, standing for all the familiar spots

in Rome. — *sordent*: *i.e.*, 'do they all seem poor in comparison . . .?' This implies the answer *minora* to the previous question.

5. *venit in votum*: *suit your desires*; this is an expansion of *maiora*. For the expression cf. *Sat.* 2, 6, 1, *hoc erat in votis*. — Pergamum was the most famous of the cities of Attalus.

6-10. 'Or are you so weary of travel that a deserted village seems good enough to you? I can understand that feeling easily.' — *Lebedum*: a small town on the coast near Smyrna. — *odio maris*: Horace was not a traveler; cf. *Carm.*

- oblitusque meorum obliviscendus et illis  
 10 Neptunum procul e terra spectare furem.  
 Sed neque qui Capua Romam petit, imbre lutoque  
adpersus volet in caupona vivere; nec qui  
 frigus collegit, furnos et balnea laudat  
 ut fortunatam plene praestantia vitam;  
 15 nec, si te validus iactaverit Auster in alto,  
 idcirco navem trans Aegaeum mare vendas.  
 Incolumi Rhodos et Mitylene pulchra facit, quod  
 paenula solstitio, campestre nivalibus auris,

2, 6, 7, *lasso maris et viarum*.—Gabii and Fidenae, which were towns of importance in earlier history, were in Horace's time only villages.—*vellem*: the tense implies that it is a mere expression of emotion, without expectation of fulfilment.—'The world forgetting, by the world forgot' (Pope).—The comparison of a peaceful life to the contentment of one who looks from shore at the wild sea is frequent in literature. The best expression of it is in Lucr. 2, 1-2, 'suave, mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis, | e terra magnum alterius spectare laborem.'

11. 'But such a life would not be truly satisfying.'—*Capua Romam*: *i.e.*, to one who is going toward the great city, which is his home.—*imbre lutoque*: this corresponds to *odio maris atque viarum*, vs. 6; these things are the temporary discomforts of travel, from which we get only a temporary refuge in an inn.

12. *caupona vivere*: the figure of an inn as a temporary resting place, but not a home to live in (*vivere* is emphatic), is used frequently in classic as well as in Christian writings.

13. *frigus collegit*: 'has become chilled,' not 'caught cold.'—*furnos*: *bakers' shops*, where one could get warm.

16. *vendas*: *i.e.*, give up the plan of completing the journey and settle in Asia Minor. This brings the thought back to the main theme.

17. *incolumi*: 'a man of sound mind'; cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 132, *incolumi capite* (= *sanus*). The dat. is to be taken with *facit*, as in *Sat.* 1, 1, 63, *quid facias illi?* and often in Plautus.—*pulchra*: 'in spite of its beauty.'—*facit quod*: *i.e.*, 'is the same as,' 'has the same effect as.'

18-19. Four illustrations of things that are, in the special circumstances, particularly useless.—

- per brumam Tiberis, Sextili mense caminus.  
 20 Dum licet ac vultum servat Fortuna benignum,  
 Romae laudetur Samos et Chios et Rhodos absens.  
 Tu quamcumque deus tibi fortunaverit horam  
 grata sume manu, neu dulcia differ in annum;  
 ut quocumque loco fueris vixisse libenter  
 25 te dicas. Nam si ratio et prudentia curas,  
 non locus effusi late maris arbiter aufert,  
 caelum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare currunt;  
 strenua nos exercet inertia; navibus atque  
 quadrigis petimus bene vivere; quod petis, hic est,  
 30 est Vlubris, animus si te non deficit aequus.

paenula: a heavy cloak for cold weather. — **campestre**: a very light garment worn about the loins in taking vigorous exercise.

20. The line is an expansion of *incolumi*; 'so long as I am not driven to foreign travel.'

21. **Romae**: the emphatic word; 'I will stay at home and sing the praises of foreign cities without seeing them (*absens*).'

22-24. The mistake of overlooking present happiness in the anticipation of some other happiness in the future is, at bottom, the same as the mistake of looking for contentment in change of place. The two thoughts are really identified here, though in form the second is treated as the purpose of the first; 'just as you should gratefully enjoy the present, so you should live happily in the place where you may happen to be.' The thought of vss. 22-23 is often expressed

by Horace, *e.g. Carm.* 1, 9; 1, 11.

25. **ratio**: as in *Sat.* 1, 1, 2. — **curas**: after *auferunt*, to be supplied from *aufert*.

26. **arbiter**: in the early meaning *witness*, *i.e.*, 'having a wide outlook over the sea,' with reference back to vss. 7-10.

27. One of the lines of Horace that has become proverbial, because it expresses so concisely a truth of universal experience.

28-30. **strenua inertia**: an intentional putting together of two contradictory words, like *splendide mendax*, to characterize the idle activity of the pleasure seeker. — **navibus, quadrigis**: cf. *Carm.* 3, 1, 37-40, *post equitem sedet atra cura*. — **hic**: 'where we are now.' — **Vlubris**: *i.e.*, in any little village; there is no implication that Horace was in Ulubrae. — **animus . . . aequus**: the same as *incolumi*, vs. 17.

## 12

This Epistle was written in the summer of the year 20 B.C., as the closing lines show. The person addressed, Iccius, is the same young man to whom, some five or six years before, Horace had written an ode, *Carm.* 1, 29. He is otherwise unknown, but some traits of character are clearly revealed by the tone in which Horace addresses him. He was one of the circle of younger men whom Horace knew well, a student of philosophy, though probably not a serious scholar. He was not rich and was looking for an opportunity to make his way in the world. This he had sought to find by joining the expedition of Gallus against the Persians and after the failure of this campaign he had become the agent of Agrippa, taking charge of his estates in Sicily. This Epistle was written in reply to a letter from Iccius, in which there was some expression of dissatisfaction with his position and of regret that business interfered with philosophy.

‘The trusted agent of Agrippa, my dear young friend, should not call himself a poor man. If one has plenty to eat and health to enjoy it, he is as rich as a king. Or if you have turned vegetarian, no amount of money will make any difference to such a philosopher. You are a greater wonder than Democritus, to be so active in business and at the same time so deep in philosophy. But, whether you are living high or have become an ascetic, don’t neglect my friend and your neighbor, Pompeius Grosphus ; he is a man you can trust.

‘The news at Rome is all cheerful ; victories everywhere and a fine harvest in Italy.’

This is, in form, one of the most successful of the Epistles. It is precisely such a letter as might have been written in prose, commenting upon the letter to which it is a reply, recommending a friend to the notice of the recipient and giving in brief the news of the day. Its tone, too, is entirely personal, as if it were meant to be read only by the person addressed, and that tendency to fall into the essay manner, which in some of the letters is out of harmony with the epistolary form, is here the more easily avoided, because the interest of Iccius in philosophy makes the introduction of that subject quite natural. At the same time, the personal matters are so treated as to be of general interest, and the revelation of the character of both writer and recipient is most attractive. In lightness of touch and in humorous irony this letter resembles *Epist.* 1, 3, also addressed to a younger friend.



Fructibus Agrippae Siculis, quos colligis, Icci,  
 si recte frueris, non est ut copia maior  
 ab Iove donari possit tibi. Tolle querellas,  
 pauper enim non est, cui rerum suppetit usus.

5 Si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil  
 divitiae poterunt regales addere maius.

Si forte in medio positorum abstemius herbis  
vivis et urtica, sic vives protinus, ut te

1. *fructibus*; *revenues*, but with special reference to revenue derived from an estate.

2. *recte*: not in the philosophical sense, but *properly*, 'as you have a right to do.' The general meaning of the word is specialized by its connection with *frueris*.

3. *querellas*: *laments* over his poverty; the exhortation does not imply that Iccius was over-anxious to be rich, but only that he was inclined to regret the necessity of earning his living as a business man in Sicily.

4. *rerum . . . usus*: no more than *quod satis est*, that sufficient supply of the necessities of life to which men should limit their desires.

5. *ventri, lateri, pedibus*: *i.e.* 'if your wants are supplied and your health is good.' The form in which the general thought is expressed is taken from a Greek proverb (Theognis, 719), but Horace uses the same words often, putting specific illnesses in the place of some general term; cf. *latus aut renes*, *Epist.* 1, 6, 28;

*laterum dolor*, *Sat.* 1, 9, 32; *podagram*, *Epist.* 1, 2, 52.

6. The same as *non est ut copia maior*; cf. also *Epist.* 1, 4, 7-8.

7. *forte*: the addition of this word prevents the condition, *si vivis*, from assuming that he is actually living an ascetic life. The two conditions, *si ventri bene est* and *si vivis herbis*, thus present the two possible alternations, without choosing between them; 'whether you are living on the fat of the land or are, perhaps, a vegetarian, in either case you are independent of money and have no right to call yourself pauper.'—*in medio positorum*: the gen. depends on *abstemius*, which takes the abl. or the gen. without distinction of meaning. For *in medio posita*, 'things that are within the reach of everybody,' cf. *Sat.* 1, 2, 108.

8. *urtica*: *nettles*, more often referred to for their medicinal properties; here used only to give a humorous definiteness to the general word *herbis*. — *sic*: *in the same way*. — *protinus*: of time; 'you

- confestim liquidus Fortunae rivus inauret ;  
 10 vel quia naturam mutare pecunia nescit,  
 vel quia cuncta putas una virtute minora.  
 Miramur, si Democriti pecus edit agellos  
 cultaque, dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox,  
 cum tu inter scabiem tantam et contagia lucri  
 15 nil parvum sapias et adhuc sublimia cures :  
 quae mare compescant causae ; quid temperet annum ;  
 stellae sponte sua iussaene vagentur et errent ;

will go right on living.' — **ut** : concessive ; *even though*.

9. The river Pactolus, in which Midas bathed to rid himself of the 'Golden Touch,' had come to be thought of as having the power to gild with its waters, and so is proverbial as a source of wealth. Cf. *Epod.* 15, 20, *tibique Pactolus fluat*.

10. Cf. *Epod.* 4, 6, *fortuna non mutat genus* ; in this case, however, the general truth is intended to convey a compliment.

11. This also is complimentary and leads on to the detailed references to the interest of Iccius in philosophical studies.

12-15. 'The stock illustration of the philosopher's absorption in his speculations is feeble compared to your interest.' — **Democriti** : of Abdera, the early teacher of the atomic theory of matter. The story is told in various forms ; here the allusion is to his neglect of his farm because he was so intent upon scientific study. — **peregre** : his mind, as it were, separated itself

from his body and roamed the universe. — **cum** : adversative. — **scabiem** : the figurative use is rare and is therefore defined by *contagia lucri* ; 'contagious itching for pelf' (Wilkins). Iccius, in his work as overseer of Agrippa's estates, was in the closest contact with the money-making instincts. — **nil parvum** : *i.e.*, 'are indifferent to all this,' 'regard all this as petty' ; then the thought is repeated in positive form in *sublimia*. — **adhuc** : *still*, 'as you did when I wrote my ode about you.' — **sublimia** : *lofty themes*, both in the general sense and with special reference to astronomical questions.

16. **compescant** : *i.e.*, why the sea, in spite of all the rivers that empty into it, does not rise, but is confined within fixed bounds. Cf. *Lucr.* 6, 608. — **temperet** : 'divides the year into seasons' ; cf. *Carm.* 1, 12, 16.

17. **sponte sua** : the Stoic doctrine was that the planets were self-moved and were therefore

quid premat obscurum lunae, quid proferat orbem;  
quid velit et possit rerum concordia discors;

20 Empedocles an Stertinium deliret acumen.

Verum seu piscis seu porrum et caepe trucas,

themselves divine. The atomic theory brought them under the rule of physical law (*iussae*).

18. *obscurum*: predicate with *premat*. The question is in regard to the changes of the moon from crescent to full circle (*orbem*).

19. *quid velit*: in the direct form, *quid vis tibi?* (*Sat.* 1, 2, 69), 'what do you mean?' In the indirect form, *quid . . . ista velit sibi fabula*, *Sat.* 2, 5, 61. 'What is the meaning and what the powers of . . . ?'—*concordia discors*: cf. *strenua inertia*, *Epist.* 1, 11, 28. In the atomic theory all motion is the result of two forces, attraction and repulsion, love and hate, which are opposed and yet work out a harmonious result. The expression *concordia discors* is used by many writers.

20. *Empedocles*: of Agrigentum, a follower of Pythagoras and a physicist; his name is suggested by vs. 19, and he is mentioned as a representative of the school which explained natural phenomena by purely physical causes. — *Stertinium*: a Stoic philosopher, whose supposed discourse on the madness of men forms the main part of *Sat.* 2, 3. He may have been of the Ciceronian period.

He is here used in a humorous spirit as the counterpart to Empedocles, standing for Stoic doctrines. The name is in the adj. form, without change, agreeing with *acumen*. For the epic use of the abstract noun cf. *Sat.* 2, 1, 72, *virtus Scipiadae*.—*deliret*: a Stoic word, used of the madness of *stultitia*, here employed in humorous contrast with *acumen*.

21. 'But whatever may be your mode of living (vss. 5–8) or your philosophical tenets (vss. 16–20), make the acquaintance of Grosphus.'—Many systems of philosophy have run over into dietetic regulations, connected in some cases with the more important doctrines. The Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls was thus connected with the forbidding of certain articles of food, animal and even vegetable, on the ground that the use of such food involved the taking of life. Many of the allusions are evidently parody, as here *trucas* is humorous.—*piscis*: standing for good living, vs. 5.—*porrum et caepe*: *leeks and onions*, the *herbis et urtica* of vss. 7–8. The description is in all these cases (5, 7–8, 21) humorously phrased, with no attempt at precision, so that the use of *piscis*

utere Pompeio Grospho et si quid petet ultro  
defer: nil Grosphus nisi verum orabit et aequum.  
Vilis amicorum est annona, bonis ubi quid dest.

- 25 Ne tamen ignores, quo sit Romana loco res:  
Cantaber Agrippae, Claudī virtute Neronis  
Armenius cecidit; ius imperiumque Phraates  
Caesaris accepit genibus minor; aurea fruges  
Italiae pleno defundit Cōpia cornu.

for high living is not surprising or doubtful.

22. *Pompeio Grospho*: *Carm.* 2, 16 is addressed to him, and alludes to his having estates in Sicily. — *ultro*: with *defer*.

24. *annona*: properly the year's harvest, then the price of grain, which depended on the harvest, and in turn influenced all prices. Here figuratively; 'it costs but little to secure friends, when those who ask the price are good men.' — *dest*: = *deest*. The thought is the same as that in *quid petit*, not that Grosphus would necessarily be asking for help, but that Iccius need not hesitate out of fear that he might make inconvenient demands.

26-29. The news of the day, given in condensed form, with little touches of half-humorous

poetic phrasing. — Agrippa, the patron of Iccius, put down an uprising in Spain in the summer of 20 B.C. — The expedition of Tiberius, to which reference is made in many of the Epistles, resulted in the submission of Armenia. — Phraates, king of Parthia, restored to Augustus, through Tiberius, the Roman standards taken long before, when Crassus was defeated. The formalities of the occasion are alluded to in *genibus minor* ('inferior by his kneeling'), and both this event and the conquest of Armenia are commemorated on coins of the period and mentioned by Augustus in the Monumentum Ancyranum. — *defundit*: present tense; the harvest was just coming in. There had been serious trouble from a bad harvest in 22 B.C.

### 13

The first three books of the Odes were published in the year 23. At that time Augustus was still in Italy, in or near Rome, and Horace sent to him an early copy of the three volumes. The bearer of the gift was Vinnius Asina (or perhaps Asellus), of whom nothing is known except

by inference from this letter. The Epistle is supposed to be a hasty note, sent by a messenger to overtake Vinnius before he reached Rome and to remind him again of the author's instructions in regard to the manner in which the gift should be presented to Augustus.

'This is to remind you again, Vinnius, to be careful. Don't make a nuisance of yourself; your name, you see, exposes you to jibes. And do try to be graceful; don't carry my books under your arm like a common bundle. And don't brag about them, either. Remember what I've told you and do be careful.'

This is not an actual letter, sent after Vinnius, but a humorous Epistle handed to him with the books and intended in reality for Augustus. There is not a serious word in it; the elaborate and fussy advice, the permission to throw the book away, the reference to the badness of the road, are all fictitious. Vinnius was not a country clown, but a common friend of Augustus and Horace, who undertook the little commission for the poet, doubtless with pride. Nor was Augustus so remote and great a personage that Horace felt it to be necessary to approach him with elaborate caution. All this belongs to the machinery, as it were, of the little play.

The facts were, in reality, something like this: in sending a copy of his completed lyrics to Augustus, Horace desired to write a note of presentation, like an inscription on a flyleaf. Seeking to avoid the commonplace forms, he hit upon the little fiction of pretending great anxiety about the reception of the gift and of expressing his anxiety in these fussy and exaggerated directions to the bearer. The note was, of course, to be shown to Augustus.

Vt proficiscentem docui te saepe diuque,  
Augusto reddes signata volumina, Vinni,  
si validus, si laetus erit, si denique poscet;  
ne studio nostri pecces, odiumque libellis

1. *proficiscentem*: 'when you were starting,' as if this letter had been sent to overtake him on the journey.

2. *signata*: *i.e.*, 'with the seal unbroken,' in good condition.

3. *si validus*: the conditions are *emphatic*; 'only in case he is. . . .' Augustus was often ill

and under the care of physicians. — *denique*: this changes the condition into a temporal clause; 'and not until he shall ask for it.' — *poscet*: it is implied that Augustus already knew that a copy of the book was to be sent to him.

4-5. The adjuration not to be overzealous is intentionally re-

- 5 sedulus importes opera vehemente minister.  
 Si te forte meae gravis uret sarcina chartae,  
 abicito potius quam, quo perferre iuberis,  
 clitellas ferus impingas Asinaeque paternum  
 cognomen vertas in risum et fabula fias.
- 10 Viribus uteris per clivos, flumina, lamas;  
 victor propositi simul ac perveneris illuc,  
 sic positum servabis onus, ne forte sub ala  
 fasciculum portes librorum ut rusticus agnum,

peated in various forms in *studio nostri, sedulus minister*, and *opera vehemente*, as if to express the extreme anxiety of the writer.

6-9. The lines are, of course, wholly humorous, to introduce the joke on the cognomen of Vinnius. — *gravis* . . . *sarcina*: a jest at the books themselves, not unlike the Engl. 'heavy reading.' The three volumes of the Odes would be in fact a very light parcel. — *uret*: *gall*; cf. *Epist.* I, 10, 43. The word is selected in anticipation of the joke on Asina. — *quo*: supply an antecedent, *ibi*, to go with *impingas*; 'rather than carry it all the way and then dash it down in the very presence of Augustus and his friends.' — *ferus*: 'like an angry mule.' — *Asinae*: both this name and the other form, *Asellus*, are known to have been in actual use in several families. — *paternum*: *i.e.*, an inherited cognomen and not one given in derision to Vinnius himself. — *fabula*: so *Epod.* II,

8, *fabula quanta fui*, Juv. 10, 167. *ut . . . declamatio fias*.

10. *viribus uteris*: fut., like *reddes, servabis*; 'use your strength where it is called for, on the road, but when you arrive carry the books gracefully.' — *l*amas: *bogs, mudholes*. The word is found only here in classical Latin and was probably a colloquialism. These references to difficulties on the way are not to be taken literally; they suit the general tone of humorous exaggeration.

11. *victor propositi*: this phrase also is intentionally over-serious, almost epic.

12-13. *sic positum*: 'just as I am arranging it now'; as if Horace were actually showing Vinnius how to hold it and how to carry it properly. — *ne . . . portes*: in form a clause of purpose, but in sense a continuation of the command from *uteris, servabis*, 'don't carry my package under your arm, like a farmer carrying a lamb.'



ut vinosa glomus furtivae Pyrrhia lanae,  
 15 ut cum pileolo soleas conviva tribulis.  
 Ne vulgo narres te sudavisse ferendo  
 carmina, quae possint oculos auresque morari  
 Caesaris. Oratus multa prece, nitere porro;  
 vade, vale; cave ne titubes mandataque frangas.

14. *glomus*: acc. plur.; the word is a technical term, of wool gathered into a ball for spinning. — *Pyrrhia*: the form of the name is quite uncertain. The Scholiast says that this is an allusion to a scene in a play of Titinius.

15. *conviva tribulis*: a poorer member of a 'tribe,' invited to dinner for political purposes by a richer fellow-tribesman, would have no slave to carry his cap or to take his sandals when he reclined on the couch. He would therefore carry them under his arm. — The three comparisons are not meant to describe three different ways of carrying things under the arm, but merely to suggest the awkwardness which Vinnius is to avoid.

16-17. 'And don't brag to everybody about your important mission.' The important word in the infin. phrase is not *sudavisse*,

but *ferendo*. The exaggeration of *sudavisse* is like that in vss. 4-5, 10, 11.

18. *oratus*: by Horace, in this letter. — *multa prece*: the whole Epistle is made up of such exhortations and the point is the same as that of *saepe diuque*, vs. 1. 'You have heard all my directions, now go on.'

19. *titubes*: a very common word in Plautus, in giving directions for the carrying out of a plan; *M.G.* 946, *Pseud.* 764, 939. The literal meaning is here distinctly in mind, with a reference back to vss. 8-9, and is carried on into *frangas*. — *mandata*: not the volumes, but the injunctions, the *multae preces*. The literal and figurative meanings run together; 'don't stumble and break your load,' 'don't make a mistake and forget my directions to you.'

## 14

The date of this Epistle cannot be determined nor is it of importance for the interpretation. The person to whom it is supposed to be written is the superintendent of Horace's farm.

'Foreman of my nice little farm, we seem to be disagreeing. I am detained here in Rome, longing for the country; you want to be back

in Rome. You are inconsistent and I am not, but the real difference is in our tastes. To you my farm seems a desert and a place of hard labor, and you long for pleasures, while I have dropped all that kind of thing and want only peace. Each wants what the other has. But it won't do; the shoemaker will have to stick to his last, according to the old saying.'

This Epistle is in complete contrast to the one which immediately precedes it. It is a little disquisition on the inconsistencies of men, as illustrated by the steward's discontent with the life which he had once greatly desired, and on the attractiveness of the country, which seemed all the stronger to Horace when he happened to be detained in Rome beyond his usual time. These themes Horace had treated before, in *Sat.* 1, 1 and *Sat.* 2, 6, using the satire form. In returning to them at this later time, under the impulse of his longing to escape from the city, he used the epistolary form with which he was then experimenting. The *vilicus* is, of course, a mere figurehead; the letter was not actually sent to him at all; but the advantages of the direct form of address appear in the individual allusions (vss. 2-3, 6-7, 14-15, 19-30), which illustrate the general doctrines that underlie the whole. There is, too, a certain simplicity and directness in the language, though there is, of course, no attempt to come down to the level of the steward's comprehension.

Vilice silvarum et mihi me reddentis agelli,  
quem tu fastidis habitatum quinque focis et  
quinque bonos solitum Variam dimittere patres,  
certemus, spinas animone ego fortius an tu

1. *silvarum*: Horace mentions the woodlands in several allusions to his farm (*Sat.* 2, 6, 3; *Epist.* 1, 16, 9) and evidently regarded them as an important part of the estate. — *mihi me reddentis*: 'that restores me to myself'; cf. *Epist.* 1, 18, 101, *te tibi reddat amicum*.

2-3. *habitatam*: 'though it is large enough to furnish homes to five families'; there is a little half-humorous boasting in the repeti-

tion of *quinque*. — *Variam*: now *Vicovaro*, the nearest market town. — *patres*: 'heads of families.' They were *coloni*, who held the lands on lease from Horace and were independent farmers and citizens. On the part of the estate which Horace reserved for himself and of which the *vilicus* had charge, eight slaves (*Sat.* 2, 7, 118) were kept at work.

4-5. *certemus*: i.e., 'I challenge

- 5 evellas agro, et melior sit Horatius an res.  
 Me quamvis Lamiae pietas et cura moratur,  
 fratrem maerentis, raptō de fratre dolentis  
 insolabiliter, tamen istuc mens animusque  
 fert et amat spatii obstantia rumpere claustra.
- 10 Rure ego viventem, tu dicis in urbe beatum;  
 cui placet alterius, sua nimirum est odio sors.  
 Stultus uterque locum immeritum causatur inique;  
 in culpa est animus, qui se non effugit unquam.  
 Tu mediastinus tacita prece rura petebas,

you to a contest, to see whether . . . '—*spinas*: for weeds in general; so *filix* (*Sat.* 1, 3, 37) is used both of faults and of weeds.—*res*: *his farm*.

6. *Lamiae*: subjective gen.; 'Lamia's affection and distress,' further explained by the next line. [The single case of an objective gen., *deum pietas*, in a fragment of Naevius, by no means justifies the taking of *Lamiae* as an objective genitive.] —*moratur*: the subjv. is the proper mode with *quamvis*, but the confusion with *quamquam* had already gone so far that Horace uses the indic. more often than the subjunctive. —*Carm.* 1, 26 is addressed to L. Aelius Lamia and he is referred to in *Carm.* 3, 17. He became consul in 3 A.D. Evidently he was one of Horace's most valued friends.

7. The repetition *fratrem . . . fratre* and the assonance of *maerentis, dolentis* give the line a pe-

culiar effect. Cicero (*ad Att.* 12, 28, 2, *maerorem minui, dolorem nec potui*) distinguishes between the two words, but the distinction is here unimportant; *mourning, grieving*.

8. *istuc*: 'to the place where you are,' to the country.

9. *amat*: *longs*; so, with infin., *Carm.* 3, 9, 24. — The figure in the rest of the line is taken from chariot racing; *claustra* are the bars which kept the horses within the *carceres* until the race was started and which may therefore be said *obstare spatii*, to 'stand in the way of the race course.'

11. *alterius*: sc. *sors*. The thought is 'that with which *Sat.* 1, 1 opens.

12-13. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 11, esp. vss. 25-27. — *immeritum*: i.e., 'which is not responsible,' as in *Sat.* 2, 3, 7 f. *immeritus . . . paries*. The same thought is expressed also in *inique*.

14. *tu*: this takes up the con-

- 15 nunc urbem et ludos et balnea vilicus optas ;  
 me constare mihi scis et discedere tristem,  
 quandocumque trahunt invisa negotia Romam.  
 Non eadem miramur ; eo disconvenit inter  
 meque et te. Nam quae deserta et inhospita tesqua  
 20 credis, amoena vocat mecum qui sentit, et odit  
 quae tu pulchra putas. Fornix tibi et uncta popina  
 incutiunt urbis desiderium, video, et quod  
 angulus iste feret piper et tus ocus uva,  
 nec vicina subest vinum praebere taberna  
 25 quae possit tibi, nec meretrix tibicina, cuius  
 ad strepitum salias terrae gravis. Et tamen urgues  
 iampridem non tacta ligonibus arva, bovemque  
 disiunctum curas et strictis frondibus exples ;

trast begun in vs. 6 and expressed in vs. 10. — *mediastinus* : a common drudge. — *tacita* : i.e., 'you regarded it as so great a piece of good fortune that you did not dare to ask for it.'

15. *nunc* : 'but now that you have it.' — *vilicus* : a head servant, in contrast to *mediastinus*.

16. *me* : 'but I am consistent in my wishes.'

18. *eo disconvenit* : 'the difference in our tastes explains the fact that you are inconsistent and I am consistent.'

19. *tesqua* : *wilds* ; said by the Scholiast to be a Sabine word.

21. *fornix* : a brothel. — *uncta* : cf. *immundis popinis*, *Sat.* 2, 4, 62. The common cook shops would be ill-kept and greasy.

23. *angulus iste* : 'that hole, as

you call it.' — *piper et tus* : i.e., 'the farm cannot be made to produce good wine (*uva*) ; you might as well expect to raise tropical plants there.' This and the following lines express the steward's disgust with his occupation and circumstances.

25. *meretrix tibicina* : like the *Copa Syrisca* in Vergil's poem.

26. *tamen* : 'in spite of your having no pleasures, as you say.' — *urgues* : to express the steward's sense of the difficulty of his labors.

27. *non tacta* : and therefore harder to bring under cultivation.

28. *disiunctum* : the oxen are loosed from the plow and their labor is over, but the steward must still take care of them and give them their fodder (*frondibus*).

- addit opus pigro rivus, si decedit imber,  
 30 multa mole docendus aprico parcere prato.  
 Nunc age, quid nostrum concentum dividat, audi.  
 Quem tenues decuere togae nitidique capilli,  
 quem scis immunem Cinaræ placuisse rapaci,  
 quem bibulum liquidi media de luce Falerni,  
 35 cena brevis iuvat et prope rivum somnus in herba.  
 Nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum.  
 Non istic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam  
 limat, non odio obscuro morsuque venenat;  
 rident vicini glebas et saxa moventem.  
 40 Cum servis urbana diaria rodere mavis,

29. *addit*: and there is even more to do, like directing the flow of the water in a heavy rain. — *pigro*: this is added by Horace.

31. *quid . . . dividat*: *i.e.*, 'what makes my view of country life so entirely different from yours.' — *audi*: *let me tell you*, as often; *Sat.* 1, 1, 14.

32. *tenues*: *fine*, 'of fine material'; the opposite was *crassa*, *Sat.* 1, 3, 15.

33. *immunem*: 'though I brought no gift' (Wilkins). — *Cinaræ*: cf. *Epist.* 1, 7, 28 and note. The adj. *rapaci* is general, of women of her class, not individual.

34. *media de luce*: to drink before nightfall is often referred to as typical of a rather fast life, *e.g.*, *Sat.* 1, 4, 51 f., or at least a life of pleasure, *Carm.* 2, 7, 6.

36. *nec lusisse pudet*: all this was, by Roman standards, suitable

enough for a young man. — *incidere*: *cut short*, 'bring to an end at the proper time.'

37. *istic*: *where you are*, in the country; cf. *istuc*, vs. 8. — *obliquo*: *look askance* with envy.

38. *limat*: literally *files, cuts away, i.e., lessens*; but the word is more frequently used of polishing and is here chosen for the pun upon *limis oculis*, which is the same as *obliquo oculo*. — *venenat*: envy and hatred are like the bite of a poisonous serpent. Horace frequently alludes to the fact that he was envied and criticized, especially for his friendship with Maecenas.

39. *rident*: 'instead of envying me, my neighbors merely smile in a good-natured way, as they see me trying to work with my own hands about my farm.'

40-44. A summary of the whole; 'every man wants what he has not

horum tu in numerum voto ruis ; invidet usum  
 lignorum et pecoris tibi calo argutus et horti.  
 Optat ephippia bos, piger optat arare caballus.  
 Quam scit uterque libens censebo exerceat artem.

—a great mistake, in my opinion.’  
 —**cum servis**: ‘like my slaves in the city,’ *urbana* going in sense with *servis*. —**diaria**: *rations*, instead of the abundant food of the farm. —**calo**: *my groom*, who had occasionally gone out with his master to the farm; cf. *Sat.* 1, 6, 103. —**argutus**: *i.e.*, ‘using all his arguments to persuade me.’ —**piger**: the riding-horse thinks that the oxen, moving slowly in plow-

ing, have an easy life. — Vs. 44 is proverbial; Cicero expresses it (*Tusc.* 1, 18, 41) in slightly different form; ‘bene enim illo proverbio Graeco praecipitur; quam quisque norit artem, in hac se exerceat.’ — **censebo**: inserted in parataxis with *exerceat*. The future does not really belong to *censebo* (for *censeo*), but is taken over from *exerceat*; cf. Plaut. *M.G.* 395, 1209; *Curc.* 493.

## 15

Of the date of this Epistle it can only be said that it was written after 23, when Antonius Musa introduced the cold-water cure, and perhaps in fulfilment of the intention expressed in *Epist.* 1, 7, 11, to spend a winter on the southern coast. The person addressed is a Numonius Vala, of whom, individually, nothing is known except what is implied in the letter. But there are references in inscriptions and on coins to Numonii, who were of a somewhat distinguished family in Lucania.

‘Tell me all about your part of the country. Vala (for my doctor has ordered me to give up Baiae and take to the cold-water business; I don’t like it, but I suppose I must do as he says): how about the bread? and the water? (I’ll attend to the wine myself.) And what can I get in the way of game and sea food? Oh, yes, I haven’t forgotten my own sermons. But you know the story of Maenius, how he used to preach against prodigals, but, when he had a chance, used to return with gusto to his prodigal life again. So I preach simplicity when my bank account is low, but I also know a good dinner when I see it.’

A genuine letter, asking for information and expecting an answer. But the dry questions are interrupted by humorous parentheses which explain the reason for the letter and set forth the cheerful frame of mind



of the writer. And the letter is turned into a work of art, worthy of preservation, by the story of Maenius and the humorous application of it to Horace himself.

Quae sit hiems Veliae, quod caelum, Vala, Salerni,  
 quorum hominum regio et qualis via, (nam mihi Baias  
 Musa supervacuas Antonius, et tamen illis  
 me facit invisum, gelida cum perluor unda  
 5 per medium frigus. Sane murteta relinqui,  
 dictaque cessantem nervis elidere morbum

1. **quae sit**: the letter, down to vs. 25, consists of a series of indirect questions interrupted by two long parentheses (2-13 and 16-21) with vs. 25 as the leading clause. — **hiems**: this has reference to the purpose expressed in *Epist.* 1, 7, 10-11. — **caelum**: *climate*; not really different from *hiems*, which refers to the winter climate. — **Veliae**: a small town on the Lucanian coast, some sixty miles below Naples. — **Salerni**: on the coast of Campania, about fifteen miles from Naples. The family of Vala came from this region.

2. **quorum hominum**: the two genitives make a kind of compound interrogative adj. corresponding to *qualis*; 'a what-sort-of-people district.' — **qualis**: there was no good Roman road going down to Velia, and off the regular routes the character of the roads was of importance.

3. **Musa . . . Antonius**: *nomen* and *cognomen* are in reversed order, as in *Epist.* 1, 8, 1. This famous physician had recently in-

troduced the cold-water cure, and Horace, either following the fashion or under the orders of the doctor, was giving up his habit of going to Baias for the warm baths. — **supervacuas**: *superfluous, useless*. — **et tamen**: 'and for that matter,' 'and what is more'; for this sense of *et tamen* cf. Cic. *Cat. Mai.* 6, 16, 'notum enim vobis carmen est; et tamen ipsius Appi exstat oratio'; and at the end of the same section, 'ex quo intellegitur Pyrrhi bello grandem sane fuisse; et tamen sic a patribus accepimus.' [This usage is not infrequent, but is often emended or explained away by all sorts of ellipses. There is a fairly good note on it in Munro's *Lucret.* 5, 1177.]

5. **sane**: *of course, naturally*; with the whole sentence, but esp. with *vicus gemit*. — **murteta**: these myrtle groves on the slope above Baias are often mentioned.

6. **cessantem**: *lingering*, therefore chronic. — **nervis**: *muscles*, as always in classical Latin. The

sulfura contemni vicus gemit invidus aegris,  
qui caput et stomachum supponere fontibus audent  
Clusinis Gabiosque petunt et frigida rura.

10 Mutandus locus est, et deversoria nota  
praeteragendus equus. 'Quo tendis? Non mihi

Cumas

est iter aut Baias,' laeva stomachosus habena  
dicet eques; sed equis frenato est auris in ore);  
maior utrum populum frumenti copia pascat,

15 collectosne bibant imbres puteosne perennes

disease was probably rheumatic. — **elidere**: a technical term of medicine; *drive out* would be the modern equivalent.

7. **invidus**: corresponds actively to the passive *invisum*, vs. 4.

8. **supponere**: the treatment was given in part by shower baths. — **audent**: *venture* to take the new-fashioned treatment.

9. **Clusinis**: there is no other mention of baths at Clusium, but in the hill country springs would be found anywhere. The baths of Gabii, near Rome, are mentioned by Juvenal. — **frigida rura**: the country places of Romans were almost all up in the mountains, where the air would be cooler than in the city.

10. **mutandus**: this is the conclusion of the whole matter; 'I've got to take cold baths all winter; I've got to abandon Baiae and duck my head into a cold spring. I don't like it, but it's the doctor's orders.' There is a humorous skept-

icism in regard to the new cure and a humorous acceptance of the situation in the whole passage, vss. 2-13. — **deversoria nota**: the inns where he had lived before at Cumae and Baiae, known to his horse as well as to himself.

12. **laeva**: the road down to Cumae and the coast towns branched off to the right, and the horse was trying to take this familiar turn. — **habena**: abl. with *stomachosus*; 'expressing his anger by pulling the left-hand rein.'

13. **sed**: *i.e.*, 'but he might as well have spared his words and simply pulled the rein, for a bridled horse hears with his mouth.'

14. The indirect questions go on after the parenthetic explanation of the reason for asking them. — **frumenti copia**: the *supply of grain* stands for all the ordinary kinds of food, perhaps with special reference to the bread (cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 89-90).

15. **collectos . . . imbres**: in

iugis aquae, (nam vina nihil moror illius orae.  
 Rure meo possum quidvis perferre patique;  
 ad mare cum veni, generosum et lene requiro,  
 quod curas abigat, quod cum spe divite manet  
 20 in venas animumque meum, quod verba ministret,  
 quod me Lucanae iuvenem commendet amicae);  
tractus uter plures lepores, uter educet apros;  
 utra magis pisces et echinos aequora celent  
 pinguis ut inde domum possim Phaeaxque reverti,  
 25 scribere te nobis, tibi nos adcredere par est.  
 Maenius, ut rebus maternis atque paternis

some parts of southern Italy the supply of water was scanty (*Sat.* 1, 5, 88, 91, 97) and it was necessary to store rain water in cisterns. — perennes: 'good all the year round,' *i. e.*, which do not dry up in summer.

16. iugis: *running*, not from a stagnant pool; cf. *Sat.* 2, 6, 2, *iugis aquae fons*. This is not tautological with *perennis*; 'springs from which there is running water at all seasons.'

16-21. 'About the wine I make no inquiries, for I will bring some with me.' — nihil moror: 'I care nothing'; cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 13. — rure meo: in contrast to *ad mare cum veni*; in his own home, contented and satisfied, he does not care what he has to eat or drink. — perferre patique: with intentional exaggeration of phrase. — generosum: not as 'generous' is used in English, but *of good stock, i. e.*, from a good and well-known

vineyard. — lene: *smooth*. — The following lines are the conventional praises of wine, with slight variations. Compare the corresponding lines in *Epist.* 1, 5, 16-20, with notes there. — manet: from *māno*, not from *māneo*.

22. The indirect questions are resumed, becoming now more specific. — lepores: *hares* appear in both the gastronomic satires (2, 4, 44; 2, 8, 89). — apros: Lucanian boars are often mentioned.

23. echinos: *sea urchins*; they were eaten with very elaborate sauces and were considered a great delicacy (*Sat.* 2, 4, 33).

24. Phaeax: cf. *Epist.* 1, 2, 28 ff. and note.

25. adcredere: because Vala was at home in this region.

26. The story is introduced with an abruptness that is quite in Horace's manner, without any suggestion of the connection with the preceding thought. To a

fortiter absumptis urbanus coepit haberi  
scurra, vagus non qui certum praesepe teneret,  
 impransus non qui civem dignosceret hoste,  
 30 quaelibet in quemvis opprobria fingere saevus,  
 pernicies et tempestas barathrumque macelli,  
 quicquid quaesierat, ventri donabat avaro.  
 Hic ubi nequitiae fautoribus et timidis nil

Roman reader, however, the name of Maenius, a Lucilian character who had become a type of the reckless and witty spendthrift, would at once suggest the general character of the anecdote and the connection with vs. 24 — 'You smile at my anxiety about my food and my desire to get fat on good living. Yes, I confess it, Maenius is my model, and I'll tell you a story about him.' — *maternis, paternis*: he had gone through two fortunes.

27. *fortiter*: 'like a young man of spirit'; with *absumptis*.

27-28. *urbanus . . . scurra*: 'a man about town.' The word *scurra*, which is defined by Plautus (*urbani adsidui cives, quos scurras vocant, Trin.* 202), had always a suggestion of disparagement, but in combination with *urbanus*, which inclines toward a good sense, it is so nearly neutral as to need the definition of the two adjectives and the relative clauses. — *vagus*: not a regular *convictor* at any house, but picking up an invitation where he could. — *praesepe*: *crib*, *manger*, used hu-

morously. — The order of words must be noticed; 'a roamer, not the kind that has a regular crib.' [The order is too marked in this vs. and in 29 to make it possible to include *vagus* and *impransus* in the relative clauses, as if it had been *qui vagus non . . . teneret*.]

29. *civem . . . hoste*: *friend from foe*; cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 102, *hostisne an civis comedis parvi pendere*. The older sense (= *peregrinus*) is quite uncalled for here.

30. *opprobria fingere*: this characteristic of the *scurra*, paying for his dinner by insulting witticisms, is well described by Horace, *Sat.* 1, 4, 81-85.

31. A Plautine line; cf. *Capt.* 911, *clades calamitasque intemperies modo in nostram advenit domum*, of a hungry parasite, and *Curc.* 121 b, *age effunde hoc [vinum] cito in barathrum*. The figure is 'he came upon the market house like ruin, like a hurricane, like an abyss.'

33. *nequitiae*: *worthlessness*, with special reference to a spendthrift's follies; joined with *nugis* and *pravorum amore*, *Sat.* 2, 3,

aut paullum abstulerat, patinas cenabat omasi  
 35 vilis et agninae, tribus ursis quod satis esset;  
 scilicet ut ventres lamna candente nepotum  
 diceret urendos correctus Bestius. Idem  
 quidquid erat nactus praedae maioris, ubi omne  
 verterat in fumum et cinerem, 'Non hercule miror,'  
 40 aiebat, 'si qui comedunt bona, cum sit obeso  
 nil melius turdo, nil vulva pulchrius ampla.'

244. — *fautoribus*: *i.e.*, he had for a time found persons to applaud his follies, but they had become afraid (*timidis*) of his savage wit.

34. *abstulerat*: *i.e.*, had reached the point where no one would give him a dinner. — *patinas*: *platters*, he still kept his appetite, though he had to eat coarse food. — *omasi tripe*; spoken of with contempt in *Sat.* 2, 5, 40.

35. *vilis*: with *agninae*. But it is odd to modern taste that lamb should be classed with tripe as coarse and cheap food.

36–37. *scilicet ut*: 'in order, you know, that he might be able to say . . .'; an ironical purpose; cf. *Epist.* 1, 9, 3, and note. — *lamna*: slaves were branded with hot plates (*laminae*) on the member that had been most guilty, as on the hand for stealing. Maenius, being unable to buy dainty and expensive food, filled himself with coarse food and then discoursed with severity on the punishments that ought to be inflicted on people who wasted their money (*nepotum*) on high living. — *cor-*

*rectus Bestius*: 'like Bestius after his reformation,' or perhaps 'reformed into a regular Bestius.' For *correctus*, cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 254, *mutatus Polemon*. As Bestius is wholly unknown, it is impossible to understand the allusion precisely; he may have been a reformed prodigal who denounced his former vices, or a type of the severe censor of others' vices.

38. 'And yet this same man, if he had the chance, relapsed into his prodigal ways.' — *praedae maioris*: 'whenever he had made a good haul,' *i.e.*, had succeeded in getting something good out of one of his *fautores*.

39. *fumum et cinerem*: proverbial, esp. of sacking and destroying a captured town. — *hercule*: as an interjection more commonly in the form *hercle*.

40. *comedunt bona*: cf. Catull. 29, 22, *devorare patrimonia*; the literal sense is, of course, also in mind.

41. *vulva*: the matrix of the sow, which was regarded as a delicacy.

- Nimirum hic ego sum ; nam tuta et parvula laudo,  
 cum res deficiunt, satis inter vilia fortis ;  
 verum ubi quid melius contingit et unctius, idem  
 45 vos sapere et solos aio bene vivere, quorum  
 conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis.

42-46. The application of the story to Horace himself is made in phrases which recall the preceding lines without precisely repeating them. *tuta et parvula laudo* = vss. 36, 37; *cum res deficiunt* = vss. 33-34; *ubi quid . . . contingit* = *quidquid erat nactus*, vs. 38; *idem* = *idem*, vs. 37; and the rest is Horace's way of expressing the thought of vss. 39-41. — *vos*: Vala was among the wealthy people of the region. — *conspicitur . . . fundata*: to be taken together; 'is plainly seen to be solidly based.'

— *nitidis*: *splendid, gleaming*, like *villa candens*, *Epod.* 1, 29, with reference to the appearance of the white mass of the house when seen from a distance against the background of trees. — The underlying meaning of vss. 45-46 is, 'then I turn Epicurean, too, and enjoy your fine country houses and your good dinners, just as if I had never preached the Simple Life.' The story thus turns back to its starting-point, the inquiry in vss. 22-23 about game and sea food.

## 16

The year in which this Epistle was written cannot be determined, and the character of the letter is such that the precise date is not important. It may perhaps be inferred from vs. 16 that it was written in the late summer or the early autumn. The Quinctius to whom the letter is addressed is a man of position in public life (vss. 17-18), of some experience (vs. 25), and perhaps in office at this time (vs. 34). He may be the Quinctius Hirpinus of *Carm.* 2, 11.

'My farm, if you care to know about it, my dear Quinctius, is not so much a source of revenue to me, as a source of pleasure and health. Mountains, woods, streams, and a cool spring make it a perfect retreat from the heats of the city.

'As for you, you are in the midst of the active struggle of life, where reputation seems more important than character. But we must not be misled by popular applause, for it is often insincere and always fickle. Reputation may be taken away; character is our own. But it must be true virtue, not the fear of consequences, that keeps us from doing



wrong. We must not be the slaves of our desires, but must stand independent and free from fear. Death itself, the ultimate penalty, comes alike to all.'

This Epistle belongs to the more impersonal class of the letters, like 1, 6 and 1, 10. There is some degree of personality in the first part, vss. 1-16; Horace cannot write impersonally of his Sabine farm. And vss. 17-18 have undoubtedly some special reference to the circumstances of Quinctius. But the latter part of the Epistle is general, a sort of restatement, in Horace's words and manner, of the second Stoic Paradox. This is quoted by Cicero (*Parad.* 2): *ὅτι αὐτάρκης ἡ ἀρετὴ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, in quo sit virtus, ei nihil desse ad beate vivendum*, and is discussed and illustrated by him somewhat as it is here treated by Horace, with allusions to popular favor, to the tyranny of the passions, and to death as the *ultima linea*. In the style, also, as well as in the substance, there is an adoption of Stoic teaching by means of short sentences and lively bits of dialogue. No careful reader of the Satires will be surprised to find that Horace, in his later study of philosophy, sometimes accepts the Stoic doctrines; even in the earlier writings it is possible to see, underneath the flippancy with which he meets the formalism of the Stoics, a considerable measure of sympathy with the essence of their teaching.

Ne perconteris, fundus meus, optime Quincti,  
arvo pascat erum an hacis opulentet olivae,  
pomisne an pratis an amicta vitibus ulmo;  
scribetur tibi forma loquaciter et situs agri.

1. *ne perconteris*: cf. *Epist.* 1, 1, 13, *ac ne forte roges*. — The questions which Quinctius might have asked relate entirely to the farm as a source of income, while the answering description, vss. 5-16, is concerned only with the estate as a pleasant place to live in during the summer.

2-3. *pascat, opulentet*: *feeds* with grain, *enriches* by the sale of olives and fruit; but the distinction is unimportant and the two

verbs are used merely for variety. — The forms of cultivation mentioned were among those generally used in Italy: *arvo*, land plowed for grain; olives and fruit for sale in the city; *pratis*, *meadows* for pasturing cattle; *vitibus*, *vines* trained on elm trees for the making of wine. The four books of Vergil's *Georgics* deal with grain, vineyards, cattle, and bees.

4. *loquaciter*: *at full length*, with

- 5 Continui montes, ni dissociantur opaca  
 valle, sed ut veniens dextrum latus adspiciat sol,  
 laevum discedens curru fugiente vaporet;  
 temperiem laudes. Quid, si rubicunda benigni  
 corna vepres et pruna ferant? si quercus et ilex  
 10 multa fruge pecus, multa dominum iuvet umbra?  
 dicas adductum propius frondere Tarentum.  
 Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec

a jocose admission of his pleasure in talking about his farm.

5. *continui montes*: sc. *stunt*. — *ni*: introducing an exception; 'mountains in an unbroken stretch, except where they are separated'; 'the continuity would be unbroken, if it were not. . . .'

6-7. *sed ut*: limiting *opaca*; 'shaded, but lying so that the sun. . . .' — *veniens dextrum*: the valley runs north and south, and in describing the scene Horace thinks of himself as facing the south or southeast. — *vaporet*: *warms*, merely a variation on *adspiciat*. — In connection with this description one should read *Carm.* 1, 17, and the first part of *Sat.* 2, 6, in order to see how deeply Horace loved the scene. The description, however, does not make it possible to determine with certainty the location of the villa.

8-10. *temperiem laudes*: this is added as a consequence of the mingling of shade and sunlight. — *quid, si*: this form of question is one to which the answer is thought

to be obvious. No verb needs to be supplied, but if one were to be added in this case, it would be *dicas*, taken from the answer to the question. — *rubicunda*: he is thinking of the looks of the red berries, rather than of their use for food, while *pruna*, *wild plums*, are for eating. — *fruge*: *i.e.*, acorns for the swine.

11. Such a line as this can be better paraphrased than translated; 'you would say that Tarentum had been brought hither and that you were looking at its foliage.' The point of the line is in *frondere*; the foliage of green Tarentum was famous.

12. *fons*: it is often taken for granted that this is the *fons Bandusiae* of *Carm.* 3, 13, but in fact the location of that spring is quite unknown. — *rivo*: the Digentia, which flowed down the valley to join the Anio. — *idoneus*: *i.e.*, so large and full that the river might well take its name from the spring which is its source. — *ut*: the clause of result containing the comparative is equivalent to 'so

frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus,  
infirmo capiti fluit utilis, utilis alvo.

- 15 Hae latebrae dulces, etiam, si credis, amoenae,  
incolumem tibi me praestant Septembribus horis.  
Tu recte vivis, si curas esse quod audis.  
Iactamus iam pridem omnis te Roma beatum ;  
sed vereor, ne cui de te plus quam tibi credas,  
20 neve putes alium sapiente bonoque beatum,

cool and clear that even the Hebrus does not surpass it.'

13. *ambiat*: 'winds through Thrace.'

14. *infirmo capiti*: cf. *Epist.* 1, 15, 8 and note. — *alvo*: this may refer to the same treatment or to the excellence of the water for drinking.

15. *latebrae*: so in *Sat.* 2, 6, 16 it is called *arx*, a place of refuge. This is the answer to the questions that might be asked (vss. 2-3) about the productiveness of the farm. — *dulces*, *amoenae*: the distinctions made in books on synonymy between such adjectives are often forced; each case must be judged singly. Here it is plain that *amoenae* expresses something beyond *dulces*; *dear* (to my feeding) and *delightful* (in itself). — *si credis*: humorously deprecating.

16. *Septembribus*: the worst time of the year in Rome.

17. *tu*: turning from his own affairs to the affairs and situation of Quintius. — *quod audis*: 'what people call you,' 'what you are said to be.' Cf. *Epist.* 1, 7, 38, *Sat.* 2, 3, 298.

18. *iactamus*: 'we have been declaring,' 'saying openly'; there is no necessary implication of boasting. — *iam pridem*: not, therefore, because of any new honor, but because of Quintius' high standing. — *omnis . . . Roma*: so *dicemus civitas omnis*, *Carm.* 4, 2, 50; *eamus omnis civitas*, *Epod.* 16, 36. — *te . . . beatum*: this is *quod audis*.

19. *ne . . . credas*: this commonplace of philosophy, which means in essence that one should not be puffed up by popular favor, is first put in general terms and then more specifically explained and illustrated in the next lines. These verses form a transition from the opening of the Epistle to the main thought, that the wise man is one who lives by the precepts of philosophy, and are not to be understood as referring to anything definite in the character or situation of Quintius. He is merely the man of high position to whom these exhortations may be fittingly addressed.

20. Another form of the Stoic

- neu, si te populus sanum recteque valentem  
dictitet, occultam febrem sub tempus edendi  
dissimules, donec manibus tremor incidat unctis.  
Stultorum incurata pudor malus ulcera celat.
- 25 Si quis bella tibi terra pugnata marique  
dicat, et his verbis vacuas permulceat aures:  
'Tene magis salvum populus velit an populum tu,  
servet in ambiguo, qui consulit et tibi et urbi,  
Iuppiter,' Augusti laudes agnoscere possis:
- 30 cum pateris sapiens emendatusque vocari,

Paradox, to which Horace frequently refers in the Satires.—*alium sapiente*: so *species alias veris*, *Sat.* 2, 3, 208; *alius Lysippo*, *Epist.* 2, 1, 240 and often.

21-23. This is Horace's favorite method of presenting an argument, by means of an implied comparison; 'do not be like a man who. . . .'—*dictitet*: the same in sense as *iactamus*, vs. 18.—*edendi*: *i.e.*, he feels the chill coming on just as he is going to the table, but tries to conceal it from his guests.—*manibus*: where the chill would first betray itself.—*unctis*: the food was taken up with the fingers, and the meaning is, 'after you have begun your dinner,' when it is more inconvenient than it would have been before the dinner began.

24. *stultorum*: emphatic; 'only fools, not *sapientes*'—The line is a second argument by comparison; 'do not be like a man who. . .'

25. *tibi*: with *pugnata*. This

harmonizes with the implication of vs. 18, that Quinctius was a man who had been long active in public life and had taken part in the civil wars.

26. *vacuas*: 'ready' to listen; cf. *Epist.* 1, 18, 70, *patulae aures*, and, in a slightly different sense, *Epist.* 1, 1, 7, *purgatam aurem*.

27-29. These verses are said by the Scholiast to be taken from a Panegyric of Augustus, by Varius. The quotation of them is therefore a double compliment.—*servet in ambiguo*: *i.e.*, 'I pray that we may never be forced to decide between your safety and the safety of the state.'—*et tibi et urbi*: repeating the contrast of *populus an tu*.—*agnoscere*: both because the verses were so well known and because the praise was suitable only to Augustus.

30. *pateris*: 'allow yourself to be called,' without protest. For the nomin. after the infin. there are many parallels, *e.g.*, in vs. 32 and

respondesne tuo, dic sodes, nomine? 'Nempe vir bonus et prudens dici delector ego ac tu.'

Qui dedit hoc hodie, cras, si volet, auferet, ut, si detulerit fasces indigno, detrahet idem.

35 'Pone, meum est,' inquit: pono tristisque recedo.

Idem si clamet furem, neget esse pudicum, contendat laqueo collum pressisse paternum,

*Epist.* 1, 5, 15. It is a perfectly natural deviation from the mechanical accus. and not a Grecism. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 19, *licet esse beatis*.

31. *respondesne*: not equal to *nonne respondes*, but with a formal neutrality; 'do you answer or do you not?' — *tuo ... nomine*: *i.e.*, 'for yourself,' by accepting the description as really applicable to you. — *dic sodes*: a formula of appeal, as in *Epist.* 1, 1, 62. *sodes* = *si audes*, with the earlier meaning of *audeo* (= *aideo*, *aveo*).

32. *bonus et prudens*: a more modest substitute for *sapiens emendatusque*. — *delector*: intentionally stronger than *pateris*. — *ac tu*: a retort; 'just as you do, in spite of your superior tone.' — The whole line is a restatement of vs. 30, but in terms which satisfy the speaker better than *pateris sapiens emendatusque*; 'of course I like to be called a respectable and sensible man, and so do you.'

33. *qui dedit*: *i.e.*, public opinion. The reply, as so often in Horace, begins without an introductory conjunction, *at* or *sed*. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 36.

34. *fasces*: for any high office. — *detrahet*: not with reference to any legal impeachment, but merely as a vivid expression for the withdrawal of favor.

35. The figure in this vs. is slightly changed from that of the preceding line; it is the figure of a person taking up an object, any object, and being interrupted by the rightful owner. The subject of *meum est* is not *officium* (from *fasces*) or *nomen*, but is entirely indefinite; 'put that down, it's mine.' The variation of thought in vss. 33, 34, 35, is thoroughly Horatian; 'public opinion may take away reputation, as the voters may take away the office they gave, or as any man may reclaim what is his own.'

36. *idem*: the person who is vaguely thought of as the subject of *inquit*, with a slighter reference back to the subjects of *detrahet* and *auferet*. The force of *idem* is, as often, adversative; 'but when that same man accuses me unjustly, I can regard him with indifference.'

37. *laqueo*: this is a proverbial

- mordear opprobriis falsis mutemque colores?  
 Falsus honor iuvat et mendax infamia terret  
 40 quem nisi mendosum et medicandum? Vir bonus est  
     quis?  
 Qui consulta patrum, qui leges iuraque servat;  
 quo multae magnaeque secantur iudice lites;  
 quo res sponsore et quo causae teste tenentur.  
 Sed videt hunc omnis domus et vicinia tota  
 45 introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decora.  
 ‘Nec furtum feci nec fugi’ si mihi dicat  
 servus, ‘Habes pretium, loris non ureris,’ aio.  
 ‘Non hominem occidi.’ ‘Non pasces in cruce corvos.’  
 ‘Sum bonus et frugi.’ Renuit negitatque Sabellus.  
 50 Cautus enim metuit foveam lupus accipiterque

form of exaggerated accusation; cf. *Carm.* 2, 13, 5; *Epod.* 3, 1 f.

39. falsus honor: the substance of vss. 25–32. — mendax infamia: vss. 36–37.

41–43. This is the answer of the popular judgment to the question of vs. 40, not Horace's own answer, which is given in an indirect way in vss. 73 ff. — secantur: are decided; cf. *Sat.* 1, 10, 15, *ridiculum*. . . . *magnas plerumque secat res*. — sponsore: i.e., as a responsible man in business affairs. — teste: his evidence on the witness stand is accepted as decisive. — tenentur: used in a general sense with *res* (are settled) and in a technical sense, of winning a case at law, with *causae* (are won).

45. An allusion to the fable of

the Ass in the Lion's Skin, to which Horace alludes also in *Sat.* 1, 6, 22; 2, 1, 64 f., in phrases very similar to those used here.

47. loris: leather thongs for whipping a slave. — ureris: so *Sat.* 2, 7, 58, *uri virgis*.

49. The unexpressed thought is ‘since I am innocent of these things, I am therefore an upright man.’ But this claim the strict judge refuses to admit. The same course of reasoning is followed in *Sat.* 2, 3, 159–162, with the same parody of the Stoic manner. — Sabellus: as a type of the strict moralist, who is not satisfied with good conduct unless the motive is also good.

50–51. ‘For mere caution in avoiding trouble is shown by birds and animals,’ and is therefore not



suspectos laqueos et opertum miluus hamum.

Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore :

tu nihil admittes in te formidine poenae ;

sit spes fallendi, miscebis sacra profanis,

55 nam de mille fabae modiis cum surripis unum,  
damnum est, non facinus, mihi pacto lenius isto.

Vir bonus, omne forum quem spectat et omne tribunal,  
quandocumque deos vel porco vel bove placat,

'Iane pater,' clare, clare cum dixit 'Apollo' ;

60 labra movet metuens audiri : 'Pulchra Laverna,  
da mihi fallere ! Da iusto sanctoque videri !

Noctem peccatis et fraudibus obice nubem !'

Qui melior servo, qui liberior sit avarus,  
in triviis fixum cum se demittit ob assem,

a virtuous motive. — *foveam* : *pit-fall*. — *miluus* : in three syllables ; this variety of fish takes its name from the bird, and the word may be rendered *kite-fish*.

52-53. The ablatives, *amore*, *formidine*, are the important words.

56. *damnum* : the pecuniary loss, which is trifling. — *facinus* : *the sin* ; sc. *tibi lenius*. — *pacto . . . isto* : repeating the thought of *cum surripis unum*. *isto* is in the proper second person sense. — The argument is that the sin is not to be measured by the extent of the loss inflicted, but by the motive that prompts it. This is not precisely the Stoic doctrine that all sins are equal and deserve a like penalty.

57. *vir bonus* : still in the ironical sense, as in 41 ff., and therefore defined in the rest of the line,

'the man whom the popular judgment approves.' — *forum* : cf. vs. 41. — *tribunal* : cf. vs. 42.

60. *labra movet* : without uttering any sound ; in contrast with *clare, clare*. — *Laverna* : the goddess of theft.

61. *iusto* : cf. *Sat.* I, I, 19, *licet esse beatis*, and vs. 30 above, with note.

63. *qui* : *how*, with the indirect question after *non video*. — *servo* : after both *melior* and *liberior*, which are predicates after *sit*.

64. *fixum . . . assem* : this is explained by the scholiast on *Persius* 5, III ; 'quia solent pueri, ut ridendi causam habeant, assem in silice [*the pavement*] plumbatum [*i.e. with melted lead*] figere, ut qui viderint se ad tollendum eum inclinent nec tamen possint evel-

- 65 non video; nam qui cupiet, metuet quoque; **porro**  
 qui metuens vivet, liber mihi non erit unquam.  
 Perdidit arma, locum virtutis deseruit, qui  
 semper in augenda festinat et **obruitur** re.  
 Vendere cum possis captivum, occidere noli;  
 70 serviet utiliter: sine pascat durus aretque;  
 naviget ac mediis hiemet mercator in undis;  
 annonae **prosit**, portet frumenta penusque.  
 Vir bonus et sapiens audebit dicere: 'Pentheu,  
 rector Thebarum, quid me perferre patique  
 75 indignum coges?' '**Adimam** bona.' 'Nempe pecus,  
 rem,  
 lectos, argentum: tollas licet!' 'In manicis et  
 compedibus saevo te sub custode tenebo.'

lere. quo facto pueri etiam acclamare solent.'

65. **cupiet, metuet**: cf. *Epist.* 1, 6, 12.

67. **arma, locum**: acts which were proverbially discreditable; but they are really no worse than it is to give up one's life to money making.

69-72. 'Such a man is a mere slave, and should be set to do slave's work.'—**captivum**: this carries on the figure of vs. 67; the coward who has allowed himself to be captured may be made useful as a slave. The verse is a scornful bit of advice, addressed to the conqueror.—**durus**: as a hard-working farm slave.—The *agricola* and the *mercator* (*nauta*) are frequently used as types of men who endure hardship for gain,

e.g., *Sat.* 1, 1, 28 ff.—**annonae**: 'let him help to keep down the cost of living by bringing grain from Egypt.'

73-79. These lines paraphrase a passage of Euripides (*Bacch.* 492-498), as in *Sat.* 2, 3, 262-271, a passage from Terence is transposed into hexameters. The god, Dionysus, in disguise is in the power of Pentheus, king of Thebes.—**bonus et sapiens**: the man who is truly good in heart, and who relies upon his character rather than upon his reputation, or upon the judgment of others. Cf. *Carm.* 3, 3, 1 ff., *iustum et tenacem*.—**perferre patique**: cf. *Epist.* 1, 15, 17.—**lectos**: for all his furniture.—**argentum**: *silver plate*, not money.—**ipse deus** . . . : an exact translation of *λύσει μ' ὁ δαίμων*

‘Ipse deus, simul atque volam, me solvet.’ Opinor,  
hoc sentit : ‘moriar.’ Mors ultima linea rerum est.

αὐτὸς ὅταν ἐγὼ θέλω. — moriar : harmony with Stoic doctrine. Cf. *Carm.* 1, 12, 35 f., *Catonis nobile letum*. — ultima linea : the white line which marked the end of the race course.  
this is, of course, not in the play, but is an interpretation of the scene according to Stoic ideals. To take refuge from the ills of life in self-inflicted death was quite in

## 17

The person to whom this Epistle is addressed is wholly unknown, nor is there anything in the letter to fix the date.

‘I know that you need no advice about living with the great, yet perhaps I may be able to say something about it that you will care to hear. If you prefer a retired life, you can find happiness there, but if you seek for something more, you must go where it is to be found. You know the story of Diogenes and Aristippus ; the one prided himself upon his rudeness, the other was a man of the world. It was the latter who was truly a philosopher, for if it is a worthy ambition to desire to be distinguished in public life, then it is also a worthy ambition to desire to please the men who are thus distinguished. To refuse to make the attempt is a kind of cowardice ; to enter the contest and win a place is honorable.

‘But I don’t mean that one should be a beggar, always parading his needs and his misfortunes. The Egyptian humbug, pretending to have broken his leg in order to excite pity, fools only the inexperienced.’

There is scarcely anything of the epistolary form or tone in this letter. It is a discourse, partly serious, but largely ironical, on the proper attitude toward men of higher rank. This was a subject which Horace had himself been obliged to consider with serious attention. His relation to Maecenas and Augustus and Agrippa had exposed him to criticism and had been in itself difficult to reconcile with that independence of life and thought which he desired to maintain. It was impossible for him to write on this subject without a consciousness, which reveals itself in several places, of his own personal interest in it. To some extent, therefore, it is seriously meant ; the attitude and teaching of Aristippus in regard to social relations command Horace’s approval. On the other hand, the relation of the man of humbler rank to the greater men is almost everywhere treated as though the ultimate

object of it was profit, not real friendship. This is, of course, ironical, and at the close, from vs. 43 to the end, it becomes pure satire.

It is certainly difficult for the modern reader, accustomed to democratic ideals, to estimate this Epistle quite justly, not taking it too seriously and yet not overlooking the serious meaning. For a full understanding of Horace's attitude on this subject, this Epistle should be compared with the next and both should be read in connection with *Epist.* 1, 7, to Maecenas.

Quamvis, Scaeva, satis per te tibi consulis, et scis  
quo tandem pacto deceat maioribus uti,  
disce, docendus adhuc quae censet amicus, ut si  
caecus iter monstrare velit; tamen adspice si quid  
5 et nos, quod cures proprium fecisse, loquamur.  
Si te grata quies et primam somnus in horam  
delectat, si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum,  
si laedit caupona, Ferentinum ire iubebo.  
Nam neque divitibus contingunt gaudia solis,  
10 nec vixit male qui natus moriensque fefellit.

1. *quamvis . . . per te*: cf. *A.P.* 366f., *quamvis . . . per te sapi*s; this is a modest formula to soften the assumption of wisdom that may be involved in proffering advice. *per te*, 'without advice from any one.'

2. *tandem*: frequent in direct questions and then retained in the indirect. — *maioribus*: *the great*; this plain recognition of difference in station is common in all societies where there is an established nobility. — *uti*: *to get along with, to associate with*. There is no suggestion of making use of for one's own advantage.

3. *docendus adhuc*: with *ami-*

*culus*; 'a friend who admits that he has himself still much to learn.' This and the diminutive *amiculus*, 'a humble friend,' continue the deprecatory tone of vs. 1. •

5. *et nos*: the *amiculus*. — *proprium fecisse*: *to adopt*.

6–10. 'If you choose a retired life, it will bring its own rewards.' — *primam . . . in horam*: in contrast to the early rising for the *salutatio*; cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 10. — *rotarum, caupona*: the discomforts of travel, when the follower was under obligation to attend his patron on a journey, as Horace had attended Maecenas on the journey to Brundisium. — *Ferenti-*

Si prodesse tuis paulloque benignius ipsum  
te tractare voles, accedes siccus ad unctum.

‘Si pranderet holus patienter, regibus uti  
nollet Aristippus.’ ‘Si sciret regibus uti,

- 15 fastidiret holus qui me notat.’ Vtrius horum  
verba probes et facta, doce, vel iunior audi  
cur sit Aristippi potior sententia. Namque  
mordacem Cynicum sic eludebat, ut aiunt:  
‘Scurror ego ipse mihi, populo tu; rectius hoc et

**num**: one of the small mountain towns, selected merely as a type of a retired spot. — **natus . . . fe-**  
**fellit**: ‘whose birth and death have passed unnoticed.’

**11. si**: the second and contrasting possibility is introduced, as often, without an adversative particle, the adversative connection being implied in the thought. — **prodesse tuis**: cf. vs. 46; there is some irony in putting care for one’s friends first and *benignius ipsum* second, and in the use of *paullo*.

**12. accedes**: future almost with impv. force. — **siccus**: *thirsty*, but implying hunger also; cf. *Sat.* 2, 2, 14, *siccus, inanis*. — **unctum**: *to a rich table*; cf. *Epist.* 1, 15, 44. The contrast between rich and poor is often expressed, as here, in terms of food and drink; in this case it prepares for the story which follows.

**13-15**. The dialogue is paraphrased from Diog. Laert. 2, 8, 68. Diogenes the Cynic was washing some vegetables, preparing for his

plain meal, when Aristippus happened to pass by. — **patienter**: *i.e.* ‘with the endurance which we Cynics teach and practice.’ — **regibus**: Aristippus lived for a time in the court of Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse. — **si sciret**: *i.e.*, ‘if the Cynic know how to live reasonably with all men, even kings, as my philosophy teaches.’ — **notat**: *censures*; cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 24, note.

**16. verba . . . et facta**: ‘their teachings and their lives.’

**17. potior**: in this particular instance; but all the references to Aristippus (*Sat.* 2, 3, 100; *Epist.* 1, 1, 18) are respectful, and he seems to have stood in Horace’s mind as a good type of the mean between Stoicism and Epicureanism.

**18. mordacem**: this particular adj. is selected because of the derivation of *Cynicus* from *κύνων*, *a dog*. — **eludebat**: *parried, dodged*; a word used of the movement of a gladiator.

**19. scurror**: *i.e.*, ‘we both play the *scurra*, the parasite and hanger-

- 20 splendidius multo est. Equus ut me portet, alat rex,  
 officium facio; tu poscis vilia, verum  
 dante minor, quamvis fers te nullius egentem.  
 Omnis Aristippum decuit color et status et res,  
 temptantem maiora, fere praesentibus aequum.
- 25 Contra, quem duplici panno patientia velat,  
 mirabor vitae via si conversa decebit.  
 Alter purpureum non exspectabit amictum,  
 quidlibet indutus celeberrima per loca vadet  
 personamque feret non inconcinnus utramque;
- 30 alter Mileti textam cane peius et angui

on, if you choose to put it so, but my way of doing it is the better.' — **mihi, populo**: *i.e.*, 'I do it for my own sake, for my own approval, you for the approval of the crowd.'

20. **equus . . . rex**: a Greek proverb; ἵππος με φέρει, βασιλεύς με τρέφει.

21–22. **officium**: as courtier, but intentionally neutral, so that it might mean 'as *scurra*.' — **poscis**: Diogenes was supported by gifts which he begged from his admirers. — **verum**: 'and yet you are inferior to those who bestow the gifts.' — **fers te**: *boast yourself*. — The point of the retort is that Aristippus gets a real reward, while Diogenes, just as truly a courtier, gets only a petty reward.

23–24. **color**: cf. *Sat.* 2, 1, 60, *vitaecolor*. — **temptantem maiora**: this line is a free rendering of a doctrine of the school of Aristippus, as vs. 23 is a characterization of him from Greek sources. — **praesenti-**

**bus**: neut. plur. dat.; 'what he had,' in distinction from *maiora*.

25. **duplici panno**: the διπλοῖς, the cloak of the Cynics, folded over to take the place of both inner and outer garment. It is called *pannus* in contempt, because the philosopher wore old and coarse clothing, to prove his indifference to luxury and his endurance (*patientia*).

26. **vitae via . . . conversa**: *i.e.*, the change from his ostentatious asceticism to ordinary life with other men.

27–28. **non exspectabit**: *i.e.*, he is not dependent upon some particular kind of dress to support his character as a philosopher, but is at ease in any dress (*quidlibet indutus*) and any company. This characteristic of Aristippus was traditional.

29. **utramque**: either the man of the world or the philosopher.

30. **alter**: Diogenes. — **Mileti**:



vitabit chlamydem, morietur frigore, si non  
rettuleris pannum; refer, et sine vivat ineptus!

Res gerere et captos ostendere civibus hostis,  
attingit solium Iovis et caelestia tentat;

35 principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est.

Non cuius homini contingit adire Corinthum.

Sedit qui timuit ne non succederet. Esto;

quid, qui pervenit, fecitne viriliter? Atqui

hic est aut nusquam quod quaerimus. Hic onus horret,

40 ut parvis animis et parvo corpore maius;

the woolen fabrics of Miletus were famous for their fineness. — cane: put in only for the joke on the Cynic; cf. *mordacem*, vs. 18, and note.

32. *rettuleris*: there is a story that Diogenes refused to exchange his coarse cloak for the better garment of Aristippus, preferring to suffer from cold rather than to appear in public in anything but his philosopher's dress.

34. *attingit solium*: cf. the various expressions for this thought in *Carm.* 1, 1, *evehit ad deos, sublimi feriam sidera vertice*, and for *caelestia tentat* cf. *Carm.* 3, 2, 21 f., *virtus, recludens . . . caelum, negata temptat iter via*, all meaning to attain the height of felicity.

35. *principibus placuisse*: *i.e.*, 'to have won the favor of men who have attained to these heights is in itself no small credit.' Though the thought is put in general terms, Horace is also thinking of himself. Cf. *Sat.* 2, 1, 76, *me cum magnis*

*vixisse . . . fatebitur . . . invidia*, and *Epist.* 1, 20, 23.

36. A translation of the Greek saying οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς, with the general meaning that not every man can succeed in getting the prize, *i.e.*, in winning the favor of men of position.

37. *sedit*: a true perfect, not 'gnomic'; 'the man who was afraid of failure sat still and avoided the contest.' There is a reference, apparently, to the contestants at the games, who are summoned by the herald to enter the race. — *esto*: *very good*; 'suppose he did well to decline the contest, yet we must say that the man who entered and ran to the end was even better.'

38-39. *atqui*: adversative to the interrogative form of *fecitne*; 'but you must not avoid the issue by a question, for this is the very point of the whole discussion.'

39-41. *hic*: a man like Diogenes, one who prefers not to enter the

hic subit et perfert. Aut virtus nomen inane est,  
 aut decus et pretium recte petit experiens vir.  
 Coram rege sua de paupertate tacentes  
 plus poscente ferent. Distat, sumasne pudenter,  
 45 an rapias. Atqui rerum caput hoc erat, hic fons.  
 'Indotata mihi soror est, paupercula mater,  
 et fundus nec vendibilis nec pascere firmus,'  
 qui dicit, clamat 'victum date'; succinit alter  
 'et mihi'; dividuo findetur munere quadra.

social contest at all, but to keep wholly out of the activity of life, as in vss. 6-10. — *hic subit*: a man of the type of Aristippus, one who dares to play his part among men. Cf. vss. 11-12.

41-42. *virtus*: with a reference back to *viriliter*. — *decus*: 'the credit of having won favor.' — *recte*: *justly*. — *experiens*: *qui omnia experitur*, 'the man who dares make the attempt'; joined by Cicero with *fortis* and *promptus*. — This is a summary of the whole argument from vs. 6. The man who chooses a quiet life, Diogenes in his tattered cloak, the timid man who shuns the contest, represent one side of the argument; the man of some ambition, the philosopher, like Aristippus, who is nevertheless a man of the world, the contestant who risks defeat, these are on the other side, and vs. 42 gives the decision in their favor.

43-61. As many of these satires close with a humorous turn, so the thought of this Epistle turns at this

point to a humorous treatment of the theme, which may be compared to the ironical advice of Tiresias to Ulysses in *Sat.* 2, 5, 88-98.

43. *rege*: the word that a parasite uses of his patron, not as in vss. 13, 14, nor as in *Epist.* 1, 7, 37.

44. *distat*: *it makes a great difference*.

45. *atqui*: as in vs. 38; 'and yet this very difference was the point of my argument.' — *erat*: *i.e.*, all the time, in all the preceding argument.

47. *firmus*: *suitable*, giving a secure income by pasturing flocks and herds.

48. *qui dicit, clamat*: *i.e.*, such statements are in effect a beggar's outcry. — *alter*: *another, a second man*; not *the other*.

49. *findetur*: 'the result of such shameless begging will be that each man will get half a loaf.' — *dividuo*: predicate. — *quadra*: *the loaf, the piece*; there is no sugges-

- 50 Sed tacitus pasci si posset corvus, haberet  
plus dapis et rixae multo minus invidiaeque.  
Brundisium comes aut Surrentum ductus amoenum  
qui queritur salebras et acerbum frigus et imbres,  
aut cistam effractam et subducta viatica plorat,  
55 nota refert meretricis acumina, saepe catellam,  
saepe periscelidem raptam sibi flentis, uti mox  
nulla fides damnis verisque doloribus adsit.  
Nec semel irrisus triviis attollere curat  
fracto crure planum, licet illi plurima manet  
60 lacrima, per sanctum iuratus dicat Osirim:  
'Credite, non ludo; crudeles, tollite claudum!'  
'Quaere peregrinum,' vicinia rauca reclamat.

tion, of course, of dividing into four parts.

50-51. **tacitus pasci**: the cawing of the crow when it finds something to eat attracts other birds which want a share of the food. There is no allusion to the fable of the Fox and the Crow.

52. **Brundisium**: cf. *Sat.* I, 5; the naming of this place is one of the many personal touches in this letter which show that Horace was thinking of his own relation to Maecenas and other men of position in public life.

53. **salebras**: roughnesses; only here in Horace.

55. **refert**: brings back to memory. — **acumina**: tricks. — **catellam**: diminutive of *catena*.

57. **veris**: real, i.e., different

from the trifling matters of vs. 54, which are no more than the ordinary incidents of travel, not worth a moment's notice.

58. **triviis**: the impostor, pretending to be suffering from an accident, selects a place where many persons would be passing.

59. **planum**: πλάνος, an impostor; not the adj. *plānus*. — **manet**: from *māno*, not from *māneo*.

60. **Osirim**: the cheat was an Egyptian and swore by his own god. Rome swarmed with foreigners who lived by their wits.

62. **peregrinum**: i.e., 'try your tricks on some one who doesn't know you.' — **vicinia**: this continues the same thought, that the tricks had been tried too often in that neighborhood.

## 18

This Epistle was written in the year 20 B.C., as the reference to the recovery of Roman standards from the Parthians (vss. 56 f.) shows, and is addressed to the Lollius to whom *Epist.* 1, 2 was written.

'Lack of independence is a fault to be avoided, my dear Lollius, in your relation to a man of rank, but lack of common sense is worse. The true course lies between. The lack of self-respect makes a man a mere parasite; lack of judgment makes him assert his independence by wrangling about trifles.

'Do not try to rival your patron in extravagance; he will not like you the better for it, and you cannot afford it. The ill-natured witticism of Volumnius, that the best way to ruin a man was to give him a fine coat and let him try to live up to it, has enough of truth in it to serve as a warning. Do not try to learn his secrets and don't betray his confidences. Don't insist on following your own inclinations, even though they may seem to you the better; Amphion, you know, gave up the lyre to please his brother. If your friend likes hunting better than poetry, yield and go with him. It will do you good and you are an athlete; I have seen you on the Campus and I remember that sea fight on your father's estate. Be careful in your speech and in your conduct. Introduce only men that you know well, and if you make a mistake in this, don't refuse to acknowledge it. But stand by your true friends, as you expect them to stand by you. And conform even to your patron's moods; be serious when he is serious, and gay when he is gay, and keep a cheerful countenance at all times.

'But above all fix your mind upon the lessons and ideals of philosophy and learn from them the secret of a peaceful life.

'As for me, I have attained to that peaceful life. I ask of the gods nothing but a continuance of it.'

This Epistle deals, in substance, with a situation like that which is discussed in the Epistle immediately preceding, but with great differences both in form and in tone. The epistolary form is maintained with much skill; there are many personal touches, so that the character and situation of the young Lollius are clearly defined and the unnamed patron is more than a lay figure. And the letter closes with a passage of peculiarly intimate self-disclosure. All this is much superior to the essay form of *Epist.* 1, 17. In the tone, also, there is more of reality. Here, even more distinctly than in the letter to Scaeva, Horace had constantly in mind his own relation to Maecenas and his own efforts to find the middle course between an undue deference and an unwise

independence. As he was conscious that he had succeeded in preserving both his friendship and his independence, he can describe his own course, under the guise of advice to a younger friend, with a sense of satisfaction.

Si bene te novi, metues, liberrime Lolli,  
scurrantis speciem praebere, professus amicum.

Vt matrona meretrici dispar erit atque  
discolor, infido scurrae distabit amicus.

5 Est huic diversum vitio vitium prope maius,  
asperitas agrestis et inconcinna gravisque,  
quae se commendat tonsa cute, dentibus atris,  
dum vult libertas dici mera veraque virtus.

Virtus est medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum.

1-2. **liberrime**: so *Sat.* 1, 4, 132, *liber amicus*, *free-speaking*, *frank*. The word gives the keynote of the Epistle, which is addressed to a man of independent character, of whom it could be said with special force *metues* . . . *praebere*. — **speciem**: *i.e.*, 'in your great independence you will dislike even the appearance of servility.' — **amicum**: directly after *professus*; the concrete for the abstract; *Carm.* 1, 35, 22, *comitem abnegat*.

3-4. **matrona**: this word has always an especially honorable sense. — **discolor**: a definition of *dispar*. The *meretrix* wore a dark-colored toga, the *matrona* a white *stola*.

5. **est**: the emphatic position gives an adversative effect; 'you need not fear, for an *amicus* is as different from a *scurra* as a *matrona* from a *meretrix*. There

is, however, another fault, which your independence may lead you into.' — **huic** . . . **vitio**: *i.e.*, the fault of servility.

6. **inconcinna**: cf. *Epist.* 1, 17, 29; *disagreeable*, unsuited to pleasant society.

7. **commendat**: the meaning of the verb suggests the ironical turn: cf. *Epist.* 2, 1, 261. — **tonsa cute**: *i.e.*, 'by hair cut close to the scalp,' a fashion affected by the Cynics and by persons who desired to prove themselves superior to the prevailing fashion. — **dentibus atris**: another way of showing independent indifference.

8. **libertas**: with a reference back to *liberrime*, and with the implication that too great freedom of speech is like the *asperitas agrestis*.

9. This vs., taking up at the beginning the word with which

- 10 Alter in obsequium plus aequo pronus et imi  
derisor lecti, sic nutum divitis horret,  
sic iterat voces et verba cadentia tollit,  
ut puerum saevo credas dictata magistro  
reddere vel partes minum tractare secundas.
- 15 Alter rixatur de lana saepe caprina,  
propugnat nugis armatus. 'Scilicet ut non  
sit mihi prima fides et vere quod placet ut non  
acriter elatrem? Pretium aetas altera sordet.'

vs. 8 ends, is a well-known definition. Cf. Cic. *de Off.* 1, 25, 89, '... mediocritatem illam, quae est inter nimium et parum, quae placet Peripateticis,' and often in Horace, especially in *Carm.* 2, 10, 5, *aurea mediocritas*.

10-14. alter: the *scurra*. — imi derisor lecti: so *Sat.* 2, 8, 40 f., *imi convivae lecti*, in the same place in the verse. The parasites were on the *lectus imus* with the host. This whole passage is best illustrated by a reading of *Sat.* 2, 8. — cadentia: *i.e.*, remarks which have failed to attract the attention of the guests. — dictata . . . reddere: cf. *Epist.* 1, 1, 55, *haec recinunt . . . dictata*. — partes . . . secundas: the second actor in the mimes was expected to 'play up to' the leading actor (cf. *Sat.* 1, 9, 46), even repeating his gestures and actions.

15. de lana . . . caprina: this appears to be a proverbial expression; it is correctly explained by the Scholiast as a trifling question, whether the hair of goats could

properly be called wool (*lana*), a mere strife about words.

16. nugis: dative after *propugnat*. — armatus: absolute; 'with drawn sword,' carrying out the sense of *propugnat*. [*rixatur de lana* and *propugnat nugis* are different expressions for the same thought, as often in Horace, *e.g.*, *dispar atque discolor*, vs. 3 f. The dative after *propugnat* is perfectly normal, though it happens not to occur in classical Latin; the ablative, either with *propugnat* or with *armatus*, gives a wrong sense.] — scilicet: cf. *Epist.* 1, 9, 3, note. — ut non: a repudiating exclamation, cf. *satin ut* in questions and see Lane, §§ 1568, 1569. With this form of interrogative exclamation *scilicet* is perfectly harmonious, though it is not used in ordinary questions.

17. prima: *i.e.*, 'I should be trusted at once,' 'my mere statement should command instant acceptance.'

18. elatrem: with a hit at the Cynic philosophy. — pretium . . .



Ambigitur quid enim? Castor sciat an Docilis plus;  
 20 Brundisium Minuci melius via ducat an Appi.  
 Quem damnosa Venus, quem praeceps alea nudat,  
 gloria quem supra vires et vestit et unguet,  
 quem tenet argenti sitis importuna famesque,  
 quem paupertatis pudor et fuga, dives amicus,  
 25 saepe decem vitiis instructor, odit et horret,

sordet: a condensed expression; 'I should think a second life (the privilege of living two lives) too small a price to pay me for submitting to such treatment.' *pretium* is an appositive to *aetas altera*.

19. *ambigitur*: i.e., 'what is all the row about? Some matter of the most trivial importance.' — *Castor . . . an Docilis*: unknown; they were actors or gladiators or other persons then well known, an allusion to whom would be understood by contemporary readers. — Cf., as an example of the same kind of trifling matter, *Sat.* 2, 6, 44, *Thraex est Gallina Syro par?* and 72, *male necne Lepos saltet*. — *sciat*: this would suit either actors or gladiators.

20. The *via Minucia* was perhaps the shorter but rougher road, taken by Maecenas and Horace in *Sat.* 1, 5. The *via Appia*, to Brundisium by way of Tarentum, was longer, but better. — This passage, vss. 15–20, is one of those vivid portraits which Horace often draws; it is the irascible person who is always ready to contend

about trifles and whose intolerance of the views of others is so great that any hesitancy in accepting his decisions seems to him like an unbearable insult.

21 ff. The general discussion which started from *liberrime* now passes over into special warnings and injunctions.

21–24. The faults mentioned have in common the characteristic of leading to the desire for money. — *damnosa*: ruinous, financially, not morally. — *supra vires*: cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 179 ff. on the expensiveness of office seeking. — *et vestit et unguet*: i.e., leads into expensive habits. — *argenti sitis*: the love of money for itself produces the same effect as the need of money to pay gambling debts, i.e., it makes a man a less agreeable friend and companion. — *paupertatis . . . fuga*: this is, in its results, the same as *avaritia*; cf. *Epist.* 1, 16, 65; 1, 6, 9 and notes.

25. *vitiis instructor*: 'ten times as well provided with faults.' *decem* is a round number. *vitiis*, abl. of degree of difference with the comparative. The whole ex-

- aut, si non odit, regit ac, veluti pia mater,  
 plus quam se sapere et virtutibus esse priorem  
 vult et ait prope vera: 'Meae, contendere noli,  
 stultitiam patiuntur opes; tibi parvula res est:  
 30 arta decet sanum comitem toga; desine mecum  
 certare.' Eutrapelus cuicumque nocere volebat  
 vestimenta dabat pretiosa; beatus enim iam  
 cum pulchris tunicis sumet nova consilia et spes,  
 dormiet in lucem, scorto postponet honestum  
 35 officium, nummos alienos pascet, ad imum

pression is, of course, humorous; the great man, who has had plenty of experience of all sides of life, does not want his friend to bother him with small extravagances, but to be a better man than himself.

26. *regit*: *advises him*. — *mater*: parents wish their children to be wiser and better than they have themselves been.

28. *prope vera*: *i.e.*, not philosophically true, since folly is never good, but true enough in their present application. — *contendere noli*: parenthetical.

30. *arta*: the narrow toga is treated as a sign of simplicity, as in *Epod.* 4, 8 the *trium ulnarum toga* is a sign of ostentation.

31-36. *Eutrapelus*: P. Voluminus, a Roman knight of Cicero's time, a friend of Antony. Two letters (*ad Fam.* 7, 32 and 33) are addressed to him by Cicero, both written in a tone of jesting, and in one he alludes to the *εὐτραπεία*, from which the name Eutrapelus

is derived. The allusion is undoubtedly to some jesting sarcasm of his, to the effect that the best way to ruin an enemy would be to make him a present of some fine clothes; in the attempt to 'live up to' these he would work out his own destruction. But it begins as if it were an anecdote, like that of Philippus in *Epist.* 1, 7, and even as if the joke had been perpetrated frequently (*cuicumque, volebat, dabat*). In sense it is a continuation of vss. 28-31, but it need not be supposed to have been uttered by the *dives amicus*; rather, it is Horace's supplement. — *dormiet*: *i.e.*, will grow lazy. — *honestum officium*: general, *his proper duties*. — *pascet*: *i.e.*, he will increase his debts and thus increase the property of his creditor. — *Thraex*: a mere gladiator, one of the last refuges of men of fallen fortunes. — Or he will end by hiring himself out to drive the horse of some huckster.

Thraex erit aut holitoris aget mercede caballum.

Arcanum neque tu scrutaberis illius unquam,  
 commissumque teges et vino tortus et ira.

Nec tua laudabis studia aut aliena reprehendes;

40 nec, cum venari volet ille, poemata panges.

Gratiā sic fratrum geminorum, Amphionis atque  
 Zethi, dissiluit donec suspecta severo

conticuit lyra. Fraternis cessisse putatur

moribus Amphion: tu cede potentis amici

45 lenibus imperiis, quotiesque educet in agros

37. *illius*: 'your patron'; the reference goes back over the intervening story to vs. 24 or 28.

38. *commissum teges*: to reveal what had been intrusted to one in confidence is mentioned in *Sat.* 1, 3, 95 (*prodiderit commissa fide*) as a fault to be ranked with theft. — *vino tortus*: cf. *A. P.* 435, *torquere mero, quem perplexisse laborant*. — *ira*: *i.e.*, because he happened for the moment to be angry with his patron.

39-40. *aliena*: in particular the interests of the patron. — *venari*, *poemata*: these two pursuits may be selected merely for the strong contrast, but they sound like definite allusions to personal interests of an actual patron and of Lollius himself. Hunting was a favorite sport with the Romans and is often alluded to by Horace, and many of his younger friends like Lollius were interested in literature. — *panges*: a rather formal

term, such as Lollius might himself use in speaking of his wish to stay at home and devote himself to the high art of poetry.

41-44. The debate between the brothers Zethus and Amphion in regard to the comparative value of music—standing for art in general—and the active life of a herdsman and hunter was in Euripides' *Antiope* and was repeated in the *Antiope* of Pacuvius. — *dissiluit*: *was broken*. — *severo*: the serious and practical Zethus. — *cessisse*: he is represented in art as in the act of hiding the lyre under his cloak. — *putatur*: *is believed*; *i.e.*, 'if we may accept the story.' In fact, he became in tradition one of the representatives of musical skill, as in *Carm.* 3, 11, 2.

44. *tu*: the chiasitic arrangement emphasizes the argument; 'all the more should you yield.'

45. *lenibus*: 'because they came from an *amicus*; yet they are also

- Aetolis onerata plagis iumenta canesque,  
 surge et inhumanae senium depone Camenae,  
 cenes ut pariter pulmenta laboribus empta:  
 Romanis sollemne viris opus, utile famae  
 50 vitaeque et membris, praesertim cum valeas et  
 vel cursu superare canem vel viribus aprum  
 possis. Adde virilia quod speciosius arma  
 non est qui tractet. Scis quo clamore coronae  
 proelia sustineas campestria; denique saevam  
 55 militiam puer et Cantabrica bella tulisti  
 sub duce, qui templis Parthorum signa refigit

*imperii* because the friend is *potens*.

46. *Aetolis*: the Scholiast understands this to be an allusion to the hunting of the Calydonian boar in Aetolia by Meleager; the story was a familiar one, and perhaps this slight allusion would be sufficiently clear. But it is also quite possible that there is some other meaning in the word.—*iumenta*: cf. the description of such a hunting party in *Epist.* 1, 6, 58 ff.

47. *inhumanae*: *unfriendly* to all that would interrupt her pursuits; the epithet is used by the poet with a certain humor and with reference to this particular occasion. — *senium*: *moroseness*, also half humorous.

48. *pariter*: *i.e.*, with your friend. — *pulmenta . . . empta*: the thought is expressed more fully in *Sat.* 2, 2, 9-22, and especially in vs. 20, *tu pulmentaria quaere sudando*.

49. *sollemne . . . opus*: in *Sat.* 2, 10 f. hunting is called *Romana militia*, in contrast to Greek athletics. — *viris*: with intentional emphasis; 'the manly Roman.'

50-51. The injunctions are at the same time lightened and made more personal by these compliments and by the references to Lollius' early life.

52-54. *speciosius*: *i.e.*, 'you are especially successful in the sports of the Campus Martius and win the applause of the surrounding spectators (*coronae*)'.

55. *militiam, Cantabrica bella*: the general term followed by the specific reference. Augustus made campaigns in Spain in 27-25 B.C.; *puer* implies that this was Lollius' first experience as a soldier.

56. *Parthorum*: with *templis*. There are many allusions to the recovery of the Roman standards taken from Crassus.—*refigit nunc*: this gives the date of the Epistle

nunc et, si quid abest, Italis adiudicat armis.  
 Ac ne te retrahas et inexcusabilis absis,  
 quamvis nil extra numerum fecisse modumque  
 60 curas, interdum nugaris rure paterno.  
 Partitur lintres exercitus; Actia pugna  
 te duce per pueros hostili more refertur;  
 adversarius est frater, lacus Hadria, donec  
 alterutrum velox victoria fronde coronet.

as 20 B.C. The standards are thought of as having been hung as trophies in the Parthian temples and as being taken down by Augustus from the walls. In fact, they were restored as a result of diplomatic negotiations.

57. *si quid abest*: *i.e.*, 'if anything is still outside the sphere of Roman military power.' — *adiudicat*: as a judge who assigns to the rightful owner that which he has claimed. — *Italis . . . armis*: dative; so Cic. *de Off.* 1, 10, 33; *in medio relictum quod erat populo Romano adiudicavit*. — Augustus himself speaks with pride of his extension of Roman influence into the East by diplomacy, and it was the fashion of the time to find in these peaceful successes compensation for the defeat which the Romans had suffered at the hands of the Parthians.

58–60. 'And, to anticipate your saying that a sport like hunting is too trivial for one who has been a soldier, let me remind you, though I know that you would do

nothing unsuitable, of that sham battle which you and your brother once exhibited in the country at your father's place.' — *ne . . . retrahas*: a parenthetic clause of purpose; cf. *ne perconteris*, *Epist.* 1, 16, 1. — *inexcusabilis*: *without good reason*; cf. *ignobilis* = *ignotus*. — *extra numerum . . . modumque*: *unfitting*, 'unsuitable to your character and position.' The figure is taken from music. The clause is put in to excuse in advance the use of *nugaris*.

61–64. A reminiscence of a mimic naval fight, in which the two brothers had represented a battle like that of Actium, the forces being slaves or boys of the neighborhood and boats being used for galleys. — *partitur*: the game began with a fair division of the skiffs between the two armies. — *hostili more*: *i.e.*, 'as if you had really been enemies.' — *lacus*: a *pond* on the estate. — Such representations of sea fights were often given with much splendor at public shows.

- 65 Consentire suis studiis qui crediderit te,  
 fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum.  
 Protinus ut moneam, si quid monitoris eges tu,  
 quid de quoque viro et cui dicas saepe videto.  
 Percontatorem fugito; nam garrulus idem est,  
 70 nec retinent patulae commissa fideliter aures,  
 et semel emissum volat irrevocabile verbum.  
 Non ancilla tuum iecur ulceret ulla puerve  
 intra marmoreum venerandi limen amici,  
 ne dominus pueri pulchri caraeve puellae  
 75 munere te parvo beet, aut incommodus angat.  
 Qualem commendes etiam atque etiam adspice, ne  
 mox

65-66. These vss. resume the main thought, which was interrupted at vs. 49, or at vs. 58, by the complimentary digression on Lollius' skill in games. — *utroque . . pollice*: a reference, as the words *fautor* and *ludum* show, to the gesture by which approval was expressed in the amphitheater. The gesture had become proverbial (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 28, 2, 25, *pollices cum faveamus premere etiam proverbio iubemur*). Both the origin and the precise form of the gesture are in doubt.

68. *de quoque viro*: = *et de quo viro*, i.e., 'be careful what you say and about whom and to whom.'

70. *patulae*: the man who is *percontator*, eager to ask questions, will be also eager to hear the answers.

71. A familiar thought, which

is found in various forms; cf. *A. P.* 390, *nescit vox missa reverti*.

72-75. *non . . . ulceret*: an excellent example of *non* with a subjunctive of will, which should not be dodged by twisting the mode into a potential or by connecting *non* with *ulla*. Cf. *Sat.* 2, 5, 91, note. — *pueri, puellae*: with *munere*. — *parvo*: small in comparison to the benefits which might have followed, if the relation with the patron had continued. — *beet*: i.e., the patron would think the gift a full discharge of all obligation or perhaps would be annoyed (*angat*).

76. *commendes*: *introduce*. — The Romans made frequent use of the privilege of introducing a friend to the attention of men in high position. Cf. especially *Epist.* 1, 9.



incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem.

Fallimur et quondam non dignum tradimus; ergo quem sua culpa premet, deceptus omitte tueri,

80 ut penitus notum, si temptent crimina, serves, tuterisque tuo fidentem praesidio: qui

dente Theonino cum circumroditur, ecquid ad te post paullo ventura pericula sentis?

Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet,

85 et neglecta solent incendia sumere vires.

Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici;

expertus metuit. Tu, dum tua navis in alto est, hoc age, ne mutata retrorsum te ferat aura.

Oderunt hilarem tristes tristemque iocosi,

90 sedatum celeres, agilem navumque remissi;

77. *aliena*: 'of the other person,' the friend thus introduced.

78. *fallimur*: 'it is true that we sometimes make mistakes, in spite of our best care.' — *ergo*: 'since this does happen, be prepared for it.'

79. *deceptus*: with emphasis; 'when it is clear that you have made a mistake.'

80. *penitus notum*: *i.e.*, 'a friend whom you know so well that you cannot possibly be mistaken in him'; the opposite of *non dignum* and *quem . . . premet*. — *crimina*: 'unfounded accusations'; cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 60 f., *cum genus hoc inter vitae versetur, ubi acris invidia atque vigent ubi crimina*.

81. *fidentem*: the *penitus no-*

*tum*. — *qui*: connective; 'for when he is attacked, do you not see that you will likewise suffer in the same way?'

82. *dente Theonino*: 'by the tooth of envy.' Cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 81, *absentem qui rodit*. But the allusion in *Theonino* is obscure; the story told by the Scholiast is quite inapplicable.

86–88. A parenthetic injunction, to enforce what has been said and to introduce the few miscellaneous warnings (89–96) which follow. In these Horace returns to the thought with which he began, the danger of *asperitas agrestis*, to which Lollius was exposed by his independence of temper, and warns him against the error of refusing to conform to the moods of his patron.

[potores bibuli media de nocte Falerni]  
oderunt porrecta negantem pocula, quamvis  
nocturnos iures te formidare tepores.

- Deme supercilio nubem; plerumque modestus  
95 occupat obscuri speciem, taciturnus acerbi.  
Inter cuncta leges et percontabere doctos,  
qua ratione queas traducere leniter aevum;  
num te semper inops agitet vexetque cupido,  
num pavor et rerum mediocriter utilium spes;  
100 virtutem doctrina paret naturane donet;  
quid minuat curas, quid te tibi reddat amicum;  
quid pure tranquillet, honos, an dulce lucellum,  
an secretum iter et fallentis semita vitae.  
Me quotiens reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,

91. This verse is not found in good Mss. It was made up out of *Epist.* I, 14, 34, *quem bibulum liquidum media de luce Falerni*, to supply a subject for *oderunt* in the next line.

92-93. *oderunt*: the subject is implied in *porrecta*. — *quamvis*: *i.e.*, 'however good the excuse you may offer for your refusal.' — *tepores*: the heating effect of wine.

94-95. *nubem*: the figure is still in use, though with reference to the forehead rather than to the eyebrow alone. The thought is more fully explained in the following sentence, to which *deme . . . nubem* is an introduction. — *plerumque*: *often*, not 'generally, usually.' — *occupat*: cf. *Carm.* 4, 9, 46 f., *rectius occupat nomen beati*. — *obscuri*: *secretive*. — *acerbi*:

the reserve of a taciturn man may easily be mistaken for disapproval.

96. *inter cuncta*: *i.e.*, 'amid all the chances and changes of life.' — *lēges*: not *lēges*. — *doctos*: *the wise*, the philosophers.

99. *mediocriter*: with *utilium*.

100. This question was often debated in philosophy.

102. *dulce*: ironical.

103. *fallentis semita vitae*: cf. *Epist.* I, 17, 10, *qui natus moriensque fefellit*.

104-112. 'For myself, I have known such a life as you are living and have now entered upon the path of a quiet life.' — *Digentia*: the stream which flowed through his valley, *Epist.* I, 16, 12 — *Mandela*: a village near the farm, the inhabitants of which drew their

- 105 quem Mandela bibit, rugosus frigore pagus,  
 quid sentire putas, quid credis, amice, precari?  
 Sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus, et mihi vivam  
 quod superest aevi, si quid superesse volunt di.  
 Sit bona librorum et provisae frugis in annum  
 110 copia, neu flitem dubiae spe pendulus horae.  
 Sed satis est orare Iovem quae donat et aufert;  
 det vitam, det opes, aequum mi animum ipse parabo.

water from the Digentia. — rugosus: *i.e.*, in winter. — sit mihi: cf. the prayer of *Carm.* 1, 31, 17 ff.

‘Frui paratis et valido mihi,  
 Latoe, dones ac precor integra  
 Cum mente, nec turpem senectam  
 Degere nec cithara carentem.’

—mihi vivam: *i.e.*, ‘live my own quiet life.’ — flitem . . . pendulus:

‘be tossed about like a leaf.’ The thought is repeated in *aequum animum*. — sed satis est: *i.e.*, ‘but I need pray only for those things which I cannot secure myself, for *vitam* (= 107–108) and *opes* (vs. 109); the spirit of the philosopher I will myself provide.’

## 19

This Epistle was written just before the publication of the collection, in the year 20 B.C. It is fitly addressed, like *Epist.* 1, 1, to Maecenas, as the most cordial and intimate of the poet's friends and admirers.

‘There is an old idea that poets should drink wine. Cratinus held this, and Homer and Ennius, too, and I once laid down the same doctrine. Since then my contemporaries have reeked of wine, as if one could become a Cato by wearing a toga like his. Imitation of eccentricities is not very laudable, nor, in fact, is any kind of imitation. From that fault I have kept myself free. Archilochus was my leader in the Epodes, but I followed him exactly as Alcaeus and Sappho did, learning from him the lyric art, but using it for other purposes than his. So also I followed Alcaeus and Sappho in turn in the Odes, and I claim with pride, as I said at the time when the Odes were published, to have been the first of Romans to carry on the tradition of the lyric poetry of Lesbos.

‘If you ask why my poetry has not won greater applause, I can easily answer the question; it is because I have not sought for the favor of

critics and cliques. And when I say that I cannot venture to submit my trifles to their learned judgment, they accuse me of laughing at them. The result is that I don't dare to show any contempt at all; I back out of the contest; they might be the death of me, if they knew what I really think of them.'

Under the form of an Epistle to Maecenas Horace is here defending his Odes against the critics, as in his earlier career he had defended himself in *Sat.* 1, 4 and *Sat.* 1, 10 and had made sport of his detractors in *Sat.* 2, 1. Of the occasion for such replies we know little except by inference. Vergil, highly as he was honored during his lifetime, was also severely criticized, so that his friends felt called upon to defend him. That Horace should have been the object of similar attacks, made all the more bitter by his intimacy with Maecenas, is altogether natural. With respect to the Odes, published in 23 B.C., the criticism took the form of a charge of lack of originality. To this Horace replies, first by a kind of definition of servile imitation, and then by a statement of his real relation to the Greek lyric poets. He stood, he says, in precisely the same relation to Alcaeus and Sappho in which they stood to Archilochus; he was an artist of the same school, not an imitator. This is, of course, the true explanation of the relation of any poet or artist to his predecessors; a proper understanding of it would have saved modern critics from repeating the statement that Latin literature is imitative.

Prisco si credis, Maecenas docte, Cratino,  
nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt  
quae scribuntur aquae potoribus. Vt male sanos

1. *prisco* . . . *Cratino*: one of the poets of the Old Comedy mentioned in *Sat.* 1, 4, 1. The adj. *priscus* is used because it was the technical rhetorical term for the *prisca comoedia*. Cratinus' fondness for wine was frequently referred to and had become traditional. — *docte*: so of Maecenas, *Carm.* 3, 8, 5, *docte sermones utriusque linguae*; his acquaintance with literature would have made the sayings of Cratinus familiar to him.

2-3. This precise sentiment is not found in any of the fragments of the plays of Cratinus. It is, however, merely a lively expression of the praise of wine which is frequent in all literature; cf. *Carm.* 1, 18, 3, *siccis omnia nam dura deus proposuit*. — *diu*: with *placere*, not with *vivere*, which contains the idea in itself.

3. *ut*: *since*. — *male sanos*: = *insanos, i.e.*, inspired by the Muses. But Horace always uses this adj.

- adscriptis Liber Satyris Faunisq[ue] poetas,  
 5 vina fere dulces oluerunt mane Camenae.  
 Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus;  
 Ennius ipse pater nunquam nisi potus ad arma  
 prosiluit dicenda. 'Forum putealque Libonis  
 mandabo siccis, adimam cantare severis':  
 10 hoc simul edixi non cessavere poetae  
 nocturno certare mero, putere diurno.  
 Quid si quis vultu torvo ferus et pede nudo

of poets with a humorous or scornful tone; cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 322; *Sat.* 2, 7, 117, *aut insanit homo aut versus facit*.

4. *adscriptis*... *Satyris*: 'added them to the list,' 'enrolled them with his satyrs.' This is not a reference to some definite myth, but only a humorous way of saying 'from the beginnings of poetry.'

5. *fere*: usually. — *mane*: 'the next morning,' 'the morning after,' from the fumes of the night's drinking.

6. *laudibus*: they are merely the traditional praises, a line here and there. — *vinosus*: predicate; 'is accused of being.'

7. *Ennius*: there was a tradition that he had gout, based perhaps upon a line from one of his *saturae* (*numquam poëtor nisi si podager*) the form of which seems to have been in Horace's mind.

8. *prosiluit*: he sprang forward like one of the fighters he described. — *puteal Libonis*: a spot in the Forum which had been

struck by lightning and therefore, as sacred, surrounded by a low wall. It is said by the Scholiast to have been the place where the praetor held court. The sense would then be, 'business and public affairs I will leave to water drinkers.'

9. *cantare*: i.e., 'poetry.' — *severis*: the same as *siccis*.

10-11. *edixi*: a formal word used of the edict of the praetor. — *putere*: the expected verb would be *certare*, but *putere* is substituted ironically. — The sentence continues the previous course of thought; 'Cratinus taught that poets should be drinkers; so, it is said, did Homer and Ennius, and when Bacchus enrolled poets among his followers, the very Muses took to hard drinking. Now it is my turn; when I sang the praises of wine, my fellow-poets began to sit up all night over the bottle.'

12-14. 'But bare feet and a scanty toga do not make a Cato.'

exiguaeque togae simulet textore Catonem,  
virtutemne repraesentet moresque Catonis?

- 15 Rupit Iarbitam Timagenis aemula lingua,  
dum studet urbanus tenditque disertus haberi.  
Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile: quodsi  
pallere casu, biberent exsangue cuminum.  
O imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi saepe  
20 bilem saepe iocum vestri movere tumultus!  
Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps,

—pede nudo: in imitation of the strict fashion of the older time.

—exiguae: cf. *arta toga*, *Epist.* 1, 18, 30. —textore: abl. of means; 'by the help of a weaver of a scanty toga.' —repraesentet: not exactly with the meaning of the corresponding English word, but 'bring before us,' 'show us in his own person.'

15-16. The point of the allusion is that Iarbitas tried to rival Timagenes in rhetorical skill, but succeeded only in imitating his fault of bitterness. This is the same as the point of vs. 12-14, that one cannot acquire the character of Cato by imitating his eccentricities, and the two illustrations are summed up in vs. 17. Timagenes was a Greek rhetorician of considerable ability (*urbanus, disertus*), who fell into disgrace because of the bitterness of his wit. Iarbitas is perhaps the nickname of a certain Cordus, who may be the Codrus referred to by Vergil, *Ecl.* 7, 26, *invidia rumpantur ut ilia*

*Codro*. But the allusion must remain obscure in its details, though the general sense is clear. —rupit: a reference to the fable of the Ox and the Frog, to which Horace alludes also in *Sat.* 2, 3, 314 ff. The Scholiast, however, takes it literally. —Timagenis: gen. after *aemula*. —lingua: *i.e.*, 'the tongue of Iarbitas was his ruin.'

17. decipit: the emphatic word; 'we make a mistake when we follow an example by a mere imitation of faults and eccentricities, as when we suppose that we must be hard drinkers in order to be poets.' —vitiis: with *imitabile*.

18. casu: *by mere chance*; it would have no meaning, any more than Cato's toga had. —exsangue: 'to produce paleness.'

19. imitatores: primarily the men who imitated Horace himself, but also in a general sense. —servum: the adjective.

21. libera, per vacuum, princeps: an emphatic assertion of his own freedom from slavish imi-



- non aliena meo pressi pede. Qui sibi fidet,  
 dux reget examen. Parios ego primus iambos  
 ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus  
 25 Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.  
 Ac ne me foliis ideo brevioribus ornes  
 quod timui mutare modos et carminis artem,  
 temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho,  
 temperat Alcaeus, sed rebus et ordine dispar,

tation, which is explained in the following verses, down to 31.

23. **dux reget**: *i.e.*, 'will be the leader of the swarm, like a queen bee.'—**Parios . . . iambos**: 'such iambic measures as were used by Archilochus of Paros.' This refers to the Epodes, that is, to couplets of iambic measure used for satirical purposes; both form and spirit (*numeros animosque*) are included in this technical use of the word *iambi*. Iambic senarius is the ordinary verse of Latin comedy and is of course not meant here.

25. **non res**: *i.e.*, 'but the form and spirit were employed upon a wholly different subject-matter.'—**agentia verba Lycamben**: it is the tradition that Lycambes was attacked by Archilochus with so much bitterness that he hanged himself. The phrase must be taken as a whole; Horace means that he did not imitate the savageness of Archilochus' language.

27. **modos et . . . artem**: the same as *numeros animosque*, vs. 24.

28. **temperat**: in the rhetorical sense, of regulating and shaping the rhythm of verse or prose.—**Archilochi**: with *pede*; 'by the measures of Archilochus.'—**mascula**: *i.e.*, not a weak woman, but the equal of men in poetry.

29. **Alcaeus**: compare the noble tribute to Alcaeus and Sappho in *Carm.* 2, 13, 24-36.—**ordine**: in the arrangement of different lines to form a strophe, like the Alcaic or Sapphic. In general the thought here repeats the thought of vss. 24-25; *temperat* is the same as *secutus*, *pede* repeats *numeros*, *rebus* corresponds to *res*, and vss. 30-31 expand *agentia verba Lycamben*. This makes complete the parallel between Horace and the two Greek lyric poets; he has done exactly what Alcaeus and Sappho did. To this parallelism he makes a slight exception in *ordine*, because he recognizes fully in the Odes the claim of Alcaeus and Sappho to be considered the originators of the two strophes which bear their names.

- 30 nec socerum quaerit quem versibus oblinat atris,  
 nec sponsae laqueum famoso carmine nectit.  
 Hunc ego non alio dictum prius ore Latinus  
 vulgavi fidicen; iuvat immemorata ferentem  
 ingenuis oculisque legi manibusque teneri.
- 35 Scire velis mea cur ingratus opuscula lector  
 laudet ametque domi, premat extra limen iniquus?  
 Non ego ventosae plebis suffragia venor  
 impensis cenarum et tritae munere vestis;  
 non ego, nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor,
- 40 grammaticas ambire tribus et pulpita dignor.

30. **socerum**: Archilochus had desired to marry the daughter of Lycambes.

31. **sponsae**: used like *socerum*, of the relation which Archilochus desired. The tradition is that she also hanged herself in consequence of the bitterness of the attacks upon her father and herself. — **famoso**: so *famosis versibus*, *Sat.* 2, 1, 68, of the satires of Lucilius.

32. **hunc**: Alcaeus, the last referred to. — **non alio . . . ore**: the Alcaic strophe had not been used before in Latin poetry. This repeats the claim made in the epilogue to the Odes, *Carm.* 3, 30, 13 f., *princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos deduxisse modos*.

33. **iuvat**: *i.e.*, 'I feel pride in what I have done and in the class of readers to whom I appeal.' — **immemorata**: 'things hitherto unuttered'; this is the early sense of *memorare*, 'to tell, to utter.'

34. **ingenuis**: in contrast to

*servum pecus*, vs. 19. Horace frequently expresses his pleasure at being recognized by competent judges, *e.g.*, *Sat.* 1, 10, 72 ff.; 2, 1, 74 ff.

35. **opuscula**: this must refer to the Odes.

36. **premat . . . iniquus**: to be taken together; 'is unjustly critical.'

37-38. **ventosae**: cf. *Epist.* 1, 8, 12, where Horace uses the word of himself. The belief that democracies were fickle is a very old one and is still held by some persons, in spite of the facts. — **suffragia**: a condensed comparison; 'I am not like an office seeker, who hunts for votes.' The thought is then repeated in plainer words, though still with some figurative expressions, in vss. 39-40. — **impensis . . . munere**: ordinary means of indirect bribery.

39-40. 'I do not try to win the favor of other poets by an inter-

Hinc illae lacrimae. ‘Spissis indigna theatri  
scripta pudet recitare et nugis addere pondus,’  
si dixi, ‘Rides,’ ait, ‘et Iovis auribus ista  
servas; fidis enim manare poetica mella  
45 te solum, tibi pu’cher.’ Ad haec ego naribus uti  
formido, et luctantis acuto ne secer ungui,  
‘Displicet iste locus,’ clamo, et diludia posco.

change of compliments.’—*nobilium*: ironical, as in *par nobile fratrum*, *Sat.* 2, 3, 243; ‘writers who think themselves famous.’—*auditor et ultor*: *i.e.*, ‘by listening to their readings from their works and by reading mine to them for their approval.’ The best parallel to this is *Juv.* 1, 1, *semper ego auditor tantum? numquamne reponam . . . ?* The custom of giving readings, which had already become wearisome, tended to form mutual admiration societies, and the attendance at such readings was therefore a kind of bribe to win approval for one’s own writings. *Utor* is intentionally substituted for some word like *recitator*, to make the irony plainer.—*tribus*: this recurs to the figure of 37–38.—*pulpita*: the *platforms* from which the critics lectured.

41. *hinc illae lacrimae*: this phrase was first used in Latin literature by Terence (*Andr.* 125 f.) and had become proverbial, as it has in English, always with an ironical tone.—*spissis . . . theatri*: the halls where public readings were given, which were

crowded with poets and literary critics. There is no reference to the performance of plays.—*indigna*: this is said with pretended modesty, like *opuscula*, vs. 35, and *nugis* in the next line.

42. *addere pondus*: *i.e.*, to treat them as if they were weighty utterances.

43. *rides*: *you are ironical*; *i.e.*, ‘my critic seems to find my humility merely affected,’ as of course it was. From this point to the end the tone is wholly one of scornful and open irony, as in the close of *Sat.* 1, 10.—*Iovis*: Augustus, as the supreme representative of the inner circle of cultivated readers.

44. *fidis*: ‘for you feel a conceited confidence in the quality of your poetry.’—*mella*: a cognate accus. after *manare*.

45. *naribus uti*: cf. *naso suspendis adunco*, *Sat.* 1, 6, 5, and note.

46. *formido*: entirely ironical, since he is at this moment expressing his scorn (*naribus uti*) in the very act of pretending to conceal it.

47. *displicet iste locus*: the cry

Ludus enim genuit trepidum certamen et iram,  
ira truces inimicitias et funebre bellum.

of a contestant, a wrestler or gladiator, who thinks that his opponent has an unfair advantage in position and who therefore demands a pause (*diludia*) to equalize the conditions. The reference to the *pulpita*, 40, and *theatris* is secondary.

48-49. 'For the consequences may be most serious'; still, of

course, with irony. Cf. Thackeray, 'The Rose and the Ring,'

'Critics serve us authors thus;  
Sport to them is death to us.'

— *ludus*: with reference to *diludia*.—The adjectives are intentionally extravagant, *trepidum*, *truces*, *funebre*, carrying out the irony of *formido*.

## 20

An Epilogue to the collection of Epistles, written in the year 20, after the other poems were collected for publication.

'You are eager to see the world, my book, like a young slave who seeks to escape from the house of a good master. Go, then, and meet your fate; you will, I think, have some readers, but I do not predict for you an immortality of favor.'

'While the favor lasts, tell your readers what I am, a freedman's son who feels himself now coming to middle age.'

This poem is, on the one side, an expression of the writer's hopes and fears, as he sends a new book out into the world. It is done, as one would expect from Horace, without flourish of trumpets; he is quite aware of the fact that the book has merits, but he knows also that it is not the greatest book that was ever written. On this side the poem might be compared with Catullus's address to his new book, with Ovid's *Tristia* 1, 1 and Martial, 1, 3. On the other side, this epistle is like the biographies which were often appended to standard editions, much as the *Vita* by Suetonius is preserved in the Mss. of Horace's complete works. The brief 'Life' of the author gives his birth and origin (20), his rise in life (21-23), his appearance and character (24-25), and his age (26-28), as such things are given in biographies of the standard form. Propertius (1, 22) and Ovid (*Amor.* 3, 15) have followed the same custom.

Vertumnum Ianumque, liber, spectare videris,  
 scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus.  
 Odisti clavis et grata sigilla pudico;  
 paucis ostendi gemis et communia laudas,  
 5 non ita nutritus. Fuge quo descendere gestis.  
 Non erit emissio reditus tibi. 'Quid miser egi?  
 quid volui?' dices, ubi quis te laeserit, et scis  
 in breve te cogi, cum plenus languet amator.  
 Quodsi non odio peccantis desipit augur,  
 10 carus eris Romae donec te deseret aetas;

1. **Vertumnum**: a shrine of this god was in the Vicus Tuscus, a street leading down from the Forum toward the river; there were booksellers' shops along this street.—**Ianum**: this may have been an archway over the Vicus Tuscus or one of the arches in the Forum; cf. *Epist.* I, 1, 54. The two names together stand for a quarter of the city where books were sold and where also, carrying out the double meaning of the Epistle, there were houses of ill-repute.

2. **scilicet ut**: cf. *Epist.* I, 9, 3, note.—**prostes**: in a double sense; cf. *prostibulum*, of a harlot.—**Sosii**: a well-known firm of booksellers, mentioned also in *A. P.* 345.—**pumice**: used to smooth the end of the papyrus roll; cf. Catull. I, 1-2, '... libellum arido . . . pumice expoliturum.'

4. **gemis**: *i.e.*, 'you are dissatisfied with the admiration of my

friends and wish for more admirers.'

5. **fuge**: *i.e.*, 'go quickly then, since you will have your way.'—**descendere**: the regular word for going down from the residence quarters, on the hills, to the Forum, with a secondary reference to the descent in life of the runaway slave.

6. **emissio**: primarily of the slave, but also of the book; cf. *Epist.* I, 18, 71, *et semel emissum volat irrevocabile verbum*.

7-8. **scis** = *sentis*; the primary reference is to the book, rolled up (*in breve . . . cogi*) and laid aside; with reference to the slave it means 'driven to poverty and hardship.'—**languet amator**: here the slave is chiefly in mind, yet the phrase may be used also of the tired reader.

10. **aetas**: *youth*, the flower of youth; so often of boys and girls. From this point the comparison of the book to the young slave is

- contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere vulgi  
 coeperis, aut tineas pasces taciturnus inertis  
 aut fugies Vticam aut vinctus mitteris Ilerdam.  
 Ridebit monitor non exauditus, ut ille,  
 15 qui male parentem in rupes protrusit asellum  
 iratus: quis enim invitum servare laboret?  
 Hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem  
 occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.  
 Cum tibi sol tepidus plures admoverit auris,  
 20 me libertino natum patre et in tenui re  
 maiores pennas nido extendisse loqueris,  
 ut quantum generi demas, virtutibus addas;

less prominent, though occasional words show that the figure is not forgotten.

11. *contrectatus* . . . *manibus*: the buyer could take up the book and look at it as in a modern book-shop; cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 72, *libellos quis manus insudet vulgi*.

12-13. *taciturnus*: this word and *fugies* are selected for their suggestion of the slave, though the rest of the phrase is applicable only to the book. — *Vticam, Ilerdam*: in Africa and in Spain; they are selected as types of provincial towns, where books no longer salable in Rome might find purchasers.

14-16. *monitor*: Horace; cf. *augur*, vs. 9. — *protrusit*: since he could not keep the ass from the cliff, he gave up the effort and pushed him over. — *iratus*: cf. *odio peccantis*, vs. 9.

17. *elementa*: *i.e.*, used as a text-book for children who are

learning to read and are too young to be interested in the sense. — *docentem*: sc. *te*.

19. *sol tepidus*: 'the warm sunshine of popular favor'; *i.e.*, 'when you are still fresh enough to have many readers.' [There are many varying explanations of this rather ambiguous phrase, but *tepeo, tepor, tepidus* in Horace always mean warmth in contrast to cold, except in *Sat.* 1, 3, 81, never warmth in contrast to heat. That in connection with *sol* it should mean anything but 'warm' is quite impossible.]

20. *libertino natum patre*: so *libertino patre natum*, *Sat.* 1, 6, 6; 45; 46, with emphatic repetition. — *in tenui re*: cf. *Sat.* 1, 6, 71, *macro pauper agello*, of his father.

22. *generi*: *birth*. The reason given in this line is one which could not have been expressed in *Sat.* 1, 6, before he felt that his



- me primis urbis belli placuisse domique;  
 corporis exigui, praecanum, solibus aptum,  
 25 irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem.  
 Forte meum si quis te percontabitur aevum,  
 me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembris,  
 collegam Lepidum quo duxit Lollius anno.

position was secure, though it was doubtless even then in his mind.

23. *belli . . . domique*: with *primis*, not with *placuisse*. Cf., in general, *Sat.* 2, 1, 76, *Epist.* 1, 17, 35.

24. *corporis exigui*: *short of stature*, as is said in the *Vita* of Suetonius; ‘habita corporis fuit brevis atque obesus.’—*praecanum*: *gray before my time*, as he was only forty-four years old.—*solibus aptum*: the Romans made less use than we of artificial heating and so arranged their porticoes as to have convenient places sheltered from the wind and open to the winter sun. Many passages

show that Horace disliked cold weather.

25. *irasci celerem*: the *vitium irae* is one to which Horace frequently refers in such a way as to acknowledge his own proneness to it.

27. *Decembris*: the month in which his birthday came.

28. The year 21 B.C. The peculiar word *duxit* is used because Lollius was at first consul alone and ‘brought in’ Lepidus as his colleague only after long delay. The birthday named would of course be the last one preceding the time of writing, which was in the summer or autumn of 20 B.C.

## LIBER SECVNDVS

### I

The date of this Epistle can be determined with a fair degree of precision. It is probable that Horace wrote it, in accordance with the custom which he had followed in publishing other collections of poems, after the other Epistles, 2 and 3 (the *Ars Poetica*), to serve as an introduction and to dedicate the whole collection to the person addressed in this letter. This general probability is supported by a passage in the *Vita* of Suetonius: 'post sermones vero quosdam lectos nullam sui mentionem habitam ita sit questus: "irasci me tibi scito, quod non in plerisque eius modi scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris. An vereris ne apud posteros infame tibi sit, quod videaris familiaris nobis esse?" expresseritque eclogam ad se cuius initium est *cum tot sustineas . . .*' This story comes immediately after a reference to the *Carmen Saeculare* and the Fourth Book of the Odes. The *sermones quosdam* and the *eius modi scriptis* cannot have been the Satires, published fifteen years earlier, and can scarcely have been the First Book of the Epistles, which had been before the public for some years. These words must therefore refer to *Epist.* 2, 2 and 3, already known to Augustus before they were formally published. All this falls into proper sequence with the references to the campaigns of 15-14 B.C., referred to in vss. 252-253, and points to 14 or 13 B.C. as the date of composition.

The course of thought is natural and easy, shifting from one aspect of the subject to another without following a formal scheme. Some general divisions will be noticed: vss. 5-92, the overestimate of early writers in comparison with new poetry; 93-117, the historical development which has resulted in the present situation; 118-138, the contributions of the poet to the welfare of society; 139-213, the special disadvantages and defects of dramatic writing; 214-250, the good influence of the patronage of Augustus upon literature; 250-270, Horace's own relation to the patronage of Augustus.

In the Second Book of the Epistles the form of versified letter is somewhat changed. The three Epistles are all long and their very length destroys the illusion of the letter form; they necessarily become essays, addressed, it is true, to an individual, but intended for the public

In this Epistle the personal tone is also subdued by the fact that it was addressed to the Emperor. The opening lines, therefore, though they are concerned entirely with the personal aspect and not at all with the subject of the letter, are distinctly and quite properly formal. The close, from vs. 250 to the end, is also personal, having to do with Horace's own relation to literature and to Augustus, and here there is a lighter tone, especially from vs. 264 to the end. At other points, too, as in 214 ff., there is a certain measure of appeal to Augustus to use his influence for the good of literature. In general, however, Horace has not made any very serious effort to preserve the illusion of a letter.

On the other hand, this is not a formal essay; it is rather the un-studied comment of a veteran man of letters upon the condition and prospects of the literature of his time. The particular subjects selected for comment or criticism are not indeed limited to Horace's own experience, but they are in part suggested by it. The whole of the first third of the Epistle is a protest against the over-valuation of the early Latin poetry and a defense of living writers, including Horace himself, against the disposition to undervalue the present. This is, in some sense, a continuation of the argument of *Sat.* 1, 4; 1, 10; 2, 1, and *Epist.* 1, 19, but it would be pressing it too far to find in it the motive of the whole letter. In other parts, in 118-138, in 139 ff., Horace is writing as a student of literary history, selecting such portions of the rhetorical tradition as suited his purpose and using them to illustrate and define the situation of his time.

This Epistle deserves most careful reading. Much of the subject-matter, it is true, has no immediate relation to modern conditions, though the comments upon the stage are an exception and might have been written for a magazine in this century. The literary history, also, must be taken with much reserve; it is only the current teaching of the scholar and is in many points quite incorrect. But the easy turn of the thought, the mastery of happy expression, the humor and the occasional satire, all show that Horace came toward the close of life with ripening powers — *integra cum mente*, as he had wished.

Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,  
res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,

1. *solus* : others (Agrippa, Tiberius) were associated with him, but the real responsibility rested upon Augustus alone.

2. *res Italas* : no more than *rem publicam*, 'the state.' — *moribus* : one of the purposes which Augustus kept most distinctly before

- legibus emendes, in publica commoda peccem,  
 si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar.
- 5 Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux,  
 post ingentia facta deorum in templa recepti,  
 dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella  
 componunt, agros adsignant, oppida condunt,  
 ploravere suis non respondere favorem
- 10 speratum meritis. Diram qui contudit hydram  
 notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,

him was the need of social reform, which he attempted to bring about by a return to stricter standards. He took great pains to set a good example himself and tried, though with little success, to train his family in the good old ways. — *ornes*: *provide, furnish*; this is the proper sense of *ornare*.

3. *legibus*: many laws were passed to regulate marriage and divorce, to control bribery, to limit expense, all with very small results.

4. *longo*: this and the other epistles of this book are in fact long, as compared with Horace's other writings. He does not mean, therefore, 'if I should delay you by a long discourse,' but 'if this long epistle should detain you.' The modest suggestion is 'do not allow me to detain you, but put off the reading to a convenient time.'

5-17. 'Other heroes have not been honored till after their death,

but we have recognized your worth while you are still with us.'

5. *Liber*: the god Dionysus, as a bringer of civilization, who taught men to cultivate the vine, not Bacchus, as the god of drinking. — The list of beneficent gods and heroes, Romulus, Liber, Castor and Pollux, Hercules, is traditional and occurs with slight variations in many places, *e.g.*, *Carm.* 1, 12, 21-28; 3, 3, 9-16; *Cic. de Nat. Deor.* 2, 24, 62, where Aesculapius is added.

6. *templa*: *i.e.*, into the dwelling places of the gods in heaven; an old sense of *templum*.

7-8. The various steps in advancing civilization. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 99-105.

10. *contudit*: *crushed* with his club.

11. *fatali*: 'decreed by the Fates,' *fated*, not 'fatal.' — *portenta*: he is thinking especially of those labors of Hercules which consisted in the killing of destructive monsters.

comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.

Vrit enim fulgore suo, qui praegravat artes  
infra se positas, extinctus amabitur idem.

- 15 Praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores  
iurandasque tuum per numen ponimus aras,  
nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.  
Sed tuus hic populus sapiens et iustus in uno,  
te nostris ducibus, te Graiis anteferendo,  
20 cetera nequaquam simili ratione modoque  
aestimat, et nisi quae terris semota suisque

12. **invidiam**: this repeats the thought of vs. 9 and leads on to the main theme, the *invidia* which poets encountered. Strictly, the word is not in place in the story of Hercules.—**supremo fine**: *i.e.*, ‘only by death,’ ‘not until after his death.’

13–14. **urit**: transferred from physical pain to the suffering of emotion. Here the physical sense is to *dazzle, blind*, as *fulgore* shows. — **praegravat**: literally, *weighs down*; to be interpreted with *infra se positas*. — **artes**: *powers*, almost the same as *virtutes*. — The whole expression is difficult of analysis, first, because two different figures are used in *urit* and *praegravat*, and, second, because of the mixture of the concrete (*qui, extinctus, amabitur*) and the abstract (*praegravat, artes*). The underlying sense is ‘he who is superior to others in his powers and who thus makes others feel their inferiority, excites envy by his greatness.’ — **ama-**

**bitur**: ‘but after his death his virtues are recognized.’

15. **praesenti tibi**: ‘to you, it is true, recognition has come during your lifetime.’ — **maturos**: *i.e.*, ‘before it was too late.’

16. **numen**: an unofficial deification of Augustus began early (29 B.C.) in the provinces and was then taken up in some parts of Italy. But the only formal recognition of this in Rome was a cult of the *genius Augusti*, with altars where oaths could be taken. The complete deification was not until after the death of Augustus, who during his lifetime discouraged these extravagances.

18. ‘But this recognition of present merit is by no means extended to poets and poetry.’ — **tuus**: with reference back to vs. 15–17.

19. **anteferendo**: in apposition with *uno*, anticipating the single exception to *cetera*.

21–22. **terris semota**: ‘which

- temporibus defuncta videt, fastidit et odit,  
 sic fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantes,  
 quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt, foedera regum  
 25 vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis,  
 pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatum,  
 dictitet Albano Musas in monte locutas.

had passed away from the earth.' — *temporibus defuncta*: 'and had completed the time allotted to them.' The phrases belong strictly to the writers of books, rather than to the writings.

23. *sic fautor*: the verbal force of many nouns was so strongly felt that they may even, in combination with *esse*, take an accusative, or, as here, an adverb. Translate by a verb; 'and so strongly favors ancient writings that. . . .' — *veterum*: neuter, like *cetera*. — *tabulas*: the Twelve Tables.

24. *bis quinque viri*: the Decemvirs.

25. *Gabiis*: governed by the following *cum*. A copy of this treaty, made by Tarquin with Gabii, written in archaic letters on bull's hide, was still in existence in the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in Horace's time. Cf. Livy, I, 54. Several treaties with the Sabines were preserved. — *aequata*: *ratified*. The implication that they were 'on equal terms' is merely conventional.

26. *pontificum libros*: the records of rituals and of events of

religious significance, dating back to the earliest use of writing in Rome. — *volumina*: prophecies and oracles, written in some of the early verse forms like the Saturnian. Livy mentions in 25, 12 certain *carmina* which foretold the battle of Cannae.

27. *dictitet*: the subject is still *populus*. — *Albano . . . in monte*: one of the most sacred spots in early Roman worship; if the Muses transferred their home from Greece to Italy, as such opinions would seem to imply, then the Alban Mount would become their Helicon. — *Musas . . . locutas*: this seems to be a reminiscence of the phrase of Aelius Stilo and Varro, quoted by Quint. 10, 1, 99, 'Musas Plautino sermone locuturas fuisse, si Latine loqui vellent.' — Though these early records are lost, there are fragments enough to show that they were composed in an extremely formal and cramped style, that they were, in fact, not literature at all. Horace is using extreme examples to lay a foundation for his argument against the school of critics who maintained with an excess of zeal



- Si, quia Graiorum sunt antiquissima quaeque  
scripta vel optima, Romani pensantur eadem  
30 scriptores trutina, non est quod multa loquamur :  
nil intra est olea, nil extra est in nuce duri;  
venimus ad summum fortunae, pingimus atque  
psallimus et luctamur Achivis doctius unctis.  
Si meliora dies, ut vina, poemata reddit,  
35 scire velim chartis pretium quotus adroget annus.

the value of the early Latin literature.

28-33. 'The fact that the oldest Greek writers are the best does not prove that the same thing is true in Latin literature.'

28. *Graiorum*: the more poetic word. In the *Satires* Horace prefers *Graecus*; but the distinction is not sharply made, cf. vs. 90, below.

29. *optima*: Horace is thinking in a general way of the fact that Greek literature begins with Homer; he is not following out the argument into details, like the comparison of the merits of Archilochus and Alcaeus, and he is not thinking at all of the place of tragedy.

30. *trutina*: cf. the similar use of this figure in *Sat.* 1, 3, 72, where *ponetur* corresponds to *pensantur*. — *non est quod*: i.e., 'there is no more to be said,' 'it is an end of all rational argument, and we can prove anything.'

31. *intra*, *extra*: adverbs. — *olea*: with *in* to be supplied from *in nuce*; cf. *Gabiis*, vs. 25. — *duri*:

with *nil*. 'The same kind of argument from analogy would prove that as a nut is hard outside and soft inside, so an olive must be the same.'

32-33. 'By the same reasoning, as we have become masters of the world, we must be masters of the Greeks in all the arts.' This is another illustration, beside that of vs. 31, of the absurdities to which the argument of 28-29 would lead. — *pingimus*, *psallimus*, *luctamur*: literature, painting and sculpture, music, and gymnastics are the four liberal arts on which Greek education was based. — *unctis*: with reference only to the last mentioned art, *luctamur*.

34-49. A new argument; 'the measurement of poetry by its antiquity is absurd, because the standard is shifting. How many years are required to make a writer old?'

34. *dies*: time; cf. *Carm.* 3, 6, 45, *quid non imminuit dies?*

35. *quotus . . . annus*: the English idiom requires a plural.

Scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decidit, inter perfectos veteresque referri debet an inter viles atque novos? Excludat iurgia finis.

'Est vetus atque probus centum qui perficit annos.'

- 40 Quid, qui deperiit minor uno mense vel anno, inter quos referendus erit, veteresne poetas, an quos et praesens et postera respuat aetas?

'Iste quidem veteres inter ponetur honeste, qui vel mense brevi vel toto est iunior anno.'

- 45 Vt or permissio, caudaeque pilos ut equinae paullatim vello et demo unum, demo etiam unum, dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi,

36. *decidit*: the figure of the falling leaf.

37. *referri*: *be set down, be counted*.

38. *finis*: a definite line, here a definite figure, like *centum*.

40. The argument is general, as *centum* was of course suggested as a round number; but Horace probably noticed the fact that this limit would exclude from the *veteres atque probi* Lucilius, who was highly praised by the admirers of the early literature. He died in 103 B.C., and would therefore fall short of the time by only a few years.

42. *respuat*: the subjv. means 'should, according to your rule, refuse to accept.'

43-44. 'Such a trifle as a month or even a whole year should not count.'—*iste*: 'the man you mention.'—*honeste*: *with credit, to his honor*.

45-47. The argument called *Sorites*, the argument of the 'falling heap.' Given a sufficient amount of grain to be called a heap (*σωρός*), will it still be a heap if one grain is taken away? And at what point, if one still continues to take away a grain at a time, will it cease to be a heap? Another form of the argument was to ask how many hairs may be lost before a man can fairly be called bald (*φαλακρός*).—*permissio*: the concession in vss. 43-44.—*caudae . . . equinae*: this is either a confusion of the argument of the *φαλακρός* with a story about the pulling out of the hairs from a horse's tail one at a time, to show what may be accomplished by patience (Val. Max. 7, 3, 6), or it is some variant of the argument, unknown to us.—*ratione*: *the argument, the reasoning*.

qui redit ad fastos et virtutem aestimat annis  
miraturque nihil nisi quod Libitina sacravit.

- 50 Ennius et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus,  
ut critici dicunt, leviter curare videtur  
quo promissa cadant et somnia Pythagorea.  
Naevius in manibus non est et mentibus haeret  
paene recens? Adeo sanctum est vetus omne poema  
55 Ambigitur quoties uter utro sit prior, aufert

48. *redit ad fastos*: 'turns back to the Fasti,' *i.e.*, goes to the record of years and dates for his standard. The general phrase is made more specific in *aestimat* and *miratur*.

49. *Libitina*: the goddess associated with funerals; cf. *Sat.* 2, 6, 19.

50-62. 'But let us look in more detail at the old and greatly admired Roman poets, and at the critical and popular judgments of them.'

50. *sapiens*: a general term of praise used also by Horace of Lucilius (*Sat.* 2, 1, 17). — *fortis*: with reference to his descriptions of wars and heroes. — *alter Homerus*: these words were used of him by Lucilius and expressed with exaggeration the prevalent attitude of critics.

51. *leviter curare*: 'to care but little,' 'to be indifferent.'

52. *quo . . . cadant*: 'how they turn out.' — *somnia*: in the beginning of the *Annales* Ennius told how Homer had come to him in a dream and had said that Ennius was a reincarnation of

Homer himself, according to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, taught by Pythagoras. — These lines about Ennius give the critical estimate of students of the early literature like Varro, but with touches of irony, especially in *leviter curare videtur*; 'he is so securely established that he does not need to care — and in fact does not care — whether his performance equals his promise or not.'

53-54. *Naevius*: died in 204; writer of comedies and especially, in this connection, the first of Roman epic poets. His *Bellum Punicum* in Saturnian verse was supplanted by the *Annals* of Ennius, as that in turn gave way to the *Aeneid*. — *paene recens*: *i.e.*, 'we read him almost as if his works were still new,' a little hit at the critics, who, in spite of their praise of the old, are as eager as any one to read the last thing that has appeared.

55-56. *uter utro*: such questions were much debated by critics and grammarians; they arranged

Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti,  
 dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro,  
 Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi,  
 vincere Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte.

- 60 Hos ediscit et hos arto stipata theatro  
 spectat Roma potens; habet hos numeratque poetas  
 ad nostram tempus Livi scriptoris ab aevo.  
 Interdum vulgus rectum videt, est ubi peccat.  
 Si veteres ita miratur laudatque poetas,

writers in lists according to their merits, with some words of comment on each, as here. — **Pacuvius**: died in 132, one of the great tragic writers. — **Accius**: died in 104, also a writer of tragedies. The judgment here expressed was the traditional judgment and is repeated by Quintil. 10, 1, 77.

57-59. Four comic poets, with the conventional estimate of each. Afranius, a contemporary of Accius, wrote comedies on Roman subjects, called by grammarians *fabulae togatae*, but in the manner of the Greek New Comedy. He is said to have used material from Menander, and this is expressed in *toga convenisse*. Plautus (died in 184), the representative of the *fabula palliata*, comedy in which the actors wore the Greek *pallium*. His excellence was held to be in the quick and easy movement (*properare*) of his dialogue, in which he was thought to equal Epicharmus, a Sicilian writer of comedy. The general form of

expression pairs Afranius and Plautus off together, though in fact Plautus should be classed with the two following writers. Caecilius (died about 168) was sometimes considered the greatest of the writers of the *fabula palliata*. Terentius (died in 160) was the last of the greater writers in this style. Of all these poets only the works of Plautus (twenty plays) and Terence (six plays) are preserved; the rest are in rather scanty fragments.

60. *arto*: so crowded that it seemed small.

61. *potens*: ironically, like *venimus ad summum fortunae*, vs. 32.

62. *Livi*: Livius Andronicus, the earliest of Latin writers, with whose production of a play, in 240 B.C., Latin literature was thought to have begun.

63. The thought is turning back from the judgment of critics to the popular opinion, connecting thus with vs. 18 ff.

64. *si*: the alternatives are put

- 65 ut nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet, errat.  
 Si quaedam nimis antique, si pleraque dure  
 dicere credit eos, ignave multa fatetur,  
 et sapit et mecum facit et Iove iudicat aequo.  
 Non equidem insector delendaque carmina Livi  
 70 esse reor, memini quae plagosum mihi parvo  
 Orbilium dictare, sed emendata videri  
 pulchraque et exactis minimum distantia miror;  
 inter quae verbum emicuit si forte decorum et  
 si versus paullo concinnior unus et alter,  
 75 iniuste totum ducit venditque poema.

in two conditional clauses, without any indication of the adversative relation; cf. *Epist.* 1, 17, 6, and 11.

66-67. *antique*: in the old and stiff style. — *dure*: with special reference to the versification; cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 8, *durus componere versus*, of Lucilius. — *ignave*: *flatly*, without making sufficient effort to find attractive and agreeable expression. — *pleraque*: *many things*, not 'most things.'

68. *mecum facit*: *supports my view*.

69. *delenda . . . esse reor*: a periphrasis for another verb like *insector*; 'I am not attacking or desiring-to-destroy . . .'. — *Livi*: selected here partly because he had not been mentioned in the list above, vss. 50-59, partly because his writings illustrate with special clearness the faults of the very early literature.

70-71. *plagosum . . . Orbilium*:

the phrase of the pupil has conferred immortality upon the teacher. Suetonius included him in his *de Grammaticis*, with a reference to this passage. This was the school which Horace attended in Rome, *Sat.* 1, 6, 76 ff. — *dictare*: the poetry, probably the Latin translation of the Odyssey, was dictated to the pupils to be written down and learned.

72. *exactis . . . distantia*: *little short of perfect*. — *miror*: in intentional contrast to *insector*, *delenda . . . reor*, as a very mild expression of judgment.

73-75. *emicuit*: *stands out* above the mass, with *decorum*, as a predicate. — *versus*: Horace frequently refers to the great advance in the art of versification, which is most conspicuous in the hexameter. — *ducit venditque*: to be taken together, 'carries along and sells'; the first verb is, as often, very general and needs the

- Indignor quidquam reprehendi, non quia crasse  
compositum illepideve putetur, sed quia nuper;  
nec veniam antiquis, sed honorem et praemia posci.  
Recte necne crocum floresque perambulet Attae  
80 fabula si dubitem, clament periisse pudorem  
cuncti paene patres, ea cum reprehendere coner,  
quae gravis Aesopus, quae doctus Roscius egit;  
vel quia nil rectum nisi quod placuit sibi ducunt,  
vel quia turpe putant parere minoribus et quae  
85 imberbi didicere senes perdenda fateri.  
Iam Saliare Numae carmen qui laudat, et illud,

interpretation of the more definite following word.

77. *putetur*: a verb of thinking is often illogically inserted into a causal clause in which the opinion of some other person than the writer is expressed, in order to emphasize by its meaning as well as by its mode the fact that the writer is not responsible for the opinion.

79. *crocum floresque*: the stage was sprinkled with saffron, to give a pleasant fragrance, and apparently with flowers, though the custom is not elsewhere alluded to. — *Attae*: T. Quinctius Atta, died in 78 B.C., a writer of comedies, *fabulae togatae*. He is not strictly among the *veteres*, but he illustrates the contrast between the treatment of living writers and of those no longer living.

81. *patres*: the men of an older generation, who had seen these plays in their youth.

82. *Aesopus*: a tragic actor of the Ciceronian period, highly esteemed for his acting and his character; hence *gravis*. — *Roscius*: an actor of comedy, also very highly regarded. Cicero's speech *pro Roscio Comoedo* was made in a suit to which he was a party.

83-85. These ordinary weaknesses of age are connected with the general course of thought by the fact that they explain the unreasonable prejudice against the new writers.

86. *Saliare . . . carmen*: a chant of the guild of the *Salii*, 'leaping' priests. The fragments are given in Baehrens' *Fragmenta*, pp. 29 ff. Quintilian (I, 6, 40) says of them *vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta*. — *Numae*: this king was traditionally regarded as the founder of many religious ceremonies.



quod mecum ignorat, solus vult scire videri,  
 ingeniis non ille favet plauditque sepultis,  
 nostra sed impugnat, nos nostraque lividus odit.

- 90 Quodsi tam Graecis novitas invisa fuisset  
 quam nobis, quid nunc esset vetus? Aut quid haberet,  
 quod legeret tereretque viritim publicus usus?  
 Vt primum positis nugari Graecia bellis  
 coepit et in vitium fortuna labier aequa,  
 95 nunc athletarum studiis nunc arsit equorum,  
 marmoris aut eboris fabros aut aeris amavit,

88. **non favet plauditque:** *i.e.*, 'such absurd praise of the past is not what it purports to be; it is in reality nothing but an expression of jealous dislike of the writers of the present.'

92. **tereret:** frequently used, as in English, of the wearing out of a book by repeated and careful reading. — **viritim . . . usus:** a mixture, as in vss. 13-14, of the concrete and the abstract, to express emphatically the universal reading of the Greek writers.

93-117. Contrasts and resemblances in the history of civilization in Greece and in Rome.

93. **positis . . . bellis:** after the great war for existence, the Persian War, was over. — **nugari:** *i.e.*, 'to turn to lighter pursuits.' The word does not necessarily imply censure; it is used by Horace (*Sat.* 1, 9, 2) and by Catullus (1, 4) of their own lyric poetry; yet there is in it and in *vitium* something of the Roman

feeling that art is not quite a serious business.

94. **labier:** = *labi*; Horace uses this old form some half a dozen times. — **aequa:** *favorable*; but the word is selected for the contrast to the figure in *labier*.

95-100. A vivid picture of the lively interest of Greece in all forms of art. The three liberal arts, gymnastics and games (95), sculpture and painting (96-97), and music and dancing (98), are taken up in turn. The verbs, *arsit, amavit, suspendit, est gavisa*, express the intensity of the interest, and the forms of sentence, *nunc . . . nunc, aut . . . aut*, the succession of genitives grouped about the noun, express the variety of interest. — **suspendit:** cf. *Epist.* 1, 6, 14, *defixis oculis animoque et corpore torpet*, and *torpes*, *Sat.* 2, 7, 95, of gazing intently at a picture. — **tragœdis:** the art of acting is connected with dancing and music.

- suspendit picta vultum mentemque tabella,  
 nunc tibicinibus nunc est gavis a tragoedis;  
 sub nutrice puella velut si luderet infans,  
 100 quod cupide petiit, mature plena reliquit.  
 Hoc paces habuere bonae ventique secundi.  
 Romae dulce diu fuit et sollemne reclusa  
 mane domo vigilare, clienti promere iura,  
 105 cautos nominibus rectis expendere nummos,  
 maiores audire, minori dicere per quae  
 crescere res posset, minui damnosa libido.  
 101 Quid placet aut odio est, quod non mutabile credas?

99-100. 'Like a little child, playing at the feet of its nurse, it turned quickly from one plaything to another.' — *sub nutrice*: cf. *Epist.* 1, 16, 77, *sub custode*. — *petiit, reliquit*: the subject is *Graecia*, continued from the preceding sentence; the formal comparison is all contained in vs. 99. — *mature plena*: to be taken together and both with *reliquit*.

102. *hoc ... habuere*: 'such was the result,' going back in thought to vss. 93-94. — *paces*: *times of peace*. [But I do not think that this translation explains the plural. It may be due to *positis bellis*, or, more probably, to *venti secundi*, the plural being regular in this phrase. The single example in Plautus (*Pers.* 753) is inexplicable. See, in general, Langen, *Beiträge*, pp. 105 ff.] — *venti secundi*: a common figure.

103-110. 'At Rome the history has been a very different one.'

103. *sollemne*: 'the fixed custom.' — *reclusa*: the patron admitted freely all who chose to come to him for help or advice.

105. *cautos*: with *nummos*. — *rectis*: expressing in a different way the same idea as *cautos*.

106. *maiores, minori*: with reference to the strict family discipline and the respect exacted from the young.

107. *damnosa libido*: cf. *damnosa Venus*, *Epist.* 1, 18, 21; the caution is economic, not moral.

The contrast in these verses is double; Greece turned to the arts, and changed quickly from one interest to another, while Rome was severely practical, and for a long time unchanging.

101. 'But there is nothing so fixed that it does not at last change; we have abandoned everything else and plunged into writing.' This line stands in the Mss. after 100, where it breaks the thought, while

Mutavit mentem populus levis et calet uno  
 scribendi studio ; puerique patresque severi  
 110 fronde comas vincti cenant et carmina dictant.  
 Ipse ego, qui nullos me adfirmo scribere versus,  
 invenior Parthis mendacior, et prius orto  
 sole vigil calamum et chartas et scrinia posco.  
 Navem agere ignarus navis timet ; abrotonum aegro  
 115 non audet nisi qui didicit dare ; quod medicorum  
 est  
 promittunt medici ; tractant fabrilia fabri :  
 scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.  
 Hic error tamen et levis haec insania quantas

at this point it makes a perfect middle step from vss. 103-107 to 108 ff.

108. *mutavit* : this takes up *mutabile credas*, with emphatic assertion of the reality of it ; 'the change has actually occurred.' — *calet* : as *Graecia arsit*, but *uno studio*, not with many.

110. *fronde* : with the poet's ivy crown, instead of the usual garland of flowers. — *dictant* : they have a slave ready, so that they may dictate their verses even while they are at dinner.

111. *ipse ego* : 'and I, who am laughing at it, am no better than the rest.' — *adfirmo scribere* : the present tense implies 'in the very act of making the statement I am found to be lying like a Dutchman.'

112. *Parthis mendacior* : this is merely one of the expressions of national hostility, like *Punica fides* or *perfidie Albion*. The Parthians

were at this time the traditional enemies of Rome.

113. *scrinia* : the boxes to put the rolls in when they were finished.

114-116. 'All other trades demand some knowledge and training.'

114. *abrotonum* : a comparatively harmless household remedy, yet even for giving that some knowledge is considered necessary.

117. *scribimus* : in the emphatic position ; 'but writing may be done by anybody at any time.' — All this is, of course, to be taken humorously. It is the amusement of the trained professional at the zealous eagerness of the amateur.

118 ff. 'Yet this popular craze for poetry has its good side ; the poetry may be poor, but it keeps the writer busy with harmless things.'

- virtutes habeat, sic collige. Vatis avarus  
 120 non temere est animus, versus amat, hoc studet unum;  
 detrimenta, fugas servorum, incendia ridet;  
 non fraudem socio puerove incogitat ullam  
 pupillo; vivit siliquis et pane secundo;  
 militiae quamquam piger et malus, utilis urbi,  
 125 si das hoc, parvis quoque rebus magna iuvari.  
 Os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat,  
 torquet ab obscenis iam nunc sermonibus aurem;  
 mox etiam pectus praeceptis format amicis,  
 asperitatis et invidiae corrector et irae,  
 130 recte facta refert, orientia tempora notis

119. *sic collige*: so *Sat. 2, 1, 51*,  
*sic collige mecum*.

120. *non temere*: not easily, 'not without strong reason'; so *Sat. 2, 2, 116*; *Sat. 2, 4, 35*; *Epist. 2, 2, 13*.

121. The losses which most people are constantly dreading; cf. *Sat. 1, 1, 77*, *formidare malos fures, incendia, servos, ne te compilent fugientes*.

123. *siliquis*: standing for plain living, as does *pane secundo*, 'bread of an inferior quality of flour.'

124. *militiae*: dative; this is a joking reminiscence of his own brief career as a soldier. — *urbi*: *i.e.*, in peace, as *domi militiae* are used for 'peace and war.'

125. *si das hoc*: *i.e.*, 'unless you deny that so humble a person as a poet can be of use at all to the great Empire.'

From this point, through the

enumeration of the poet's services to society, the thought turns to the history of poetry, and especially of the drama.

127. *obscenis*: more general in meaning than the English word; *low, harmful*, in contrast to the lofty thought and expression of poetry. — *iam nunc*: while he is still *puer*.

128. *mox*: at the later stage, when the character (*pectus*) is taking shape. — *amicis*: like a friendly adviser and helper, not with the severity of laws.

129. Faults to which youth is especially prone.

130. *recte* . . . *refert*: *i.e.*, poetry contains the record of noble action. — *orientia tempora*: *i.e.*, as the young man goes on from one period of life to another, each period in turn rising, as it were, above the horizon of life. Not to

instruit exemplis, inopem solatur et aegrum.

Castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti

disceret unde preces, vatem ni Musa dedisset ?

Poscit opem chorus et praesentia numina sentit ;

135 caelestis implorat aquas docta prece blandus,

avertit morbos, metuenda pericula pellit ;

impetrat et pacem et locupletem frugibus annum.

Carmine di superi placantur, carmine Manes.

be compared with the English 'rising generation.' — *notis*: the *recte facta*, which, having been made known to us through poetry, become *exempla*.

131. *solatur*: by raising him above his discouraging circumstances.

132–133. A reference to the *Carmen Saeculare* composed by Horace for the great festival in 17 B.C. It was sung by a chorus of boys and girls; *C. S.* 6, *virgines lectas puerosque castos*. — *disceret*: the poet is thought of as himself teaching the song to the chorus. — *unde: a quo*. — *vatem*: the more formal name for the poet, especially in his religious capacity.

134–137. There were many other occasions when choral songs were used, from early times, in religious ceremonies, *e.g.*, Livy, 27, 37; 31, 12, and they probably formed a part of some of the annually recurring festivals. *Carm.* 1, 21 is such a song to Diana and Apollo, and Catull. 34 to Diana. The function of the chorus is stated in general

terms in vs. 134, then more specific instances are given in 135–7, and the whole is summarized in 138. — *poscit opem*: the general function, as in many places in the *Carm. Saec.* — *praesentia . . . sentit*: *C. S.* 73 f., *haec Iovem sentire deosque cunctos | spem bonam certamque domum reporto*; the chorus recognizes the presence and favor of the gods to whom it has prayed. — *caelestis . . . aquas*: prayers for rain were common, and there was a special ceremony, called *aquilicium*, for this purpose. — *docta: i.e.*, the prayer taught in suitable formula by the *vates*. — *morbos*: the performance of prescribed rites, which often included a choral prayer, was one of the regular methods of averting pestilence. — *pericula*: dangers to the state, threatened invasion, defeat in battle. — *locupletem . . . annum*: the *ambarvalia* was a ceremony for this purpose.

138. A summary of the whole, 132–137. — *Manes: i.e., di inferi*.

- Agricolae prisci, fortes parvoque beati,  
 140 condita post frumenta, levantes tempore festo  
 corpus et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,  
 cum sociis operum, pueris et coniuge fida,  
 Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,  
 floribus et vino Genium, memorem brevis aevi.  
 145 Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem

139-155. A history of the rise of poetry in Italy, before the coming in of the Greek influence, leading up to a critical estimate of it. This history is not, however, based upon any knowledge of the development of Italian poetry before Livius Andronicus. That development, whatever it may have been, had passed entirely unrecorded. The account which Horace here gives and the corresponding account in Livy 7, 2 are based upon some Greek rhetorical tradition, adapted to embrace the few facts which were known by inference or tradition, like the *versus Fescennini* (145) and the *lex* of the Twelve Tables (152 f.).

139. *fortes parvoque beati*: i.e., simple and happy, as in a Golden Age, when song might, as it was thought, originate.

140. *condita*: the harvest-home festival.

141. *ipsum animum*: and even their spirits. — *ferentem*: i.e., which had borne hardship up to this time.

142. *pueris*: as Ofellus (*Sat.* 2, 2, 115) labors in the fields with

his sons. — *coniuge*: so *Epod.* 2, 39 ff. — These are details of the ideal life of the farmer, cultivating his own fields with the help of his family, not working on the great estate of an absentee landlord.

143. *Tellurem*: mentioned by Varro (*R. R.* 1, 1, 4) as one of the gods to be worshiped by farmers. — *Silvanum*: called *tutor finium* in *Epod.* 2, 22.

144. *Genium*: a protecting spirit, born to each human being and accompanying him through life to the end, sharing his pleasures and sorrows. Offerings were made to the Genius, as to a divinity, yet he was mortal and therefore *memorem brevis aevi*, like the man himself.

145. *Fescennina . . . licentia*: the Fescennine verses survived in historic times in the form of abusive songs sung at weddings and in triumphal processions, apparently to avert the jealousy of the gods, which might be awakened by the felicity of the bridegroom or of the successful general. A modified specimen is given in Catullus, 61, 119 ff. Horace here treats the



- versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit,  
 libertasque recurrentis accepta per annos  
 lusit amabiliter, donec iam saevus apertam  
 in rabiem coepit verti iocus et per honestas  
 150 ire domos impune minax. Doluere cruento  
 dente lacessiti: fuit intactis quoque cura  
 condicione super communi; quin etiam lex  
 poenaeque lata, malo quae nollet carmine quemquam  
 describi: vertere modum formidine fustis  
 155 ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti.  
 Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes  
 intulit agresti Latio; sic horridus ille

custom of singing such verses as having been invented for use in rustic festivals (*per hunc morem*), and regards the abusive quality of the songs as the most important element.

146. *versibus alternis*: Livy, 7, 2, uses almost the same expression: the singers are supposed to have extemporized in turn, somewhat as in the songs in the Eclogues, 3 and 7.

147. *libertas*: *i.e.*, the *licentia* became customary and so a permitted freedom.—*accepta*: balancing *inventae*. Livy uses this word also.

148. *amabiliter*: *i.e.*, the *opprobria rustica* were at first merely jocose.

149. *honestas*: *honorable*, with the Roman feeling of respect for the 'great houses.'

150. *impune*: with *minax*.

151. *dente*: the figure of a sav-

age animal is already suggested in *rabiem*.—*intactis*: others beside the *lacessiti*; cf. *Sat.* 2, 1, 23, *timet quamquam est intactus et odit*, of satire.

152–153. *lex poenaeque lata*: Cic. refers to this (*de Rep.* 4, 10, 12), *si quis occentavisset sive carmen condidisset quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri*, but the exact words of the law are not known.—*quae nollet*: *which forbade*.

154. *describi*: cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 3, *si quis erat dignus describi*.—*formidine fustis*: the penalty was death by the rods of the lictors.

156. One of Horace's best and most frequently quoted phrases.

157. *agresti*: referring back to *vss.* 139 ff.—The whole statement is to be understood in a very general sense. The earliest Greek influences, which came in through Livius Andronicus, Ennius, and their successors in the drama, were

defluxit numerus Saturnius et grave virus  
munditiae pepulere, sed in longum tamen aevum  
160 manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris.  
Serus enim Graecis admovit acumina chartis,  
et post Punica bella quietus quaerere coepit,  
quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus utile ferrent.  
Tentavit quoque rem si digne vertere posset,  
165 et placuit sibi natura sublimis et acer ;

at least a century earlier than the conquest of Greece.

158. *numerus Saturnius* : of this old Italian meter many specimens are extant. It was the national verse until it was displaced by the hexameter. The earliest epic, the *Bellum Punicum* of Naevius, was in Saturnians. Its irregularities justify the adj. *horridus*. — *grave virus* : *i.e.*, the roughness was like an unpleasant liquid, oppressive to the senses.

160. *vestigia ruris* : 'of the primitive rudeness of rustic Latium.' — This is the point of the argument; 'the early writers, whom critics extol so highly, were in fact only partially affected by Greek influence, while we of the present time have more perfectly learned Greek technique.' It is not to be expected that Horace should share the modern view, which finds so much of interest in the origins and primitive forms of art.

161. *serus* : this refers backward to *manserunt hodieque manent* and is then made more definite in vs. 162.

162. *post Punica bella* : these words could not be used with reference to the First Punic War only. We are obliged therefore to suppose that Horace was following an erroneous chronology, of which there are traces in other authors, which made Livius Andronicus a contemporary of Ennius. — The thought here corresponds to vs. 93, *positis . . . Graecia bellis* ; the peace which succeeded a great war gave opportunity for the cultivation of literature.

163. *Thespis* : traditionally the founder of the tragic drama ; cf. *A. P.* 276. The chronological order is not observed. — *utile* : there is perhaps a touch of the Roman attitude in the use of this word.

164. *tentavit rem* : *made the attempt*. — *vertere* : used as a technical term of translating or adapting a Greek play.

165-166. *placuit sibi* : *i.e.*, 'the attempt was successful' ; the phrase does not at all imply 'self-satisfaction,' as the context shows. — *natura* : this prepares for the

nam spirat tragicum satis et feliciter audet,  
 sed turpem putat inscite metuitque lituram.  
 Creditur, ex medio quia res arcessit, habere  
 sudoris minimum, sed habet comoedia tanto  
 170 plus oneris, quanto veniae minus. Adspice Plautus  
 quo pacto partes tutetur amantis ephebi,

restriction of vs. 167. — **sublimis et acer**: of lofty spirit; this is the same as the *acer spiritus ac vis* of *Sat.* 1, 4, 46. — **spirat tragicum**: this figure is especially poetic; it appears in various forms, *spirare bellum, quietem, amores* (*Carm.* 4, 13, 19), *proelia, magnum, maiora*, and has been taken over into English. — **satis**: with *feliciter*. — **feliciter audet**: of the style, as *spirat* is of the spirit. — These opinions in regard to the fitness of Roman character to tragedy are justified by the facts. There was no lack of the lofty and the heroic. But the production of great tragedy requires a very high esthetic and constructive imagination, in which the Romans were lacking.

167. This was a favorite doctrine with Horace (cf. *Sat.* 1, 10, 67-72; *A. P.* 290) and a natural one in the Augustan Age, when the efforts of writers in prose and in verse were directed most earnestly toward perfection of style. Cf., e.g., what is said in the *Vita* of Donatus about Vergil's methods of work.

168. **ex medio**: from ordinary

life, in distinction from the mythical and heroic world from which tragedy takes its subjects (*res*).

170. **plus oneris**: merely another figure for *plus sudoris*; the labor of writing well is like a burden under which the bearer sweats. — **veniae minus**: i.e., it is less easy to win a favorable judgment in comedy than in tragedy, precisely because it deals with ordinary life, so that each hearer can judge for himself of the correctness of the picture. — **Plautus**: the unfavorable judgment here expressed is repeated, from a slightly different point of view, in *A. P.* 270 ff. It is not without justification, but it is one-sided; the merits of Plautus as a writer of comedy were not of a kind to appeal to Horace.

171-172. **quo pacto**: i.e., 'how poorly.' — **tutetur**: 'plays the part,' transferred from the actor to the writer; the meaning is that the characters are not harmoniously and consistently drawn, as they are in the Greek originals and in Terence. The judgment rests upon too narrow a conception of art in comedy. — **ephebi, patris, lenonis**: standing figures in the

- ut patris attenti, lenonis ut insidiosi,  
 quantus sit Dossennus edacibus in parasitis,  
 quam non adstricto percurrat pulpita socco.
- 175 Gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere, post hoc  
 securus cadat an recto stet fabula talo.  
 Quem tulit ad scaenam ventoso Gloria curru,  
 exanimat lentus spectator, sedulus inflat;  
 sic leve, sic parvum est, animum quod laudis avarum
- 180 subruit aut reficit! Valeat res ludicra, si me  
 palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.  
 Saepe etiam audacem fugat hoc terretque poetam,

comedy; the adjectives used with each are also traditional.

173. *Dossennus*: a character in the *fabula Atellana*, resembling in general the parasite of Plautus. The sense of the line is not quite clear, but appears to be, 'what a Dossennus he is in the part of the hungry parasite,' *i.e.*, 'how much his parasites resemble the Dossennus of popular farces, rather than the more artistic figure of the parasite in the New Comedy.'

174. *non adstricto*: 'loosely tied,' 'careless.' This is a general expression, summarizing vss. 170-173.

175-176. 'For he was careless and negligent (vs. 167), interested only in the price he got for his play.'—*post hoc*: after he was paid. The leading actor (*dominus gregis*) was the agent of the giver of the games in buying the play from the writer.—*securus*: *careless*.—*stet*: a technical word for

holding a place on the stage, but here brought back to its original meaning by *recto talo*, 'stands firm,' 'stands upright.'

177. The thought turns from Plautus to the condition of the stage and dramatic writing.—*Gloria*: cf. *Sat.* 1, 6, 23, *fulgente*. . . *Gloria curru*.—*ventoso*: as fickle as the wind; cf. *Epist.* 1, 19, 37, *ventosae plebis*.

178-181. The same thought is here expressed three times; first by *exanimat* (takes away his breath) and *inflatus* (causes him to take a full breath of self-satisfaction); second, by *subruit* and *reficit* (of pulling down and rebuilding an edifice); and third, in *macrum* and *opimum*.—*lentus*: *unresponsive*, exactly as in *Sat.* 1, 9, 64, *lentissima brachia*.—*valeat*: *i.e.*, 'I do not care for it.'

182. *etiam*: with *audacem*; 'even one who might venture to take the risk of failure is daunted by

- quod numero plures, virtute et honore minores,  
indocti stolidique et depugnare parati,  
185 si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt  
aut ursum aut pugiles; his nam plebecula gaudet.  
Verum equitis quoque iam migravit ab aure vo-  
luptas  
omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana.  
Quattuor aut plures aulaea premuntur in horas,  
190 dum fugiunt equitum turmae peditumque catervae;  
mox trahitur manibus regum fortuna retortis,  
essedae festinant, pilenta, petorrita, naves,  
captivum portatur ebur, captiva Corinthus.

the poor taste of the audience that is to judge him.'

184. *indocti stolidique*: *i.e.*, 'incapable either by training or by natural sensitiveness of judging correctly.' — *depugnare parati*: not literally, but 'prepared to maintain their position.'

185. *eques*: used also in *Sat.* 1, 10, 76, of the more cultivated part of the audience, with a reference to the law of Otho reserving fourteen rows behind the senators for the *equites*.

186. *aut ursum aut pugiles*: shows suited to their taste. The *Hecyra* of Terence was twice driven from the stage by the superior attraction of boxers and a rope-dancer and a rumored gladiatorial show, and it is to this well-known bit of literary history that Horace is alluding.

187. *equitis quoque*: even the better portion of the audience has

been led astray by the spectacular drama.

188. *incertos*: *shifting, changing* from one object to another. — *vana*: the pleasures which come from seeing mere shows are empty, in comparison with the more lasting pleasure of good poetry.

189. *premuntur*: *kept down*; the curtain was lowered, instead of being raised, as in a modern theater.

190. A battle was represented on the stage.

191-193. The triumphal procession after the battle. — *manibus*: . . . *retortis*: as captives, with their hands bound behind their backs. — *regum fortuna*: kings, once favorites of fortune, now enslaved; the phrase is epic, like *virtus Scipiadæ*, *Sat.* 2, 1, 72. — The details that follow are merely suggestive of the elaborateness of some triumphal processions, — 'chariots, carriages, wagons, models of ships or

- Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus, seu  
 195 diversum confusa genus panthera camelo,  
 sive elephas albus vulgi converteret ora;  
 spectaret populum ludis attentius ipsis  
 ut sibi praeberentem nimio spectacula plura;  
 scriptores autem narrare putaret asello  
 200 fabellam surdo. Nam quae pervincere voces  
 evaluere sonum, referunt quem nostra theatra?  
 Garganum mugire putes nemus aut mare Tuscum;

figureheads, statues of ivory and Corinthian bronze.'

194. *Democritus*: by tradition the 'laughing philosopher'; the sense therefore is 'here would indeed be a spectacle for the philosopher who found in the follies of men matter for laughter rather than for reproof.'

195. The giraffe, *camelopardalis*, was supposed to be a cross between a camel and a panther (*pard*), and the confusion of expression here is intended to symbolize the mixture. The expression is, in fact, so confused that it is not clear whether Horace means *diversum genus* to be an accus. with *confusa* (*Sat.* 1, 6, 74, *suspensi loculos*) or an appositive of *panthera*. The first giraffe seen in Rome was brought over for Cæsar's Alexandrian triumph in 46 B.C.

198. *nimio* . . . *plura*: *much more*; so, frequently, *plus nimio*, e.g., *Epist.* 1, 10, 30.

199-200. *scriptores*: of such plays, of plays in which the spec-

tacular element greatly exceeded the poetical. — *asello* . . . *surdo*: the proverbial expression *surdo fabellam narrare* (*Ter. Heaut.* 222, *nunc surdo narret fabulam*) is strengthened by *asello*, with a reminder of the Greek saying ὄνῳ τις ἔλεγε μῦθον · ὁ δὲ τὰ ὦτα ἐκίνει, 'a man told a story to an ass; the ass only shook his ears.'

201. *evaluere*: more emphatic than a form of *posse*, and the perfect tense, appealing to the facts of past experience, is more emphatic in a sentence that implies a negative, than the present tense would be; 'no voices have ever had (or now have) power enough to. . . .'

202. *Garganum*: the same illustration, from the noise of the wind in the oak forests of Garganus (a mountainous promontory on the Adriatic coast not very far from Horace's early home) is used in *Carm.* 2, 9, 7, and references to the storms of the Tuscan sea are frequent.



tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur et artes  
 divitiaeque peregrinae! Quibus oblitus actor  
 205 cum stetit in scaena, concurrat dextera laevae.  
 'Dicit adhuc aliquid?' 'Nil sane.' 'Quid placet  
 ergo?'  
 'Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno,'  
 Ac ne forte putes me, quae facere ipse recusem,  
 cum recte tractent alii, laudare maligne,  
 210 ille per extentum funem mihi posse videtur  
 ire poeta, meum qui pectus inaniter angit,  
 irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,  
 ut magus et modo me Thebis modo ponit Athenis.  
 Verum age, et his, qui se lectori credere malunt

203. *artes*: ironical; *artes* and *divitiae* are together the antecedent of *quibus*, and therefore refer especially to the dress of the actors, not to such things as are mentioned in vs. 193.

204. *oblitus*: also ironical; lit., 'smeared,' i.e., *loaded down, covered up*.

207. The wool of Tarentum was famous and the dye made from the *murex* of the Gulf of Tarentum was considered second only to the Tyrian. — *violas*: color comparisons in poetry are to be regarded as mere suggestions. — *veneno*: this continues the ironical tone.

209. *maligne*: *grudgingly, ungenerously*; the sense of the English *malignant* is not in the word.

210. *per extentum funem*: the expression is proverbial, as in Eng-

lish, of an act which requires great skill and involves danger.

211. *meum*: by putting himself into the position of a spectator and hearer Horace is able to express more easily his admiration for the art of the dramatist and to disclaim all rivalry. — *inaniter*: i.e., by the stage illusions, which are unreal; to be taken also with *irritat* and *mulcet*.

212. *falsis*: the same as *inaniter*.

213. *ut magus*: to be taken with the rest of the vs.; 'and like a magician. . . .' — *Thebis, Athenis*: the scenes of tragedy, like the Oedipus story, and of the plays of the New Comedy.

214 ff. 'Turn now from the stage and consider the difficulties with which poets labor who write for the reading public.'

214. *et his*: *these also*, since *age*

- 215 quam spectatoris fastidia ferre superbi,  
 curam redde brevem, si munus Apolline dignum  
 vis complere libris et vatibus addere calcar,  
 ut studio maiore petant Helicon virentem.  
 Multa quidem nobis facimus mala saepe poetae,  
 220 ut vineta egomet caedam mea, cum tibi librum  
 sollicito damus aut fesso, cum laedimur, unum  
 si quis amicorum est ausus reprehendere versum,  
 cum loca iam recitata revolvimus irrevocati,

prefixed to another imperative is not usually connected with it by *et*.

216. *curam redde*: a direct address to Augustus as a patron of literature, interested in all forms of poetry and founder of the temple of Apollo, with which the two great libraries, of Greek and of Latin writings, were connected. The words are carefully chosen; *curam*, not merely interest; *redde*, give as something due to them; *brevem*, since Augustus is so much occupied with other cares, vss. 1-4. — *munus*: the library was a gift for public use. The general sense is, 'if you wish to make your gift worthy of the god of poetry by filling it with books that deserve such preservation.' — *addere calcar*: *to set spurs to* without any suggestion of 'adding'; the phrase is common and not different from *admoveere calcar*, *subdere calcar*.

218. *Helicon*: as the home of the Muses. The line is entirely general, merely a supplement to *addere calcar*.

219. *quidem*: with concessive effect; 'it is quite true that we poets are sometimes childish in our expectations.' The completion of the thought begins with *sed tamen*, vs. 229.

220. *ut vineta . . . caedam*: the expression is evidently proverbial, of saying or doing something which injures one's own interests. It does not occur elsewhere in this form, but cf. Tibull. 1, 2, 100, *quid messis uris acerba tuis?* and, for the literal meaning, Verg. *Ecl.* 3, 10 f., *cum me arbustum videre Miconis | atque mala vitis incidere falce novellas*.

221. *sollicito . . . aut fesso*: cf. the humorously exaggerated carefulness of Horace, when he was sending a copy of the Odes to Augustus, *Epist.* 1, 13, especially vs. 3, *si validus, si laetus erit*.

223. The line refers to the behavior of an author reading his own poetry to an audience; when a passage pleases him, he goes back and reads it over, without

- cum lamentamur, non apparere labores  
 225 nostros et tenui deducta poemata filo,  
 cum speramus eo rem venturam, ut simul atque  
 carmina rescieris nos fingere, commodus ultro  
 arcessas et egere vetes et scribere cogas.  
 Sed tamen est operae pretium cognoscere, quales  
 230 aedituos habeat belli spectata domique  
 virtus indigno non committenda poetae.  
 Gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille  
 Choerilus, incultis qui versibus et male natis

waiting to be urged. — *revolvimus*: in a literal sense, of the turning back of the scroll. — *irrevocati*: *revocare* is the technical word for recalling an actor or a reciter.

224. *non apparere*: *i.e.*, 'that the labor we have given to our work is not sufficiently appreciated'; the complaint is intentionally put in a form which reveals its absurdity.

225. *tenui deducta . . . filo*: 'the fineness and subtlety of our work.' The figure is taken from spinning and is often used, *e.g.*, *Sat.* 2, 1, 3 f.

227. *commodus*: 'you will be so obliging as to . . . ' — *ultro*: without waiting to be asked.

228. *egere vetes*: *i.e.*, 'save us from poverty.' The two verbs, *vetes* and *cogas*, carry on the thought of *ultro* and suggest, ironically, the picture of the poet indifferent to poetry and shrinking from writing, but compelled by his patron to accept wealth and assume the task of writing.

229. *sed tamen*: taking up the thought where it was interrupted by *multa quidem . . . facimus*, vs.

219. — *est operae pretium*: 'it is worth your while.' — *cognoscere*: a rather formal word, *to consider carefully*, 'to investigate the question.'

230. *aedituos*: 'temple attendants,' as if the *virtus Augusti* were a divinity. — *habeat*: more fully expressed this would be *habere oporteat*; the direct question would have been in the subjv., *quales aedituos habeat* (should have) *virtus tua*.

232-234. The story is that Choerilus wrote a poor poem on the exploits of Alexander and was rewarded by him, in spite of the badness of the poetry. These outlines are filled in by the Scholiast with some details which rather detract from the aptness of the illustration. If they are authentic, Horace has intentionally omitted them. A few later allusions (Cur-

- rettulit acceptos, regale nomisma, Philippos.  
 235 Sed veluti tractata notam labemque remittunt  
 atramenta, fere scriptores carmine foedo  
 splendida facta linunt. Idem rex ille, poema  
 qui tam ridiculum tam care prodigus emit,  
 edicto vetuit ne quis se praeter Apellem  
 240 pingeret aut alius Lysippo duceret aera  
 fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia. Quodsi  
 iudicium subtile videndis artibus illud  
 ad libros et ad haec Musarum dona vocares,  
 Boeotum in crasso iurares aere natum.

tius, 8, 5, 8; Auson. *Epist.* 16, 3) show that the story became traditional.—*incultis*: from lack of art.—*male natis*: from lack of natural ability.—*rettulit acceptos*: *i.e.*, 'put them down in his account book on the credit side'; a bookkeeping term used ironically.—*regale nomisma*: because they were called *Philippi*, after the name of the king; cf. the 'Napoleon.' There is perhaps also a suggestion that Alexander 'paid like a prince.' *nomisma* is in apposition to *Philippos*.

235–237. 'But poor poetry really brings discredit upon the hero whose deeds it celebrates.'—*remittunt*: 'give off,' leave upon the hand.—*atramenta*: ink or any black pigment.—*fere*: *often*, not 'generally, usually.'—The comparison ('poor poets stain great deeds, as ink stains the fingers') is good enough in its essential point (*linunt* = *notam*

*labemque remittunt*), but is distinctly lame in the details, which by no means correspond.

237–238. *idem*: with adversative force, as often.—*tam, tam*: these words take for granted a knowledge of the details of the story, as do *ille* (232), *ille* (237).

239–240. *edicto vetuit ne quis*: in the legal style; cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 187. The story was traditional and is alluded to by Cicero (*ad Fam.* 5, 12, 7) and told by Pliny (*H. N.* 7, 37, 125). Apelles and Lysippus were the two most distinguished artists of the period.—*alius Lysippo*: cf. *Epist.* 1, 16, 20; exactly equivalent to *praeter Apellem*.—*duceret*: *cast.*—*aera*: the plur. is significant; *bronzes, i.e.*, bronze figures.

242. *videndis artibus*: 'arts that appeal to the eye,' painting and sculpture; ablative, Lane, § 2266.

244. *Boeotum*: gen. plur. with *aere*.—*crasso*: proverbial of the

At neque dedecorant tua de se iudicia atque  
munera, quae multa dantis cum laude tulerunt,  
dilecti tibi Vergilius Variusque poetae :  
nec magis expressi vultus per aenea signa  
quam per vatis opus mores animique virorum  
250 clarorum apparent. Nec sermones ego mallet  
repentes per humum, quam res componere gestas,

atmosphere of Boeotia, so that the name of the country had become proverbial for dullness. — The tradition which Horace is here following, that Alexander was a poor judge of poetry, is not in fact consistent with a correct interpretation of the Choerilus story, which, in its full form, is meant to represent him as dealing humorously and good-naturedly with a poem the badness of which he fully understood. A similar tradition, attributing to him ignorance of painting, appears in an anecdote told by Pliny (*H. N.* 35, 10, 85) of his making foolish criticisms in the studio of Apelles. Both traditions probably came from Athenian witticisms, extending the proverbial dullness of Boeotia to the Macedonian conqueror.

245 ff. 'But you do not need this warning, as your patronage of Vergil and Varius shows.'

245. *dedecorant . . . iudicia*: i.e., 'do no discredit to your selection of them.'

246. *munera*: there is a definite story of the giving of money to Vergil when he read the sixth

book of the Aeneid to Augustus, and he left a considerable fortune at his death, which must have come from gifts. Varius also received money from Augustus. — *laude*: *credit*, *honor*, not 'praise' from the recipients of the gifts.

247. Vergil died in 19 B.C., and Varius was probably not living at this time, though the date of his death is not known.

248. *expressi*: the figure is taken from the shaping of wax or clay. — *vultus*: 'the expression of the face.'

250 ff. 'I too would join in recording your deeds if only my powers were equal to the task.'

250–251. *sermones . . . repentes per humum*: this often-quoted phrase expresses Horace's habitual attitude toward the Satires and Epistles; they are *Talks*, inspired only by a *Musa pedestris* (*Sat.* 2, 6, 17). It was in the Epodes and the Odes that he felt himself to be a poet. — *res . . . gestas*: an historical epic after the manner of Ennius. The title of the work might have been *Res Gestae Augusti*.

terrarumque situs et flumina dicere et arces  
 montibus impositas et barbara regna, tuisque  
 auspiciis totum confecta duella per orbem,  
 255 claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Ianum,  
 et formidatam Parthis te principe Romam,  
 si, quantum cuperem, possem quoque: sed neque parvum  
 carmen maiestas recipit tua, nec meus audet  
 rem tentare pudor, quam vires ferre recusent.  
 260 Sedulitas autem, stulte quem diligit, urget,

252-253. These details evidently refer to campaigns in countries little known to the public and deserving particular description. The phrase *arces montibus impositas* points to the campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius in the valleys of the Alps against the Vindelici, which were carried on in 15-14 B.C., and which Horace had already celebrated in *Carm.* 4, 4 and 14, at the request of Augustus.

254. *duella*: the epic word. In these lines, as in the similar passage in *Sat.* 2, 1, 12-15, Horace, in the very act of professing his inability to write an epic, indulges in a bit of epic description.

255. *claustra*: the temple of Janus was closed by Augustus twice before this Epistle was written, in 29 and in 25 B.C., and a third time at some later date. — *custodem pacis*: the phrase is not quite precise; Janus guards peace within his closed doors.

256. *Parthis*: cf. *Epist.* 1, 12, 27, note.

257. *si . . . possem*: the protasis of *mallet*, vs. 250. — *quantum cuperem*: the thought was traditional in rhetorical criticism. Cf. also *cupidum* in the similar passage, *Sat.* 2, 1, 12.

258. *maiestas . . . tua*: not, of course, as a title, but with something of formality. — *recipit*: *admit*, *permit*.

259. *rem tentare*: 'to attempt a task,' not quite as in vs. 164. — *pudor*: the abstract for the concrete, to balance *maiestas*. — The clauses repeat and amplify the thought of *quantum cuperem possem*; 'I do not wish to offer you a poor song, which is all that I am able to do, and I am not able to attempt a great poem, which is what I should wish to give you.'

260. *sedulitas*: *officiousness*, an ill-regulated desire to please; cf. *sedulus*, *Epist.* 1, 13, 5. — *stulte*: with *urget*; 'is foolish in laying a burden upon the very person he desires to please.'



praecipue cum se numeris commendat et arte;  
 discit enim citius meminitque libentius illud,  
 quod quis deridet, quam quod probat et veneratur.  
 Nil moror officium, quod me gravat, ac neque ficto  
 265 in peius vultu proponi cereus usquam,  
 nec prave factis decorari versibus opto,  
 ne rubeam pingui donatus munere et una  
 cum scriptore meo capsula porrectus operta  
 deferar in vicum vendentem tus et odores  
 270 et piper et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis.

261. *praecipue*: 'this is especially true of poetry, because poor verses stick in the memory.'

262. *discit*: the subject is to be supplied from the next clause.

264-265. *officium*: = *sedulitas*.  
 — *gravat*: = *urget*. — *ficto*: *shaped*.  
 — in *peius*: *i.e.*, 'by a poor artist, who would misrepresent my features, as I, if I tried to write an epic, might misrepresent your deeds.' — *cereus*: wax was used for portrait busts, as for masks (*imagines*) of distinguished ancestors. Cf. *expressi*, vs. 248.

266. *decorari*: ironical. — There is an implied comparison; 'as I should not be pleased by a poor portrait of myself, so I should not care to be described in bad verses.'

267. *pingui*: *stupid*, as in *Sat.* 2, 6, 14.

268. *scriptore meo*: 'the man who wrote about me,' 'my eulogist.' — *capsula porrectus*: like a corpse in a coffin.

269. *vicum vendentem tus*: the *vicus Tuscus*, with a pun on *tus* — *tuscus*.

## 2

The subject matter of this Epistle is so general and there are so few allusions to public matters that the date cannot be fixed with certainty. It is clear that so elaborate a renunciation of poetry cannot have been written during the period from 17 B.C. to 13 B.C., when Horace was writing the *Carmen Saeculare* and the Fourth Book of the Odes. There is nothing to show that it might not have been composed after 13 B.C., but the general tone, in which it much resembles *Epist.* 1, 1, and the

difficulty of supposing that Horace twice publicly announced his intention of giving up lyrical poetry, makes the earlier date, 20-18 B.C., more probable.

For the young Julius Florus, see *Introd. to Epist.* 1, 3. He was still in the suite of Tiberius and had apparently been long absent from Rome.

‘Did you ever buy a slave, my dear Florus, and find yourself prevented from complaining of his faults by the fact that the dealer had expressly mentioned them? Then you must not complain of not hearing from me, for I warned you that I never answer letters. And in spite of this, you call on me for more Odes! Do you remember that story of the soldier of Lucullus? Some thief stole his savings and in a rage he went off and stormed a castle and got honor and more money. But when the general, with most flattering words, invited him to lead another storming party, he declined with thanks and advised the general to get some other man who had just lost his purse. That is just my attitude. I lost my purse at Philippi and, in a rage, I stormed the castle of poetry. But once is enough; I am taking my ease now. There are plenty of reasons for not writing. In the first place, you all ask for different things. And then, how can one write in Rome, where all is confusion? Nor, for another reason, do I like the mutual admiration clubs, which I should have to join. And it is no easy matter, either, to write really good poetry.

‘The fact is that I have turned, as I said once before, from lyrics to philosophy, and am trying to learn the secrets of true living. I am considering the nature of possession and how it differs from use and how transient it is, at the best. I am trying to practice the doctrine of the Golden Mean and to become both better and happier, as I grow older.’

In this Epistle, as in *Epist.* 2, 1, the letter form is used at the beginning with considerable skill, and something of the personal tone is maintained for perhaps fifty lines. But from that point the epistle becomes a versified essay, first, on the writing of poetry and, second, on philosophy. The latter part contains nothing that Horace had not said before, though it is here expressed in new forms, but the strictures upon the state of literature in Rome are always interesting. The humorous opening of the Epistle, the bit of autobiography, and the veiled allusion to Propertius are perhaps the best parts of the letter. As a whole it is scarcely equal to the other Epistles of this Book.

- Flore, bono claroque fidelis amice Neroni,  
 si quis forte velit puerum tibi vendere natum  
 Tibure vel Gabiis et tecum sic agat: 'Hic et  
 candidus et talos a vertice pulcher ad imos  
 5 fiet eritque tuus nummorum milibus octo,  
 verna ministeriis ad nutus aptus eriles,  
 litterulis Graecis imbutus, idoneus arti  
 cuilibet; argilla quidvis imitaberis uda;  
 quin etiam canet indoctum sed dulce bibenti.  
 10 Multa fidem promissa levant, ubi plenius aequo  
 laudat venales qui vult extrudere merces.

1. Flore, Neroni: cf. *Epist.* 1, 3, 1-2, notes, and *Epist.* 1, 8, 2.

2. puerum: *slave*, not 'boy,' though the context shows that he is young.

3. Tibure vel Gabiis: any two Italian towns; a slave born in Italy, not a foreign captive. — agat: *deal*, i.e., 'present his proposal in these terms.'

4. candidus: *fair*, of complexion. — talos a vertice: proverbial like the English 'from head to foot.'

5. fiet eritque: legal tautology, like 'to have and to hold,' employed here to give an air of definiteness and frankness to the offer. — milibus octo: nearly \$400, an ordinary price for a fairly good slave. Davus, speaking of himself as a cheap slave, says he was worth \$100. The price named is meant to be attractive, but not suspiciously low.

6. verna: *a house slave*, not a common field laborer. — ministeriis: dative with *aptus*. — ad nutus: to be taken closely with *ministeriis aptus*, almost as a modifier; 'quick to perform his duties at a nod.'

7-8. litterulis . . . imbutus: 'he knows a little Greek'; the depreciatory tone is suggested by the diminutive and expressed in *imbutus*. Cf. Tac. *Dial.* 19, *elementis studiorum etsi non instructus at certe imbutus*. — arti cuilibet: there is a description in Ter. *Eun.* 476 ff. of a young slave who knows literature, wrestling, and music. — argilla . . . uda: the figure of the artist making his clay model is suggested by *arti*.

9. quin etiam: i.e., 'in fact he already knows something of one art, singing.' — indoctum: this suggests again the frank man who will not praise too highly what he offers for sale.

- Res urget me nulla, meo sum pauper in aere.  
 Nemo hoc mangonum faceret tibi, non temere a me  
 quivis ferret idem. Semel hic cessavit et, ut fit,  
 15 in scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenae':  
 des nummos, excepta nihil te si fuga laedat,  
 ille ferat pretium poenae securus; opinor  
 prudens emisti vitiosum; dicta tibi est lex;  
 insequeris tamen hunc et lite moraris iniqua?

12. *res*: *pressure, necessity*. — *meo . . . in aere*: in distinction from *aes alienum*; the words explain the first part of the line; 'I'm not rich, but I have no debts.'

13. *hoc faceret*: 'would make you such an offer as this.' — *non temere*: 'not without some special reason.'

14-15. This is the point of the whole, dropped in at the end as a matter of no importance, yet distinctly mentioned lest the concealment should invalidate the bargain. — *cessavit*: cf. *Sat.* 2, 7, 100, *nequam et cessator Davus*. This is the mildest possible way of saying that the young slave shirks his work whenever he can; 'it is a fact that he once lingered about his work and then, fearing a whipping, hid himself.' So in *Plaut. M. G.* 582 f. the slave says *nam iam aliquo aufugiam et me occultabo aliquot dies, | dum haec consulescunt turbae*. — *in scalis*: *under the stairs*; he did not really run away. — *pendentis*: *i.e.*, usually hanging on the wall, ready for use.

16. *des*: continuing the supposition, without *si*; 'suppose you hand over your money.' — *si . . . laedat*: a secondary condition, with *des*; 'taking it for granted, of course, that you find nothing else objectionable.' — *excepta . . . fuga*: 'the running away having been distinctly mentioned.' *Excipere* is the technical term in law for mentioning a point which is an 'exception' to the general statement; cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 285, *mentem, nisi litigiosus, exciperet dominus, cum venderet*.

17. *poenae securus*: *without fear of penalty*, because he had complied with the law in mentioning the slight tendency to 'shirk.'

18. *prudens*: *deliberately*, 'with your eyes open.' — *lex*: the statement which the law requires, *semel . . . cessavit*, not the written 'law.'

19. *insequeris, moraris*: 'are you pursuing him, trying to hold him?' The present tense carries the reader over from the story to its application; this is a condensed way of saying 'would you make

- 20 Dixi me pigrum proficiscenti tibi, dixi  
talibus officiis prope mancum, ne mea saevus  
iurgares ad te quod epistula nulla rediret.  
Quid tum profeci tecum facientia iura  
si tamen attentas? Quereris super hoc etiam, quod  
25 expectata tibi non mittam carmina mendax.  
Luculli miles collecta viatica, multis  
aerumnis, lassus dum noctu stertit, ad assem  
perdiderat, post hoc vehemens lupus et sibi et hosti  
iratus pariter, ieiunis dentibus acer,  
30 praesidium regale loco deiecit, ut aiunt,  
summe munito et multarum divite rerum.  
Clarus ob id factum donis ornatur honestis

a fuss about your bargain and threaten a suit? Yet that is exactly what you are doing to me, though I warned you plainly.'

20. *dixi, dixi*: 'I was just as plain in my warnings as the seller of the slave in my little story.'—*proficiscenti*: on his journey with Tiberius.

It is extremely characteristic of Horace to go through all the details of the story, leaving the application to the end. Compare the detailed description of Tigellius, *Sat.* 1, 3, 2–19, the point of which is not reached till vs. 24.

21. *talibus officiis*: letter writing and other friendly offices; dative with *mancum*, which is a strong word for *haud aptus, inutilis*.

23. *profeci*: *i.e.*, 'what good has my plain warning done?'—*mecum facientia*: cf. *Epist.* 2, 1, 68.

24. *super hoc etiam*: 'in addition to all this,' 'you even go, so far, besides.'

25. *mendax*: 'breaking my promise'; cf. *Epist.* 1, 7, 2.

26. *Luculli*: commander in Cilicia against Mithridates, 74–67 B.C. The story is not told elsewhere.—*viatica*: properly 'traveling money,' then any kind of allowance, from which the soldier had saved what he could.

27. *ad assem*: *i.e.*, all of it, 'to a penny.'

29. *dentibus*: with reference to *lupus*.

30–31. *regale*: *i.e.*, of Mithridates.—*ut aiunt*: with the next line, giving the authority of the story teller for the strong expressions *summe, multarum divite*.

32. *donis . . . honestis*: the various insignia, chains, crowns,

- accipit et bis dena super sestertia nummum.  
 Forte sub hoc tempus castellum evertere praetor  
 35 nescio quod cupiens hortari coepit eundem  
 verbis, quae timido quoque possent addere mentem:  
 'I bone quo virtus tua te vocat, i pede fausto,  
 grandia laturus meritorum praemia. Quid stas?'  
 Post haec ille catus quantumvis rusticus: 'Ibit,  
 40 ibit eo, quo vis, qui zonam perdidit,' inquit.  
 Romae nutriri mihi contigit atque doceri  
 iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles.  
 Adiecere bonae paullo plus artis Athenae,  
 scilicet ut vellem curvo dinoscere rectum,

medals, that were given for conspicuous bravery.

33. *bis dena . . . sestertia*: a little less than \$1000, a large share of the booty for a common soldier. — *super*: adverb.

34. *forte sub hoc tempus*: a phrase for continuing the narrative, like 'it happened about this time.' — *praetor*: in the old sense, *commander*.

35. *nescio quod*: this also is in the narrative style, passing over unimportant details.

36. *timido quoque*: even to a coward. — *mentem*: *spirit, purpose*; this is an unusual sense for *mens*.

37. *pede fausto*: a rather formal phrase, almost in a solemn tone, as if the gods were sure to favor the undertaking.

38. *grandia . . . praemia*: so in *Sat.* 2, 1, 11 f., to the lofty motives

for writing about Augustus, Trebatius adds, as if by an afterthought, *multa laborum praemia laturus*.

39-40. *catus*: *sharp*; a colloquial, almost vulgar, word to go with *quantumvis rusticus*. — *ibit, ibit*: the shrewd soldier mimics in his reply the lofty tone of the repeated *i, i* of the general's exhortation. — *zonam*: 'money belt,' *i.e.*, 'who has had the same experience that I had,' vs. 27.

41-54. The application of the story.

41. *contigit*: 'it was my good fortune'; this corresponds to the soldier's *collecta viatica*. For the facts compare *Sat.* 1, 6, 76.

42. That is, he learned Greek and read the *Iliad*.

43-45. 'My good fortune was increased by the opportunity of studying in Athens.' — *bonae*: with *Athenae*. — *artis*: *education*, as in



- 45 atque inter silvas Academi quaerere verum.  
 Dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato,  
 civilisque rudem belli tulit aestus in arma  
 Caesaris Augusti non responsura lacertis.  
 Vnde simul primum me dimisere Philippi,  
 50 decisis humilem pennis inopemque paterni  
 et laris et fundi paupertas impulit audax,  
 ut versus facerem. Sed quod non desit haben  
 tem

*Sat. 1, 6, 77.* — *vellem*: *desire, choose.* — *curvo, rectum*: geometrical terms, transferred to ethics, as the use of *dinoscere* shows. — *inter silvas*: the olive trees of the Academy. This spot was outside of the city and one of the most beautiful parks about Athens. — *Academi*: this does not refer to the Academic school, to which Horace shows no inclination, but only to the place, as representative of all philosophy. — *quaerere verum*: this is the more theoretical side of philosophy, including speculations in natural philosophy.

46-48. 'But I lost my chances, as the soldier lost his money.' — *dura . . . tempora*: the period immediately after the death of Julius Caesar in March, 44 B.C. — *civilis*: with *aestus*; cf. *furor civilis, Carm. 4, 15, 18.* — *rudem belli*: = *imbellem*; cf. *Epod. 1, 16.* Horace mentions Brutus as his leader only in *Carm. 2, 7, 2*, quite casually, and in *Sat. 1, 7*, which dates from this period of his life.

— *non responsura*: the future expresses the idea of destiny. — *lacertis*: as if in wrestling.

49. *Philippi*: in 42 B.C. Horace returned at once to Rome, not continuing the contest, as some of his friends did, by joining the army of the younger Pompey.

51. *et laris et fundi*: with *inopem*. The two words together stand for the estate near Venusia, which was probably confiscated and assigned to some veteran of the army of Augustus. — *audax*: corresponding to vss. 28-29, *vehemens lupus*.

52. *ut versus facerem*: this corresponds to the soldier's exploit, vss. 30-31. But Horace does not, either here or elsewhere, tell how his writing brought him relief from poverty, except indirectly, through his acquaintance. There is no reason to suppose that an author received a royalty from the sale of his works. — *quod non desit habentem*: this is the modest equivalent of vss. 32-33.

quae poterunt unquam satis expurgare cicutae,  
ni melius dormire putem quam scribere versus?

55 Singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes,  
eripuerunt iocos, venerem, convivia, ludum,  
tendunt extorquere poemata. Quid faciam vis?  
Denique non omnes eadem mirantur amantque.

60 Carmine tu gaudes, hic delectatur iambis,  
ille Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro.

Tres mihi convivae prope dissentire videntur,

53. poterunt . . . expurgare: *i.e.*, 'what possible remedy can cure his feverish madness?' — cicutae: *hemlock*, which was used not only as a poison, but also in smaller doses as a cure for fever.

54. dormire: cf. *Sat.* 2, 1, 7, where the word is used exactly as here.

55. The application of the anecdote of the soldier to Horace's own history and circumstances is carried out into humorous detail and is not to be taken seriously. Cf. the equally exaggerated and humorous explanation of his choice of Satire in *Sat.* 1, 10, 40-47. From this point, however, the reasoning becomes more serious. — singula: specified in the next line. This line is an expression of the feeling of the middle-aged man. The thought is repeated in *A. P.* 175-176.

56. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 7, 26-28, where the losses that come with middle age are described somewhat more fully.

57. tendunt: the present tense

is emphatic; 'they are now going on to take. . . .' — extorquere: 'against my will.' — quid faciam vis? *i.e.*, 'what can I do but submit?' Greenough well compares *que voulez-vous?*

58. denique: introducing a new point, but not the final one; *then, too*. This is a not uncommon use.

59-60. carmine: lyric poetry, the Odes. — iambis: iambic poems of satirical tone, like many of the Epodes. — Bioneis: Bion was a philosopher of the third century, of a biting wit, so that he became a type of the caustic satirist. It is quite unlikely that Horace was influenced by him; at the most it was only in his earliest satires. His name is used here only as a general descriptive term. — sermonibus: *satires*. — sale nigro: coarse black salt, which would make strong brine. The figure is often used. *e.g.*, *Sat.* 1, 10, 3.

61. prope: with the whole sentence or with *videntur*, not with *dissentire*; 'if you have only three

poscentes vario multum diversa palato.

Quid dem? Quid non dem? Renuis tu, quod iubet alter,  
quod petis, id sane est invisum acidumque duobus.

- 65 Praeter cetera, me Romaene poemata censes  
scribere posse inter tot curas totque labores?  
Hic sponsum vocat, hic auditum scripta, relictis  
omnibus officiis, cubat hic in colle Quirini,  
hic extremo in Aventino, visendus uterque;  
70 intervalla vides humane commoda. Verum  
purae sunt plateae, nihil ut meditantibus obstat.  
Festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemptor,  
torquet nunc lapidem nunc ingens machina tignum,

guests, it is almost certain that they will differ.'

62. **multum**: with *diversa*.

64. **acidum**: maintaining the figure of guests at the table.

65. **praeter cetera**: still another reason, vss. 65-86, for not complying with the expectation of Florus that he should send him poems. For the general thought, which was habitual with Horace, cf. *Sat.* 2, 6, 23-39.

67. **sponsum**: cf. *Sat.* 2, 6, 23, *Romae sponsorem me rapis*. — **auditum**: *i.e.*, to a recitation, as in *Sat.* 1, 4, 23.

68. **cubat**: *is lying ill*; cf. *Sat.* 1, 9, 18.

70. **intervalla**: the distance would be somewhere between one mile and two, but Horace is not thinking of precise measurements; he names the two hills which were on opposite sides of the city, by way of saying 'clear

across the whole town.' — **humane commoda**: so in colloquial Latin, *misere miser, inepte stultus*, and frequently an adjective is strengthened by an adverb of like stem or meaning; instead of either *humana*, 'human, suited to a man,' or *commoda*, 'convenient,' the two are united into the single ironical phrase, 'convenient for a man.'

70-71. 'But perhaps you will say that . . .'; as if put in by some other person, who said 'you can be thinking over a poem (*meditantibus*) as you go.' — **purae**: *empty*, clear of obstacles which would prevent thinking.

72. **festinat**: the answer begins, as often, without an adversative particle, as though a mere statement of facts supplied a sufficient answer. — **calidus**: *hurrying*; this continues the thought of *festinat*, as a predicate.

73. **torquet**: *twists up, winds*

- tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustis,  
 75 hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus:  
 i nunc, et versus tecum meditare canoros!  
 Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbes,  
 rite cliens Bacchi somno gaudentis et umbra,  
 tu me inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos  
 80 vis canere et contracta sequi vestigia vatū?  
 Ingenium, sibi quod vacuas desumpsit Athenas  
 et studiis annos septem dedit insenuitque  
 libris et curis, statua taciturnius exit

*up*, the verb being chosen because the lifting of the weight is done by means of wheels and pulleys.

74. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 6, 42 f., where the noise of the Forum is expressed in the same way, by imagining the meeting of funeral processions and heavy wagons.

76. *i nunc*: as in vs. 37. — For this description of the confusion of an ancient city, cf. the similar passage in *Juv.* 3, 245 ff. Some attempts were made to control the traffic, but they cannot have been very effectual.

77. *scriptorum*: *poets*, as *canoros*, *canere*, and *vatū* show. — *chorus*, *nemus*: these words suggest the chorus of the Muses in the sacred grove.

78. *rite*: with *cliens*; 'devoted to Bacchus, as is fit.' This is the traditional idea, expressed more fully in *Epist.* 1, 19, 1–11.

80. *contracta*: *i.e.*, 'to follow the steep and narrow path,' the path where only the few have been

able to tread. The same thought is in *Propert.* 4, 1, 14, *non datur ad Musas currere lata via*.

81–86. 'Study and the writing of poetry are incompatible with the excitements and confusions of active life. A man who gives himself up to one unfits himself for the other. The student in the retirement of Athens makes a ridiculous figure in affairs; I, when I am living in the midst of the distractions of Roman life, must not expect to write poetry.'

81. *ingenium*: 'a man of ability.' This is probably not an allusion to some definite person (the presents, *exit*, *quatit*, are general), but, to make it more vivid, an air of definiteness is given to it by *Athenas* (the typical spot for seclusion and study) and by *annos septem* (a long time).

82. *insenuit*: cf. *Epist.* 1, 7, 85, *amore senescit habendi*.

83. *libris et curis*: abl., like *amore* in the passage just quoted.

- plerumque et risu populum quatit; hic ego rerum  
 85 fluctibus in mediis et tempestatibus urbis  
 verba lyrae motura sonum conectere digner?  
 Frater erat Romae consulti rhetor, ut alter  
 alterius sermone meros audiret honores,  
 Gracchus ut hic illi, foret huic ut Mucius ille.  
 90 Qui minus argutos vexat furor iste poetas?  
 Carmina compono, hic elegos. 'Mirabile visu

*curae*, of studies in philosophy, as in *Carm.* 3, 21, 15, *sapientium curas*. — *statua*: a proverbial comparison, which is used also in English. — *taciturnius*: neut. with *ingenium*. — *exit*: *turns out*, 'comes out at the end'; cf. *A. P.* 22, *currente rota cur urceus exit?*

84-86. *plerumque*: *generally*; this indicates that the whole comparison is in general terms. — *hic*: 'in Rome, not in *vacuae Athenae*.' — *ego*: 'I, not an *ingenium*.' — *motura sonum*: like the English, 'to wake the lyre.' — *digner*: 'consider myself fit,' *i.e.*, 'think it possible that in such a life I should still be capable of writing poetry.'

87-105. This reason for not writing poetry — the fact that one must join the mutual admiration societies in Rome — is introduced abruptly by an allusion, the point of which does not appear till vs. 90, just as this letter begins with a story, vss. 2-19, the point of which is not at first apparent.

87. *consulti*: an office lawyer,

a *jurist*. — *rhetor*: a court lawyer, a *pleader*. The two are of the same general profession, but in different branches of it. — The construction of this line and the next is harsh and, indeed, doubtful. As the text stands, it means 'there was an orator in Rome who was the brother of a jurist, a brother so close that each heard from the other nothing but compliments.'

89. *Gracchus*: both the Gracchi were orators, but Gaius, the younger of the two, was especially famous. This compliment was paid of course to the *rhetor*. — *Mucius*: there were three great jurists named Mucius Scaevola.

90. *qui minus*: *i.e.*, 'is there any reason why poets should not show the same fraternal spirit?' — *argutos*: as a standing epithet, *clear-voiced*. — *vexat furor*: these words throw off the ironical tone of the story, vss. 87-89.

91. *carmina*: lyric poetry. — *elegos*: elegy, which was cultivated at this time in Rome with great success, so that it was prob-

- caelatumque novem Musis opus !' Adspice primum,  
 quanto cum fastu, quanto molimine circum-  
 spectemus vacuum Romanis vatibus aedem,  
 95 mox etiam, si forte vacas, sequere et procul audi,  
 quid ferat et quare sibi nectat uterque coronam.  
 Caedimur et totidem plagis consumimus hostem  
 lento Samnites ad lumina prima duello.

ably the most admired form of poetry. Horace did not himself attempt it. The allusion here is almost certainly to the elegiac poet Propertius. He was a member of the Maecenas circle, yet he is nowhere mentioned by Horace, who mentions so many literary friends. The suspicion that this silence covers some hostility is strengthened by the great differences in temperament and in literary ideals. Commentators have therefore found veiled allusions to Propertius in various passages (*Sat.* 1, 10, 18, *simius iste*; *Sat.* 1, 9); this is the most distinct and probable.

92. *caelatum*: the poem is praised in terms which would be used of a highly ornamented work of art. — *novem Musis*: dat. of agent with *caelatum*; the poem is so perfect that all the Muses must have aided in the writing of it. — *adspice*: the two poets are pictured standing before the temple of Apollo, exchanging compliments.

93-94. *fastu*: *pride*. — *molimine*: a rather rare word, with a suggestion of vastness and effort

from its connection with *molior*, *moles*; *an air of importance*. — *circum-spectemus*: a word is run over from one line to the next in a few other places; *Sat.* 1, 2, 62; 2, 3, 117; *A. P.* 424. There may be here an intentional hit at the dignified air of the poets. — *vacuum*: the temple library was 'open to Roman poets,' as if in expectation of their coming. Cf. *Epist.* 2, 1, 216 f.

95. *si . . . vacas*: 'if you are quite at leisure,' and have nothing better to do. — *sequere*: to the hall where the poets are to read their verses to each other. No definite place is thought of; the two poets, having looked proudly at the library where they hope that their poems are to be preserved, pass on to a hall where they hold a *recitatio*.

96. *sibi nectat*: each is weaving a chaplet for himself by complimenting the other in order to be complimented in turn.

97-98. A condensed comparison; the two poets are like two gladiators and exchange poems as the gladiators exchange blows. —



Discedo Alcaeus puncto illius, ille meo quis?

- 100 Quis nisi Callimachus? Si plus adposcere visus,  
fit Mimnermus, et optivo cognomine crescit.  
Multa fero, ut placem genus irritabile vatum,  
cum scribo et supplex populi suffragia capto;  
idem, finitis studiis et mente recepta,  
105 obturem patulas impune legentibus aures.

**caedimur**: the comparison is introduced without any word of comparison. — **lento**, **ad lumina prima**: *i.e.*, 'we keep it up all the afternoon, till the first lamps are lit,' till darkness separates the combatants. — **Samnites**: heavily armed gladiators, who would fight long without injury, until both were tired out. — **duello**: here in the original sense, a fight between two persons.

99. **discedo**: *i.e.*, 'when the combat of poems is over, he calls me an Alcaeus.' — **puncto**: the vote was recorded by a mark, *punctum*, on a tablet, which was a kind of tally sheet. — **quis?** Horace's pretended hesitation suggests that he does not know or care what name he shall use, but will call the other poet anything that will please him — say, Callimachus.

100. **Callimachus**: Propertius (5, 1, 64) calls himself the *Romanus Callimachus*. Callimachus was a poet of the Alexandrian school, of the third century B.C. He was regarded as one of the masters of the learned elegy;

Catullus translated one of his poems (Catull. 66), the *Coma Berenices*.

101. **Mimnermus**: an earlier (about 600 B.C.) writer of elegiacs, who was considered to be the founder of elegy. — **optivo**: a legal term (= *adoptivo*), expressing with *cognomine* the idea that the name is given as names were given to great generals, *e.g.*, *Scipio Africanus*. Such a *cognomen* increases the poet's sense of importance (*crescit*).

102-105. 'I bear all this kind of thing when I am myself writing, but if I do not write I can escape from it.' This sums up vss. 87-101 and explains how the necessity of paying compliments is an added reason for not writing. — **irritabile**: *i.e.*, sensitive and eager for compliments. — **suffragia capto**: a comparison in brief; 'and seek for hearers as a candidate seeks for votes.' — **mente recepta**: Horace is always half humorous when he refers to the inspiration of poets. — **obturem**: the subj. mode is faintly potential, almost a future. — **patulas**:

Ridentur mala qui componunt carmina, verum  
gaudent scribes et se venerantur, et ultro,  
si taceas, laudant quidquid scripsere beati.

At qui legitimum cupiet fecisse poema,

110 cum tabulis animum censoris sumet honesti,  
audebit, quaecumque parum splendoris habebunt  
et sine pondere erunt et honore indigna ferentur,

*i.e.*, 'which before I had been obliged to keep open.'—*impune*: with *obtorem*.

106-128. Besides all the reasons already given for not writing poetry, there is the further reason, the most serious of all, that the work demands the utmost effort and the best powers. 'Some poets, it is true, find pleasure in composing, without regard to the quality of the product, but the poet of high ideals is his own severest critic.'

107. *gaudent scribes*: 'are full of joy in their writing.' The best parallel to these verses is Catull. 22, on Sufferus; *neque idem umquam | aequae est beatus ac poema cum scribit*.—*ultro*: 'they go on themselves to praise their writings.'—*beati*: with *laudant*.

109. *legitimum*: *i.e.*, 'a poem according to the rules of the art of poetry.'

110. *cum tabulis*: 'when he takes up his tablets to begin writing.' The *tabulae* were used for a first draft, because erasure and change were easy in the waxen surface. The expression partly

anticipates the following comparison of the critic to the censor; 'the poet, when he takes up his tablets to write, will feel as the censor does when he takes up the lists.'—*honesti*: defining *censoris* by a predicate addition; 'with all its strictness.' The thought is then further amplified in *audebit*.

The next lines deal almost entirely with that part of the poet's work which has to do with the selection of dignified and expressive words. This was a subject to which Horace had given much thought, and, while he is following the ordinary rhetorical doctrines, he is also illustrating them by expressing his thought with special care.

111. *quaecumque*: *sc. verba*.—*parum splendoris*: = *sordida, humilia*; words that carry with them mean or unpoetic associations.

112. *sine pondere*: = *levia, inania*; words that do not convey much meaning of any kind.—*honore indigna*: this rather general phrase—*unworthy*—is used with special reference to the figure of

verba movere loco, quamvis invita recedant  
 et versentur adhuc intra penetralia Vestae;  
 115 obscurata diu populo bonus eruet atque  
 proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,  
 quae priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis  
 nunc situs informis premit et deserta vetustas;

the censor, who removes from the senatorial list *honore indignos*. — *ferentur*: 'are in circulation,' the words being here in mind, rather than the censor's office.

113. *movere loco*: the technical expression for the censor's act of condemnation is *movere tribu*. — *invita*: properly of those who were removed by the censor: as applied to words rejected by the critical writer it has only a rather vague meaning; 'although such common words recur constantly to the mind and it is hard to avoid their use.'

114. The expression here is selected almost entirely with the thought of the censor's work in mind; 'although they may have been hitherto at home in the most sacred spot in Rome,' 'although they may have had thus far a perfect reputation.' With reference to words it means 'although they have been used in the finest of poetry.' The identification of the object compared with the figure results in some lack of clearness. — *adhuc*: *i.e.*, 'until you bring them under your critical scrutiny.'

115-119. But the office of the

critical poet is not merely that of the censor who rejects; he must also enrich the language.

115. *populo*: with *obscurata*, the two together being the opposite of *ferentur*, *versentur*. — *bonus*: *i.e.*, 'working for good results.'

116. *speciosa*: the opposite of *quaecumque parum splendoris habebunt*, words of vivid meaning and elevated suggestion.

117. *Catonibus*, *Cethegis*: the plur. means 'men like Cato and Cethegus.' They are again used in *A. P.* 50, 56 as representatives of the early Latin style. Cato was regarded by writers of archaizing tendencies, like Sallust, as a master of vigorous and individual style, and Cethegus (consul 204) is mentioned with praise by Cicero (*Brut.* 15, 57) and was called by Ennius (*Ann.* 306) *Suadae medulla*. It is not necessary, however, to attach to Horace's use of these names any very specific meaning; they are types of the early orator.

118. *situs informis*: as *neglect* results in rust and mold, that disfigures the object, it is itself called *informis*. So *deserta* is

adsciscet nova, quae genitor produxerit usus.

- 120 Vemens et liquidus puroque simillimus amni  
fundet opes Latiumque beabit divite lingua;  
luxuriantia compescet, nimis aspera sano  
levabit cultu, virtute carentia tollet,  
ludentis speciem dabit et torquebitur ut qui

applied to *vetustas*, though it properly describes the result of *vetustas*. — The enrichment of the poetic vocabulary by bringing back into use words which had fallen out was one of Vergil's characteristic merits. Horace, from the nature of his subjects and the character of his lyric poetry, made fewer contributions of this kind.

119. *adsciscet*: primarily a legal word, used of admitting to the enjoyment of legal rights; *enroll*, 'admit to full rights.' — *genitor* . . . *usus*: the doctrine that usage makes language, brings forward and maintains new words, was fully accepted by Horace and is expressed by him in a classic phrase (*A.P.* 72), *usus, quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi*. — This is the second means of enriching the living vocabulary. In the fragmentary condition of Latin literature it is not always possible to tell what writers first adopted a new word into literary style, but Horace certainly made considerable use of this method of giving vividness and novelty to his forms of expression.

120. *vemens, liquidus*: these adjectives, though they go with the subject of *beabit* (*i.e., poeta*), are really a part of the comparison. — *puro . . . amni*: cf. for the opposite, *cum flueret lutulentus*, of Lucilius, in *Sat.* 1, 4, 11. The figure has been often used in English literature, *e.g.*, Tennyson, *The Poet's Mind*: —

'Clear and bright it should be ever,  
Flowing like a crystal river.'

121. *fundet opes*: a rather general phrase, which is immediately explained more precisely in the rest of the line, in which *beabit* and *divite* repeat *opes*.

122–125. These lines go over from the choice of words to the larger aspects of composition, following the order of rhetorical treatises. There is nothing novel in Horace's treatment; what he says can be paralleled by passages from Cicero's rhetorical works and from Quintilian, and the same things are said again, more fully, in the *Ars Poetica*. — *luxuriantia*: the figure of the husbandman, trimming off the foliage of the vine in order to increase its production of

125 nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur.  
 Praetulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri,  
 dum mea delectent mala me vel denique fallant,  
 quam sapere et ringi. Fuit haud ignobilis Argis,

grapes, is frequently used of the restraint of an exuberant style. — *aspera* . . . *levabit*: rhetoric paid much attention to the sound of words and phrases, as was natural when prose composition was largely occupied with oratory and when verse was still closely allied to song. *aspera* therefore means primarily 'rough in sound,' but with a secondary reference also to expressions that are too blunt, that do not harmonize sufficiently with the general tone of the writing. — *sano*: since too great polish is itself a fault, the smoothing off of roughnesses must be done with judgment. — *virtute carentia*: this carries on the thought of *sano*; words and phrases which are 'lacking in energy and vigor' must be taken out altogether, and more forcible and expressive words put in their place. For *tollit* in this sense cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 11, *erat quod tollere velles*, and *Sat.* 1, 10, 51, where *tollenda* and *relinquenda* define each other. — *ludentis*: 'he will look like one who moves with ease and pleasure; his style will seem to involve no effort.' This general expression is elaborated in the figure of the trained dancer; 'he will seem to move with ease, as a dancer turns this way and

that and plays now one part, now another.' Cf. *Epist.* 2, 1, 210, where the art of the dramatist is compared to the difficult art of the rope dancer. — *Satyrum, Cyclopa*: this is an allusion to the pantomime of the rivalry of a faun (satyr) and the Cyclops Polyphemus for the love of the nymph Galatea, in which a single actor expressed alternately in his dancing the feeling of the graceful faun and of the clumsy giant. — *movetur*: the passive is equivalent to *saltat* (*Sat.* 1, 5, 63) and retains the cognate accusative.

126-128. 'As I think of all that is necessary to produce good poetry, I could almost wish that I were one of the self-satisfied writers (vss. 106-108) who do not know how badly they write.' — *delirus*: this is one of the synonyms for *insanus* in *Sat.* 2, 3, 107, 293. It is selected rather than *stultus* or *ridiculus*, because the story of 128 ff. is already in Horace's mind. — *iners*: i.e., 'too indolent to meet the requirements of the true poet.' — *ringi*: 'to suffer the discomforts and vexations which necessarily attend upon the effort to be a critical writer (*sapere*).'

128. *haud ignobilis*: *well known*;

- qui se credebat miros audire tragoedos,  
 130 in vacuo laetus sessor plausorque theatro,  
 cetera qui vitae servaret munia recto  
 more, bonus sane vicinus, amabilis hospes,  
 comis in uxorem, posset qui ignoscere servis  
 et signo laeso non insanire lagoenae,  
 135 posset qui rupem et puteum vitare patentem.  
 Hic ubi cognatorum opibus curisque reffectus  
 expulit elleboro morbum bilemque meraco,  
 et redit ad sese: 'Pol me occidistis, amici,  
 non servastis,' ait, 'cui sic extorta voluptas  
 140 et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error.'  
 Nimirum sapere est abiectis utile nugis

but the adjective is meant to characterize the story, which is told by various writers, rather than the person.—**Argis**: the regular Latin form for the dat. and abl. of this word.

129-131. The two *qui* clauses, with *credebat* and *servaret*, illustrate well the effect of the modes in relative clauses.

131. *cetera*: 'in all other respects' he was perfectly sane.

133. *posset* . . . *ignoscere*: a little more general than *ignoscere* would have been; he 'was capable' of acting like a sensible man.

134. *signo laeso*: *i.e.*, when he found the seal on a bottle of wine broken and therefore knew that some slave had been stealing the wine. Cf. also *Sat.* 1, 3, 80-83.

135. *rupem, puteum*: this same test of sanity, evidently prover-

bial, is referred to in *Sat.* 2, 3, 55, *fluvios* being used instead of *puteum*. Cf. 'I can see a church by daylight.'

137. These expressions for madness and for the cure of it by hellebore are used also in *Sat.* 2, 3, 82, 141.—*meraco*: *i.e.*, the strongest kind of a dose was necessary.

138. *pol*: cf. *Epist.* 1, 7, 92. in a similar ejaculation, expressing the astonishment of the speaker at finding himself where he is.

141. *sapere*: this resumes the thought of vs. 109 and, more distinctly, the thought and expression of vs. 128, after the digression of the anecdote, and gives it a new turn, toward philosophy. This is the underlying thought of the Epistles, that Horace has given up the writing of poetry and turned to the study of philosophy.—



et tempestivum pueris concedere ludum,  
ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,  
sed verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae.

- 145 Quocirca mecum loquor haec tacitusque recordor:  
Si tibi nulla sitim finiret copia lymphae,  
narrares medicis: quod quanto plura parasti,  
tanto plura cupis, nulline faterier audes?  
Si vulnus tibi monstrata radice vel herba  
150 non fieret levius, fugeres radice vel herba  
proficiente nihil curarier. Audieras, cui

abiectis . . . nugis: *i.e.*, lyrical composition, as in *Sat.* 1, 9, 2, Catull. 1, 4.

142. pueris: the word is chosen with reference to *ludum*; cf. *ludicra*, *Epist.* 1, 1, 10.

143-144. non verba: words, in distinction from realities.—sequi: as the writing of good poetry requires, vss. 111-119.—numerosque modosque: these terms of music and rhythmic art are used to point the contrast; 'I am learning the measures and rhythms of a wise life.'

145. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 133 f., 137 ff., where the same thought is expressed in very similar words.—The rest of the Epistle is an exposition of his philosophy of life, all introduced, as if in direct quotation, by this line. It is occupied chiefly with that false passion which Horace always puts first among the sins of men, the love of money and of many possessions.

146. 'The love of money is like

the dropsy, with an unsatisfied thirst for more.' The same figure is used in *Carm.* 2, 2, 13-16.

147-148. 'In the same way, the desire for money increases as it is gratified.'—nulli faterier: *i.e.*, 'you should seek the advice of those who can cure your soul,' of the philosophers.—audes: *summon courage* to overcome the *pudor malus* (*Epist.* 1, 16, 24) that inclines you to conceal your disease.

149. monstrata: *prescribed*. The figure of the physician and his patient is carried on further; 'find the right treatment for your disease.'—radice: abl. instrumental, in both lines.

150-151. fugeres: governing *curarier*; cf. *fuge quaerere*, *Carm.* 1, 9, 13, and *mitte sectari*, *Carm.* 1, 38, 3.—curarier: *to be treated*, and of course 'to be cured,' which would be inconsistent with *proficiente nihil*.

151-154. audieras: 'you had perhaps been told,' corresponding

rem di donarent, illi decedere pravam  
stultitiam, et cum sis nihilo sapientior, ex quo  
plenior es, tamen uteris monitoribus isdem?

155 At si divitiae prudentem reddere possent,  
si cupidum timidumque minus te, nempe ruberes,  
viveret in terris te si quis avarior uno.

Si proprium est, quod quis libra mercatus et aere est,  
quaedam, si credis consultis, mancipat usus;

160 qui te pascit ager, tuus est, et vilicus Orbi,  
cum segetes occat, tibi mox frumenta daturas,

to *monstrata radice*. The advice would be like that in *Epist.* 1, 1, 65, *rem facias*, *rem*, or, more precisely, in *Sat.* 2, 3, 95 f., *divina humanaque pulchris divitiis parent*.—*nihilo sapientior*: like *proficiente nihil*; the treatment produces no effect.

155-157. This thought also is found in *Sat.* 2, 3, 91 ff. Here, however, the desired virtues are more definitely expressed in *prudentem*, *cupidum timidumque minus*, since the purpose is not caricature, but exhortation. Cf. also *Epist.* 1, 16, 65, *qui cupiet, metuet quoque*; desire and fear are merely the two sides of a single passion.

158 ff. 'Possession consists in use; only the man who uses can be said to possess.'—*libra* . . . et *aere*: this was one of the traditional ways of acquiring property by purchase. The scales and piece of brass were preserved as symbols from the early time when brass was money and when it was

not coined, but was weighed out for each purchase. This method was called *mancipatio*.

159. 'Yet there is another method, according to the jurists, by which property may be acquired, namely, by *usucapio*, that is, by possession for a certain period.' Horace intentionally uses *mancipat* in this clause, as if to say that *usucapio* was equivalent to *mancipatio*; this is the basis of the argument that follows, in which *usus* is really employed in a double sense, as a legal term and in the more general meaning.

160. *qui te pascit*: i.e., 'of which you enjoy the profits, the *usus*.'—*tuus*: = *proprius*, 'your property, because you enjoy it.'—*Orbi*: unknown. The only point is that he is the 'owner' of the workman, yet the person who profits by the labors of the *vilicus* is the person who finally eats the grain.

161. *occat*: *harrows*; to stand for all the processes of cultivation.

- te dominum sentit; das nummos, accipis uvam,  
 pullos, ova, cadum temeti: nempe modo isto  
 paullatim mercaris agrum, fortasse trecentis  
 165 aut etiam supra nummorum milibus emptum.  
 Quid refert, vivas numerato nuper an olim?  
 Emptor Aricini quondam Veientis et arvi  
 emptum cenat olus, quamvis aliter putat; emptis  
 sub noctem gelidam lignis calefactat aenum.  
 170 Sed vocat usque suum, qua populus adsita certis  
 limitibus vicina refugit iurgia, tamquam

162. *te dominum sentit*: equivalent to *tibi proprium est*, 158. The meaning of *sentit* is not to be pressed; it means only that, in effect, by transferring the products of his toil to you, he acknowledges you, not Orbius, to be his master.

163. *temeti*: this old word is apparently the farmer's term, used here with other words describing farm produce. — *modo isto*: *by so doing*.

165. *emptum*: with emphasis, recurring to the thought of *proprium*; 'and it is then yours.'

166. *numerato*: abl. as if of the noun, but a participle also, having the adverbs *nuper*, *olim*, with it. — *nuper an olim*: the significant words in the sentence; 'whether the money by which you live was paid out recently or some time ago.' If the field had been bought in the beginning, the money would have been paid *olim*; in the daily purchase of supplies the money was, in part, paid *nuper*.

167-169. 'The man who buys the produce, really buys the farm; so, conversely, the man who begins by buying the farm is in reality daily buying his supplies from the farm.' — *emptor*: 'the man who is commonly called the buyer.' — *quondam*: = *olim*, vs. 166; to be taken with the verbal noun *emptor*. — *et*: connecting *Aricini* and *Veientis*. The Latin frequently uses *et* where English usage would have 'or.' These towns, Aricia and Veii, were near Rome and the owner would have the vegetables for his table sent in from his country place. But the vegetables and the firewood would in reality be 'bought,' though he might like to boast that they were not. Cf. *dapes inemptas*, *Epod.* 2, 48; so 'boughten' things used to be spoken of with apology in New England.

170. *usque . . . qua*: 'up to where.' — *pōpulus*: not *pōpulus*.

171. *refugit*: the row of pop-

sit proprium quidquam, puncto quod mobilis horae  
nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc morte suprema  
permutet dominos et cedat in altera iura.

175 Sic, quia perpetuus nulli datur usus, et heres  
heredem alterius velut unda supervenit undam,  
quid vici prosunt aut horrea? Quidve Calabris  
saltibus adiecti Lucani, si metit Orcus  
grandia cum parvis, non exorabilis auro?

180 Gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena sigilla, tabellas,  
argentum, vestes Gaetulo murice tinctas,

lars 'avoids' disputes, *i.e.*, enables the owner of the land to avoid them.

172. *proprium*: going back to the beginning of this argument, vs. 158.—*puncto . . . horae*: the phrase is, like all Latin phrases for a brief time, entirely vague, and all attempts to interpret this or *horae momento* (*Sat.* I, I, 7 f.) with precision make the mistake of reading into it a modern accuracy.

173. *prece, pretio*: 'by gift or purchase.' The contrast is natural and the alliterative words are several times used together in this sense.—*morte suprema*: 'death which is the end of all things.'

175. *perpetuus . . . usus*: 'there is therefore no such thing as the perpetual possession of which lawyers speak.'

176. *heredem alterius*: *i.e.* 'one heir succeeds an heir of still another heir'; the phrase expresses,

perhaps too briefly, the continuity of the succession. Of the four possible changes of ownership (vs. 173) Horace dwells only upon the last.

177. *vici: estates.*

178. *Lucani*: sc. *prosunt*. This refers to the driving of the herds from the lowlands of Calabria to the mountain pastures of Lucania.—*metit*: a very effective turn from literal to figurative expression. The thought, and, in general, the phrases of this passage find frequent expression in the Odes.

180-182. These possessions of the wealthy stand for wealth itself, as merely a different expression from *vici, horrea, Calabris saltibus*, just as in *Carm.* I, 31, *armenta, aurum, ebur, rura, aureis, culullis*, are all symbolic of riches.—*sigilla*: small figures, apparently of earthenware, which were found in Etruria and valued for their antiquity.—*argentum*: *silver plate*, not money.—*Gaetulo*: the

sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat habere.

Cur alter fratrum cessare et ludere et ungi  
praeferat Herodis palmetis pinguibus, alter

185 dives et importunus ad umbram lucis ab ortu  
silvestrem flammis et ferro mitiget agrum,  
scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,  
naturae deus humanae mortalis, in unum

African dye, one of the better kind ;  
cf. *Epist.* 2, 1, 207. — *sunt qui*:  
the subjunctive after these words  
is phraseological, not expressive ;  
it came over from negative sen-  
tences and sentences with indefi-  
nite antecedents, and there is, in  
most cases, no more essential dif-  
ference of meaning than there is  
between *quamvis* with the sub-  
junctive and *quomodo* with the in-  
dicative. In this particular in-  
stance, however, the difference  
between the many (*sunt*) and the  
one (*est*) is strongly marked and  
is further emphasized by the dif-  
ference in the mode. — *est qui*:  
Horace.

183-189. 'Why there should be  
such differences between men,  
even between brothers, only the  
power that made us so can tell.'  
This passage is parenthetic, yet  
is not far from the main thought,  
especially in vss. 185 f.

183. *alter fratrum*: so in the  
*Adelphoe* of Terence and cf. *Sat.*  
2, 1, 26, on the contrast between  
Castor and Pollux. — *cessare*:  
absolutely, as in *Epist.* 1, 7, 57,  
*et properare loco et cessare*.

184. *Herodis palmetis*: Herod  
the Great, the Herod of the New  
Testament, who ruled in Judea  
from 39 to 4 B.C. The palm groves  
about Jericho were specially fa-  
mous and were a source of great  
revenue (*pinguibus*) by the sale  
of dates.

186. *silvestrem*: *i.e.*, it was  
wooded land, which was to be  
cleared and prepared for farming.  
— *flammis et ferro*: both methods  
were in use, by burning or by cut-  
ting the timber for building mate-  
rial or for firewood. — *mitiget*:  
the clearing of land is often treated  
as a sort of conquest or 'breaking  
in,' like the training of horses.  
— While the one brother prefers a  
life of ease to any kind of occupa-  
tion, however profitable, the other  
is seeking profit at the cost of any  
kind of labor.

187-189. *Genius*: cf. *Epist.* 2, 1,  
144, and note. The individual  
and contradictory characteristics  
of the Genius are dwelt upon as  
explaining the contradictions in  
human nature. — *natale . . . as-  
trum*: the constellations which by  
their position at the hour of birth

- quodque caput vultu mutabilis, albus et ater.
- 190 Vtar et ex modico quantum res poscet acervo  
tollam, nec metuam quid de me iudicet heres,  
quod non plura datis invenerit; et tamen idem  
scire volam, quantum simplex hilarisque nepoti  
discrepet et quantum discordet parvus avaro.
- 195 Distat enim, spargas tua prodigus, an neque sumptum  
invitus facias, neque plura parare labores,  
ac potius, puer ut festis quinquatribus olim,  
exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim.  
Pauperies immunda domus procul absit; ego utrum  
200 nave ferar magna an parva, ferar unus et idem.  
Non agimur tumidis velis Aquilone secundo,

determined character and fate. — *temperat*: the Genius, being divine, could affect the constellations and planets. This passage does not imply a belief in astrology; cf. *Carm.* 1, 11; 2, 17. — *in unum* . . . *mutabilis*: *i.e.*, 'assuming a different form and character for each individual.' This is the important point of the whole description. — *albus et ater*: proverbial; cf. Catull. 93, *nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo*. The words merely amplify *mutabilis*.

190. *utar*: 'I for my part desire only use, not possession.' This is familiar doctrine, beginning with *Sat.* 1, 1.

191. *heres*: with a general reference only; Horace had no natural heir, but he alludes often to the proverbial feeling between testator and heir.

193. *scire volam*: *i.e.*, 'to be fully aware of the difference' and, it is implied, to act accordingly. — With the following thought, which Horace expresses in many places, cf., *e.g.*, *Sat.* 2, 2, 53 f.

195-198. *neque* . . . *invitus*: to be taken together, as equivalent to *hilaris*. — *Quinquatribus*: the short spring vacation, 'Easter recess,' March 19-23, which, because it is so short, the schoolboy enjoys most eagerly (*raptim*).

199. *domus*: gen. with *pauperies*. — *absit*: the clause with subjv. is a paratactic condition or clause of proviso.

200. The figure is changed somewhat abruptly; literally the thought is, 'if only I am free from sordid poverty, I care not whether I have much or little.'

201-202. The two clauses are in



non tamen adversis aetatem ducimus Austris,  
viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re  
extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.

- 205 Non es avarus ; abi. Quid, cetera iam simul isto  
cum vitio fugere ? Caret tibi pectus inani  
ambitione ? Caret mortis formidine et ira ?  
Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,  
nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala rides ?  
210 Natales grate numeras ? Ignoscis amicis ?  
Lenior et melior fis accedente senecta ?  
Quid te exempta levat spinis de pluribus una ?  
Vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis.  
Lusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti ;

paratactic relation ; 'I am not borne on by favoring breezes of prosperity, yet I am not struggling with adversity,' for 'though I am not borne on. . . .'

204. The figure again changes to that of the racecourse ; cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 115 f.

205. **non es** : paratactic condition. — **abi** : *good*. This use is colloquial, e.g., Plaut. *Trin.* 830, *abi, laudo*. — For the thought of the line cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 159 f., *quid, si quis non sit avarus, continuo sanus ? Minime*.

208–209. 'All kinds of superstitious fears.' Freedom from these meant much more to the ancients than it can ever mean to modern men. — **sagas** : *fortune tellers*. — **lemures** : 'umbras vagantes hominum ante diem mortuorum et ideo metuendas,' is the comment of the Scholiast. — **Thessala** : this was

proverbial, in Greek literature and in Latin.

210. **natales grate** : i.e., 'are you grateful for each added year of life ?'

211–212. 'Are you becoming a better man as you grow older ? For to get rid of a fault or two is not enough.' The comparison of faults to thorns is used also in *Epist.* 1, 14, 4 f.

213. **recte** : i.e., as a true philosophy teaches. — **decade peritis** : neither this phrase nor *tempus abire* (215) is a suggestion of suicide ; the meaning is simply, 'you are through with life, since for you it has no real meaning ; leave it to those who truly understand how to live.'

214. The emphasis is not upon the frivolity or self-indulgence of men ; this is merely an application of *decade peritis* under the

215 tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largius aequo  
rideat et pulset lasciva decentius aetas.

figure of the satisfied guest rising from the table, as in *Sat.* 1, 1, 118 f., *exacto contentus tempore, vita cedat uti conviva satur.*

216. lasciva decentius: youth

may with more propriety indulge in follies and may laugh at an old man who has not learned to control himself.

### 3

## ARS POETICA

Of all the writings of Horace none has been more carefully studied and more elaborately discussed than this Epistle. Yet it must be said that, in consequence of the insufficiency of *data*, there is still considerable uncertainty in regard to the date, the persons addressed, the occasion and purpose, and even the title.

The internal evidence in regard to the date of composition or publication is both scanty and indefinite. It is to be found in the references to persons, to Vergil and Varius (55), to Cascellius (370), to Tarpa (387), and to Varus (438). But no one of these is precise. The context and the purpose of the allusion is such as to be suitable to a person still living or to one who had passed into literary tradition. There is a like uncertainty in regard to the allusions to public works in vss. 63 ff.; they are too vague to afford material for dating.

The only external evidence of any weight is the statement of Suetonius that Augustus asked for and received *Epist.* 2. 1 *post sermones quosdam lectos* in which he was not mentioned; these *sermones* cannot have been the First Book of the Epistles, where Augustus is frequently referred to; they must have been *Epist.* 2. 2 — the bare mention of Augustus' name in vs. 48 does not stand in the way of this — and this Epistle. The inference from the statement of Suetonius would therefore be that this Epistle was written before *Epist.* 2. 1; that is, in the period between the publication of the First Book and the writing of the *Carmen Saeculare*, between 19 or 20 B.C. and 17 B.C. Fortunately the character of the Epistle is such that a more precise date is not necessary to its interpretation.

The persons to whom the letter is supposed to be sent are a father

and two sons, the Pisones. From the merely formal address in vs. 6 and vs. 235 and the words *O Pompilius sanguis* in vss. 291 f. no inference can be drawn as to their identity. In vs. 366 the elder son is specially addressed in terms which imply, though not very clearly, that he was just engaging or might soon engage in poetical composition. These are but scanty indications of identity, and the uncertainty is increased by the frequency of the name Piso; fourteen persons of that name are mentioned in the *Onomast. Cic.*, ten in Tacitus, seven in Suetonius. But there was a Gn. Calpurnius Piso, some years older than Horace, who fought at Philippi and was afterward consul in 23 B.C. His eldest son, consul in 7 B.C., was born about 44 and would have been about twenty-five when this Epistle was written. There was also a younger son. These may be the Pisones addressed, but it is evident that any identification is at best a mere possibility. As nothing definite is known of the literary interests of these persons, the identification, even if it were certain, would contribute little to the interpretation of the Epistle.

The proper title of this poem is also uncertain. It stands in most of the Mss. as a separate composition, just before or just after the *Carmen Saeculare*, as if it had been published by itself; and it certainly was put into circulation, with some degree of publicity, before *Epist.* 2, 1 was written. For such publication its title may have been *Epistula ad Pisones*. But it is referred to by Quintilian, *praef.* 2, in the words . . . *Horati consilio, qui in arte poetica suadet* . . ., and again, 8, 3, 60, *Horatius in prima parte libri de arte poetica fingit*, with a quotation of the first verse. This is the title used by most of the grammarians and by the scholiasts. It is also found in most of the Mss., though it may well have been introduced there from the grammatical tradition. In most printed editions, because of the subject matter and the date, the poem is placed after *Epist.* 2, 2, as the third Epistle of the Second Book, and it is often referred to, for convenience, as *Epist.* 2, 3. If Horace gave it a title, it was probably *Epistula ad Pisones*, perhaps with the addition of *de Arte Poetica* or *Ars Poetica*. Tradition has fixed upon it the name *Ars Poetica*.

The course of thought from sentence to sentence and from one paragraph to another is easily followed, but it resists all attempts to reduce it to a scheme. All that can be said is that the Epistle consists of a series of remarks upon poetry, followed (from vs. 309 to the end) by similar remarks upon the training and ideals of the poet.

The general course of the thought is as follows: —

‘A poem, like a painting, must be well composed, not tricked out

with inharmonious ornaments; nor should the poet, avoiding one fault, fall into its opposite. Harmony depends in part upon a wise choice of subject, which insures good arrangement. Choice of words also contributes to harmony of effect, for words suffer change, like all human things.

'The meters and style of different kinds of poetry are fixed by tradition, from which it is not easy to break away. Tradition also fixes the outlines of characters, and in all these matters it is best to follow a good model, in order that your characters may speak as befits their nature and their period of life.

'In the drama, too, one should follow the best usage, with five acts and three speakers. As to the chorus, it should take a sympathetic part in the action, and the music and the dress of actors should not be too prominent. The satyric drama presents peculiar difficulties, owing to the mingling of the heroic and the comic.

'In the observance of metrical laws our Roman poets are too careless, a fault for which, as the history of the Greek drama shows, nothing will atone. Inspiration is not a substitute for training; it is a kind of madness and, for myself, I prefer to avoid it and to devote myself to laying down laws for other writers.

'The poet must enrich his mind by reading and observation and train himself to avoid faults. Not that all faults can be avoided; even Homer sometimes nods. Yet, for a poet, mediocrity is failure, and only training can teach us how to escape that. We must listen to the real critics, not to flatterers. Untrained inspiration is mere madness, and I do not want to see you a madman.'

The fact that the course of thought is rambling is the key to an understanding of the Epistle. For this arrangement is not the result of carelessness; Horace followed this unsystematic and yet closely knit succession of topics from deliberate choice. He was not trying to compose a treatise, but to write an *epistula*, a *sermo*. Like any epistle, it is addressed to certain persons, and, like any *sermo*, it follows the line of easy transition by suggestion from one topic to another. This is in itself a form of art, the particular form to which Horace had trained himself, and this Epistle is to be interpreted precisely as *Epist.* 2, 1 and 2, 2 are to be interpreted. That this intentionally unsystematic poem should have been taken for a formal treatise on the art of poetry is indeed surprising; the error was due in part to a too literal understanding of the traditional title, in part to a general tendency among early scholars to overvalue the content of classic literature. It should be valued rather as a beautifully finished *sermo*, to be studied for its skillful

turns of thought and expression, its perfect phrasing, its easy and mellow tone.

On the other side, the substance of what is said in the *Ars Poetica* comes from two different sources. Porphyryon says in his brief introduction that Horace has here gathered the teachings of Neoptolemus, a rhetorician of the third century, *non quidem omnia, sed eminentissima*. This may very well be correct; it is at any rate clear that Horace is in part repeating and applying some of the traditional doctrines of rhetoric, in which, as a lifelong student of the art which he practiced, he was certainly interested. To this source is due the large proportion of Greek literary history. Of all this it is fair to say that it is interesting chiefly to students of the history of rhetoric. But Horace does not merely repeat traditional doctrine; he also comments upon it, speaking with the authority of an older poet addressing a younger generation of literary men. Our incomplete knowledge of the tendencies of the period makes it difficult to understand fully the point of some of his warnings, but much of it is of universal application, even to modern conditions. This is the more valuable part of the *Ars Poetica*, centering, as it does, upon the necessity of adequate training for the professional man of letters. It is at the same time a proclamation of Horace's own creed and thus a guide to the interpretation of all his poetry.

Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam  
iungere si velit et varias inducere plumas  
undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum

1-37. 'Harmony is necessary to a poem, as to a picture.'

1. **Humano**: the general term before the specific, *mulier*, as often. The chiasmic order, adj.-noun, noun-adj., is intentional.

2. **velit**: *should choose*, deliberately.—**varias**: *of many colors*, going beyond nature even in this detail.—**inducere**: *lay on*, as if the body were first drawn and then the feathers were spread over it.

3. **undique**: *i.e.*, 'from all kinds

of creatures.'—**membris**: dat. after *inducere*.—**ut**: the result of the whole process, especially of *collatis membris*. Strictly taken, this clause should be in the form of another infinitive; but such a use of a clause of result, to express some single characteristic of the whole, is not uncommon.—**turpiter atrum**: to be taken together, to balance *formosa superne*; cf. *turpiter hirtum*, *Epist.* 1, 3, 22. This sense of *turpis*, 'ugly, hideous,' is frequent.

- desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne,  
 5 spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici?  
 Credite, Pisones, isti tabulae fore librum  
 persimilem, cuius velut aegri somnia vanae  
 fingentur species, ut nec pes nec caput uni  
 reddatur formae. 'Pictoribus atque poetis'  
 10 quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas.'  
 Scimus et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicis-  
 sim,  
 sed non ut placidis coeant immitia, non ut  
 serpentes avibus gementur, tigribus agni.

4. *mulier*: he has in mind such a figure as Scylla, in which the hideousness of the whole was increased by the contrast between the beauty of the face and bust and the ugliness of the body.

5. *spectatum admissi*: *i.e.*, admitted to a private view in the painter's studio. — *amici*: general, *my friends*, yet immediately made definite by the address in the next line, as, indeed, the whole point of vss. 1–5 is general, until the application is reached in vs. 6. Cf. the beginning of *Epist.* 2, 2.

7. *vanae*: *unreal*, *i.e.*, fantastic, without any corresponding reality.

8. *species*: *images*, 'conceptions.' — *ut nec pes nec caput*: the expression is not strictly logical; the common phrase *nec pes nec caput* ('neither head nor tail') would properly require something like 'shall be distinguishable' (*adparet*, Plaut. *Asin.* 729) or it should be *ut et pes et caput non...*

9. *reddatur*: *belong to*, 'be suitable to.'

9–10. The objection of an imagined hearer. — *quidlibet audendi*: *i.e.*, 'of using their imagination freely.' — *aequa*: 'a like power,' 'an equal power.' This word merely repeats the implication of *pictoribus atque poetis*, 'poets as well as painters'; the emphasis is upon *semper fuit potestas*.

11. *vicissim*: *i.e.*, 'we poets expect it from painters, and we also grant it to them.'

12–13. *coeant*: in the general sense, *unite*, as in *Epist.* 1, 5, 25 f., *ut coeat par iungaturque pari*; but the general sense is repeated in clearer form in the next verse, where *serpentes* corresponds to *immitia*, *avibus* to *placidis*, and *gementur*, 'pair,' is a more definite expression for *coeant*. — The pairing of creatures of different species is often used to typify the



- Inceptis gravibus plerumque et magna professis  
 15 purpureus, late qui splendeat, unus et alter  
 adsuitur pannus, cum lucus et ara Dianae  
 et properantis aquae per amoenos ambitus agros  
 aut flumen Rhenum aut pluvius describitur arcus.  
 Sed nunc non erat his locus. Et fortasse cupressum  
 20 scis simulare: quid hoc, si fractis enatat expses  
 navibus aere dato qui pingitur? Amphora coepit  
 institui, currente rota cur urceus exit?  
 Denique sit quod vis, simplex dumtaxat et unum.  
 Maxima pars vatium, pater et iuvenes patre digni,

unnatural or the impossible, *e.g.*,  
*Epod.* 16, 30-32.

14. That is, the poem begins as  
 an epic in the grand style, dealing  
 with the heroic.

15-16. *purpureus . . . pannus*:  
 this is one of the phrases that have  
 come over from Horace into mod-  
 ern thought. The allusion is not  
 to the purple stripe on the tunic,  
 which would not suggest incon-  
 gruity to a Roman, but to a patch  
 of bright color sewed on where it  
 did not belong.

17-18. These examples may  
 very well have been taken from  
 poems then in circulation, so that  
 the allusions would be at once  
 identified; cf. *defingit Rheni*  
*luteum caput* (*Sat.* 1, 10, 37) from  
 a poem of Furius Bibaculus.

19. *sed*: *i.e.*, 'they are all very  
 fine, but. . . .' — *et*: 'and in the  
 same way.'

20. *scis*: 'the motive which  
 leads to such incongruities is the

writer's belief that he has special  
 skill in such descriptions, or, to  
 return to the painter's art, in the  
 painting of certain objects.' —  
*enatat*: *i.e.*, 'if he is to be repre-  
 sented as swimming ashore.' The  
 reference is to the pictures which  
 were hung in temples to express  
 gratitude for escape from peril,  
 and which represented the scene  
 of escape. Cf. *Carm.* 1, 5, 13 ff.,  
*Sat.* 2, 1, 33 and note.

21-22. *aere dato*: 'and he has  
 paid good money for it, too.' —  
*amphora*: the larger vessel corre-  
 sponds to *magna professis*, vs. 14,  
 and the smaller *urceus*, in a less  
 definite way, to the petty details  
 upon which the poet spends his  
 efforts. This shifts the thought  
 slightly, from the lack of harmony  
 to the lack of consistency and te-  
 nacity in the purpose of the writer.

23. A summary of the thought  
 up to this point.

24-30. 'Incongruities are often

- 25 decipimur specie recti : brevis esse laboro,  
 obscurus fio ; sectantem leviam nervi  
 deficiunt animique ; professus grandia turget ;  
 serpit humi tutus nimium timidusque procellae ;  
 qui variare cupit rem prodigialiter unam,  
 30 delphinum silvis appingit, fluctibus aprum.  
 In vitium ducit culpae fuga, si caret arte.  
 Aemilium circa ludum faber imus et ungues  
 exprimet et molles imitabitur aere capillos,

the result of a desire for variety, as other faults are the result of the desire to attain to some particular virtue of style.'

25. *specie recti*: i.e., 'by a perception of some excellence without due regard to the fact that it may lead to a defect.' The characteristics mentioned are all in themselves desirable; the suggestion that they are misleading lies in *decipimur* and, slightly, in *specie*.

26. *levia*: *polish*, as in *nimis aspera sano levabit cultu*, *Epist.* 2, 2, 122 f. — *nervi*: cf. *Sat.* 2, 1, 2, *sine nervis*, of one judgment of the Satires, opposed to *nimis acer*.

27. The danger of falling into bombast in the attempt to write in a lofty style was constantly before the mind of Horace; it is the fault which he most sedulously avoids. — *professus*: not essentially different from *sectantem*.

28. *tutus nimium*: i.e., 'one who is too anxious to be safe.' — *timidus procellae*: = *dum procel-*

*las cautus horrescis*, *Carm.* 2, 10, 2 f., where also *tutus* is used almost as it is here.

29-30. 'So it is, in seeking variety of ornament, that one falls into the absurdities of which I was speaking above.' — *cupit*: *is anxious*, as the desires are expressed above by strong words, *laboro*, *sectantem*, *professus*. — *prodigialiter*: a rare word, perhaps coined by Horace (cf. *Epist.* 2, 2, 119); to be taken with *variare*; 'to introduce such variety as to be like a miracle,' 'to be wonderfully varied.' — *unam*: with emphasis, at the end of the verse and in contrast to *prodigialiter*. — The instances in vs. 30 are merely vivid expressions of the thought of vss. 16-18 and especially vs. 20 f.

31. A summary, like vs. 23.

32-34. *Aemilium circa ludum*: in the irregularity of an ancient city, where few streets were named and no buildings were numbered, localities could be described only by reference to some known build-

infelix operis summa, quia ponere totum  
 35 nesciet. Hunc ego me, si quid componere curem,  
 non magis esse velim, quam pravo vivere naso,  
 spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo.  
 Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, aequam  
 viribus, et versate diu, quid ferre recusent,  
 40 quid valeant umeri: cui lecta potenter erit res,  
 nec facundia deseret hunc nec lucidus ordo.  
 Ordinis haec virtus erit et venus, aut ego fallor,  
 ut iam nunc dicat iam nunc debentia dici,  
 pleraque differat et praesens in tempus omittat.

ing or statue or arch. The *Aemilius ludus* was a building used for a gladiatorial school, having shops about it opening on the street. In one of these — at the bottom (*imus*), away from the Forum — was a sculptor, whom Horace chooses to designate only by giving the location of his shop. He was successful in details, — even in the difficult matter of representing flowing hair in bronze, — but unsuccessful in the total result of his work. — *ponere totum*: = *componere*, ‘to bring the whole into unity.’

37. The beauty of black hair and black eyes appears to be traditional (cf. *Carm.* I, 32, II), though they must have been very common among the Romans.

38-45. On the choice and arrangement of material for a poem.

38. *materiam*: literally building material, and this meaning is sufficiently strong in Horace’s mind

to find half-expression in *umeri*, vs. 40. — *vestris*: any poets, not especially the Pisones. — *aequam*: suited to.

40. *potenter*: ‘according to his powers,’ repeating *quid ferre . . . valeant umeri*.

41. *facundia*: the technical term is *elocutio*; the meaning is given in 46, *in verbis serendis*, in the choice and use of words, *diction*. — *ordo*: this is taken up first, in vss. 42-44, because the treatment of it is to be brief, while much more space, vss. 46-72, is given to *facundia*.

42-44. *venus*: *charm*. — *aut ego fallor*: ‘if I am not mistaken.’ This conventional phrase is inserted here because the brevity and positiveness of the statement seems to lack modesty. — *differat, omittat*: the expression is doubled for emphasis and to correspond to the emphatic *iam nunc . . . iam nunc*.

- 46 In verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis  
 45 hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor.  
 Dixeris egregie, notum si callida verbum  
 reddiderit iunctura novum. Si forte necesse est  
 indicii monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,  
 50 fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis  
 continget, dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter.  
 Et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si  
 Graeco fonte cadent, parce detorta: quid autem

46. *tenuis*: to be taken in sense especially with *amet*, as *cautus* is to be taken with *spernat*; 'he must be critical (fine, subtle) in accepting words, and equally cautious in rejecting.'

45. *promissi carminis auctore*: *i.e.*, 'in the actual work of composition, when he comes to the carrying out of his intentions.'

47. *dixeris egregie*; *i.e.*, 'your diction will be particularly happy, successful.' This is only a variation on the form of vs. 42; it might have been *facundiae haec virtus erit*.

47-48. *callida . . . iunctura*: the skillful putting together of common words, so that the meaning of each is slightly shifted, will often produce all the effect of novelty. Horace was himself particularly successful in this, and many such combinations may be found in the poems, especially in the Odes; perhaps the best known is *splendide mendax*, though the effect is even better seen in less daring combinations.

49. *indiciis*: *tokens, signs, i.e.*, 'words,' used instead of *verbis* to carry out the figure of *monstrare abdita*. — *abdita rerum*: a rather frequent form of expression; *Sat.* 2, 2, 25, *vanis rerum*; 2, 8, 83, *fictis rerum*. The meaning is 'to express ideas hitherto unexpressed, by means of words which will necessarily be new.'

50. *fingere*: the making of new words is most happily illustrated by *cinctutis*, which does not occur before this in the extant literature and was probably coined by Horace. It means 'clad in the *cinctus*,' a kind of loin cloth or kilt which was used before the tunic as an undergarment. — *Cethegis*: cf. *Epist.* 2, 2, 117 and note.

51. *continget*: 'you will have occasion to. . . .' — *sumpta*: a condensed condition.

52. *et*: *and also*; in addition to the new words like *cinctutis*.

53. *Graeco fonte*: Horace rarely uses Latinized forms of Greek words and cannot be here recom-

- Caecilio Plautoque dabit Romanus, ademptum  
 55 Vergilio Varioque? Ego cur, acquirere pauca  
 si possum, invideor, cum lingua Catonis et Enni  
 sermonem patrium ditaverit et nova rerum  
 nomina protulerit? Licuit semperque licebit  
 signatum praesente nota producere nomen.  
 60 Vt silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos,  
 prima cadunt, ita verborum vetus interit aetas,

mending such additions to the Roman vocabulary. He does, however, make large use of words suggested by Greek compounds or derivatives (*centimanus*, *inaudax*, perhaps *potenter*, vs. 40), in which a new meaning is given to a Latin stem. This slight shift of meaning is expressed in *parce detorta*. The novelty would in such words be essentially the same as that given to Roman words by the *callida iunctura*.

54. *dabit, ademptum*: the illogical structure (for *datum, adimet*) is intentional and points to some definite criticism; 'he has already refused the right to Vergil. Is he now proposing to grant it to Plautus?' Both during his lifetime and after his death Vergil was criticized on the ground that his style was not pure Latin, as is evident, for instance, from the parody of *Eclog.* 3, 1, *cuium pecus, anne Latinum?* It is against some critic of this school that this question is directed. — *Romanus*: with emphasis; 'and he a Roman!'

55. *pauca*: this is the same as

*sumpta pudenter*, vs. 51, and the opposite of *ditaverit*.

56. *invideor*: the usual passive is *invidetur mihi*, preserving in the passive the dative construction of the active voice. This dative, however, is essentially the same thing as an accus., and the use of *invideor* is merely a sporadic instance of the process of adjusting language, by analogy, to prevailing tendencies. It has nothing whatever to do with *φθονῶμαι*. — *Catonis et Enni*: cf. *Epist.* 2, 2, 117. Ennius was probably the greatest innovator in the history of Latin literature.

58–59. *licuit, licebit*: emphatic, with reference to *dabit, ademptum*, 54; 'on the contrary, neither to writers of the past nor to those of the future is this right denied.' — *praesente nota*: = *indiciis recentibus*, vs. 49, with the added suggestion of the figure of coinage, the figure which has become traditional in English.

60–62. 'As in the woods, with the passing years, the leaves change, those of one year falling

et iuvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque.  
 Debemur morti nos nostraque, sive receptus  
 terra Neptunus classes Aquilonibus arcet  
 65 regis opus, sterilisve diu palus aptaque remis  
 vicinas urbes alit et grave sentit aratrum;  
 seu cursum mutavit iniquum frugibus amnis,

and new ones growing in their place, so words grow old and perish, passing like the generations of men from birth to maturity and then to death.'—*foliis*: abl. with *mutantur*; it does not matter whether it is called an abl. of instrument or of limitation (respect). — *pronos*: the year glides down toward its end; cf. *pronos volvere mensis*, *Carm.* 4, 6, 39. — *in annos*: 'with each year.' The distributive meaning is common, e.g., *in horas*, vs. 160. — *prima cadunt*: this, in the context, implies the converse, 'and new ones grow,' the two sentences being parenthetical. — *iuvenum ritu*: 'like the generations of men.' Here also a part of the thought — 'and finally perish' — is left to be supplied from the context.

63–68. 'All things perish, even the greatest works of men.' This general truth is illustrated by allusions to three great pieces of engineering work, planned or undertaken by Julius Caesar or Augustus. The course of thought demands that they should be works which were either carried to completion or at least so far advanced

that Horace could think of them as practically completed. The first is either the cutting into the Lucrine Lake to make a harbor (a work of no great magnitude, carried out by Agrippa) or the making of a similar harbor at Ostia (planned by Julius Caesar and perhaps carried on by Augustus). The second was the draining of the Pomptine marshes, also planned by Julius Caesar, but never completed. The third was the straightening of the Tiber to prevent floods and protect the farm lands; this was another large project ascribed to Caesar, and some progress was made upon it under Augustus. So far as we can judge, with our scanty knowledge, Horace is alluding to great works which seemed to be so far advanced that he could regard them as completed. Whether the first was the Lucrine Lake or the port at Ostia does not matter to the sense. — *regis opus*: a royal work. — *palus*: this is a very unusual prosody. — *iniquum frugibus*: this would imply that the work was done on the river either above or below the city.



doctus iter melius: mortalia facta peribunt,  
nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax.

- 70 Multa renascentur, quae iam cecidere, cadentque  
quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,  
quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi.  
Res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella  
quo scribi possent numero monstravit Homerus.
- 75 Versibus impariter iunctis querimonia primum,  
post etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos.  
Quis tamen exiguos elegos emisit auctor,

68-69. **mortalia** . . . **peribunt**: repeating *debemur morti nos nos-  
traque*, to summarize the thought  
and prepare for the application.  
— **sermonum**: not exactly *verbo-  
rum*, but 'habits of speech,' 'ways  
of speaking.' — **vivax**: to be taken  
closely with *stet*; 'maintain their  
living force.'

70-72. The thought here goes  
back to the positive statements of  
vss. 60-62. — **usus**: *usage*, as in  
*Epist.* 2, 2, 119, *genitor* . . . *usus*.  
— **arbitrium**, **ius**, **norma**: *decision*,  
*rights*, *standard*. Horace uses  
three words to emphasize the  
thought that the making and un-  
making of forms of speech is not,  
after all, in spite of his injunctions  
to the poet, determined by any  
individual, but by general usage.  
The three nouns merely express  
a single idea with slightly varying  
shadings.

73-98. On the forms that are  
suitable to the different kinds of  
matter. — This goes back, over the

intervening parts, *ordo* and *facun-  
dia*, and connects with *sumite  
materiam*, vs. 38. It is to be re-  
membered that in the forms of  
poetry, and especially in the meters  
appropriated to particular subjects,  
classical literature, both Greek and  
Latin, was much more strongly  
traditional than modern literature.

73-74. 'The hexameter is to be  
used for epic poetry.' — **res gestae**:  
*i.e.*, historical events and actions,  
not mythological or legendary,  
which belong to tragedy (*regum  
facta*, *Sat.* 1, 10, 42 f.). He is  
thinking of the Roman historical  
epic, like the *Annals* of Ennius.

75-78. Elegiac verse, the coup-  
let made up of a hexameter and  
a pentameter. — **querimonia**: *la-  
ments*, like songs of grief for the  
dead. — **voti sententia compos**: *i.e.*,  
the expression of thanks for the  
granting of a prayer, which was  
expressed in the form of a dedica-  
tory epigram. — The rhetoricians  
(*grammatici*) made it a part of

- grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est.  
 Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo;  
 80 hunc socci cepere pedem grandesque cothurni,  
 alternis aptum sermonibus, et populares  
 vincentem strepitus et natum rebus agendis.  
 Musa dedit fidibus divos puerosque deorum  
 et pugilem victorem et equum certamine primum  
 85 et iuvenum curas et libera vina referre.  
 Descriptas servare vices operumque colores  
 cur ego si nequeo ignoroque poeta salutor?  
 Cur nescire pudens prave quam discere malo?  
 Versibus exponi tragicis res comica non vult.  
 90 Indignatur item privatis ac prope socco

their doctrine to determine in the case of each kind of meter who was its 'inventor,' as here Homer is regarded as the inventor of the hexameter, and Archilochus of the lyric iambics.—*exiguos*: in contrast to the hexameter, which was used for large subjects and long poems.

79. *proprio*: *his own* because invented by him. Cf. also *Epist.* 1, 19, 24 f., 30 f.

80. *hunc . . . pedem*: the iambus passed over (in the trimeter) to the drama.—*socci, cothurni*: the common designation of comedy and tragedy by the shoes worn by actors in them.

81–82. *alternis . . . sermonibus*: dialogue, especially that in which two characters speak alternate lines.—*rebus agendis*: *i.e.*, for accompanying action on the stage.

83–85. *fidibus*: the lyric meters. — The proper subjects are hymns to the gods and heroes, odes commemorating victories in the games, love poems and drinking songs. These are all varieties of lyric poetry recognized in rhetoric.

86–87. *descriptas servare vices*: this connects immediately with the preceding, vss. 73–85; 'these are the accepted canons of poetic form. If through ignorance I fail to observe them, then I am not a poet at all.'—*descriptas*: 'laid down in rhetorical theory and here repeated.'

88. *pudens . . . malo*; 'out of false shame,' that *pudor malus* which leads one to conceal his defects instead of seeking a cure for them. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 16, 24.

90–91. *privatis*: with *carminibus*; 'poetry that deals with the affairs of ordinary people,' in dis-

dignis carminibus narrari cena Thyestae.  
 Singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decentem.  
 Interdum tamen et vocem comoedia tollit,  
 iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore ;  
 95 et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri  
 Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exul uterque  
 proicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba,  
 si curat cor spectantis tetigisse querela.  
 Non satis est pulchra esse poemata ; dulcia sunt,

inction from a tragedy involving a king of heroic legend. Atreus gave to Thyestes the flesh of his own children to eat.

92. A summarizing statement at the close of the argument, followed by an acknowledgment that there are exceptional cases.—*singula*: 'each form of poetry,' epic, elegiac, lyric.—*sortita*: the meaning of *sors*, 'lot,' is frequently left out of the verb, which means only 'to obtain, secure, receive.' Here it is 'the place which custom has assigned to them.'—*decentem*: with emphasis; 'and to which good taste confines them.' *locum teneant* of course involves a figure, the literal meaning being, 'let each kind of writing use the meter and style which belongs to it.'

93-94. The kind of scene in comedy where an angry father (*Chremes*) berates his son, which Horace has already used (*Sat.* 1, 4, 48 ff.) in his argument to prove that comedy is not poetry, in the full sense of the word. The ex-

ample is probably taken from some book on rhetoric.

95-98. 'Tragedy also will occasionally use an ordinary style.'—*tragicus*: with *Telephus et Peleus*; 'in tragedy,' as in *Sat.* 2, 5, 91. *Davus sis comicus*, 'be like Davus in a comedy.'—*dolet*: i.e., 'expresses his sorrows.'—*Telephus and Peleus* are illustrations of tragic characters in poverty or exile, in circumstances which reduce them to the level and language of common people.—*ampullas*: *Epist.* 1, 3, 14 and note.—*sesquipedalia*: this word is used literally by various writers; the humorous meaning, when it is applied to words, is strengthened by the length of the word itself and it is only in this use and sense that it has come over into English—perhaps from this passage.

99-111. 'So, in general, the effectiveness of poetry, especially of dramatic poetry, depends upon the use of a fitting style.'

99-100. *pulchra, dulcia*: 'beau-

- 100 et, quocumque volent, animum auditoris agunto.  
 Vt ridentibus arrident, ita flentibus adsunt  
 humani vultus : si vis me flere, dolendum est  
 primum ipsi tibi ; tunc tua me infortunia laedent,  
 Telephe vel Peleu ; male si mandata loqueris,  
 105 aut dormitabo aut ridebo. Tristia maestum  
 vultum verba decent, iratum plena minarum,  
 ludentem lasciva, severum seria dictu.  
 Format enim natura prius nos intus ad omnem  
 fortunarum habitum ; iuvat aut impellit ad iram,  
 110 aut ad humum maerore gravi deducit et angit ;  
 post effert animi motus interprete lingua.

tiful in themselves, as works of art'; 'charming in their effect.' Catullus, 86, expresses the same difference between two women by *pulchra* and *formosa*. — *sunto et . . . agunto* ; paratactic coördination ; 'but if they are delightful, then they will move . . . '

101-102. 'The emotions felt and expressed by the speaker and actor excite similar emotions in the hearers and spectators.' The thought is not clearly expressed. *humani vultus* means the expression, and therefore the emotions, of the audience, but the word *vultus* is selected really with reference to the mobile face of the actor, to whom *ridentibus* and *flentibus* refer. *Adsunt* is a more general term than *arrident*, used in the second part of the comparison ; 'respond to,' 'sympathize with.'

104. The thought goes back for a moment to vs. 96. — *male* . . .

*mandata* : *i.e.*, 'if the words that the speaker utters sound merely like things he has been told to say (*mandata*), and, still worse, are ill-adapted to his situation (*male mandata*).'

106. *vultum* : as above, both the emotion and the expression of face which accompanies the emotion. In this whole passage Horace is thinking of the effect of a play upon the spectators, and is identifying the expression of the actor with his feeling.

108-111. 'For, by a law of nature, all emotions come from within, and then find expression in words.' This is the reason why the words should correspond to the looks and the emotions. — *format* : this general word is explained by *iuvat*, *impellit*, *angit*, expressing the various 'forms' of emotion. — *prius* : 'before we speak'; the sense is completed by *post*, vs.

Si dicentis erunt fortunis absona dicta,  
 Romani tollent equites peditesque cachinnum.  
 Intererit multum divusne loquatur an heros,  
 115 maturusne senex an adhuc florente iuventa  
 fervidus, an matrona potens, an sedula nutrix,  
 mercatorne vagus, cultorne virentis agelli,  
 Colchus an Assyrius, Thebis nutritus an Argis.  
 Aut famam sequere, aut sibi convenientia finge.

111.—*ad . . . habitum*: 'according to the varying circumstances of our lives (*fortunarum*).'  
*—effert*: the subject is *natura*; 'expresses,' 'brings out from within (*intus*).'

112–113. Line 112 summarizes in negative form the thought which has just been expressed positively, and at the same time introduces a treatment of the same theme from a different point of view. —*absona*: the opposite of *vss.* 105–107. —*equites peditesque*: Horace frequently uses *eques*, *equites*, to denote the more cultivated part of the audience or of the reading public. Here, desiring to refer to the whole audience, he uses the customary word, and then humorously adds *pedites*, playing upon the literal meaning of *equites*.

114. *divusne an heros*: *i.e.*, between a god and a man, even a hero such as would appear on the stage with a divinity.

115–118. Classical drama was more limited and conventional in its range of characters than modern fiction, and the persons represented are easily classified, as here. Such

lists are given often in rhetorical writings. Horace is merely selecting a few well-known types, in contrasting pairs, the old man and the young man, the mistress of the household and the old nurse, the trader or sailor and the farmer. — In *vs.* 118 the contrast is carried out rather elaborately; the two barbarians are contrasted with the two Greeks, and then with each other. This corresponds to reality in the contrast of the Colchian (the wilder and more savage type) with the Assyrian (the effeminate Oriental), but there is not, in reality or in tradition, any such distinct contrast between the Theban and the Argive. Horace is probably thinking of the legends which brought the two cities into conflict, like the *Seven against Thebes* of Aeschylus.

119. This line, again, is both summary and transition, carrying the thought on from harmony between the speaker and his words to harmony in the character itself.

- 120 Scriptor honoratum si forte reponis Achillem,  
impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer  
iura neget sibi nata, nihil non adroget armis.  
Sit Medea ferox invictaque, flebilis Ino,  
perfidus Ixion, Io vaga, tristis Orestes.
- 125 Si quid inexpertum scaenae committis, et audes  
personam formare novam, servetur ad imum  
qualis ab incepto processerit et sibi constet.  
Difficile est proprie communia dicere, tuque  
rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actus,
- 130 quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus.  
Publica materies privati iuris erit, si

120. *scriptor*: closely with *reponis*, which is so general in meaning that it needs a definition. — *honoratum*: *i.e.*, as the great hero of the Iliad, with the characteristics which belong to him in tradition.

122. The two parts of the line say the same thing in two different ways; 'let him refuse to acknowledge laws, but instead appeal always to arms.' The traditional contrast between laws and arms, between peace and war, underlies the form of expression.

123-124. These are typical examples from Greek legends, each character having its descriptive adjective. They illustrate the first part of vs. 119, the following of tradition.

125. *inexpertum*: this takes up the possibility implied in the second half of vs. 119. — *scaenae*: Horace is not here specifically discussing the drama, as a particular

poetic form distinct from the epic or the lyric, but, since the delineation of heroic character was to be found chiefly in tragedy, he uses terms of the drama, without, however, intending to exclude epic treatment of the same material.

127. *ab incepto*: logically with *servetur ad imum*. — *processerit*: of coming out upon the stage. — *sibi constet*: this goes back to *sibi convenientia* and closes the brief discussion of that topic.

128-135. *proprie communia*: these somewhat general words express concisely and figuratively what is explained more fully and literally in the rest of the paragraph, by means of which these words must be interpreted. *difficile* is the opposite of *rectius* ('more wisely, more safely'), and *proprie . . . dicere* is therefore the opposite of dramatizing a well-known story and identical with



non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem,  
 nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus  
 interpres; nec desilies imitator in artum,  
 135 unde pedem proferre pudor vetet aut operis lex,  
 nec sic incipies, ut scriptor cyclicus olim:

*proferre ignota indictaque.* It therefore means 'to write about things which no other writer has handled, things which are not a part of literature, but which belong to common experience, in such a way as to make them your own (*proprie*).' The thought of the whole is, 'it is hard to put the stamp of individuality upon ordinary material, and you will find it easier to dramatize some story from the Trojan cycle than to strike out into unknown fields.' — *tu*: the poet, not one of the Pisones. — *Iliacum carmen*: not necessarily the whole Iliad. — 'Yet a certain measure of originality in the handling of old material may be attained, if you use the right method.' — *publica*: such as the Homeric story. — *privati iuris*: *i.e.*, 'will become your own, will bear your stamp.' This figure, of acquiring private rights in what had been public property, was in Horace's mind from the beginning of the sentence and undoubtedly led to the choice of the rather confusing phrase *proprie communia*. Cf. also *Epist.* 1, 3, 15 ff., where the same figure is used in a different way. — *patulum . . . orbem*: primarily of the monotonous path

of an animal turning a millstone then of the commonplace path which most writers of little originality follow. — *interpres, imitator*: this appears to have been especially frequent in Roman tragedy, so far as can be judged from the fragments, though even there it is not quite what we understand by a 'word-for-word' translation; Horace is contrasting it with his own freer following of Alcaeus and Sappho. — *desilies in artum*: the phrase seems to be a reminiscence of the fable of the goat that jumped into a well, but the comparison is not to be carried over into the next line. — *pudor*: *i.e.*, an unwillingness to acknowledge your error. — *operis lex*: no more than 'the nature of the work'; a close imitation will bind the writer so closely to the plot of his model that he cannot free himself at all without destroying the unity of the work.

136. The form of sentence, *nec* with the future, goes on, though the subject changes from originality to the treatment of the beginning of a poem. This continuation of grammatical structure is intended to make the transition easy and unperceived, as in all

- ‘Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum.’  
 Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?  
 Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.
- 140 Quanto rectius hic, qui nil molitur inepte:  
 ‘Dic mihi Musa virum, captae post tempora Troiae  
 qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes.’  
 Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem  
 cogitat, ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat,
- 145 Antiphaten Scyllamque et cum Cyclope Charybdim;  
 nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri,  
 nec gemino bellum Troianum orditur ab ovo.  
 Semper ad eventum festinat et in medias res,

his writings Horace avoids formal arrangements of thought. — **cyclicus**: a technical name given by Alexandrine critics to the poets who handled parts of the Trojan story not included in the Iliad or Odyssey; their poems, with the Homeric poems, form a complete circle (*cyclos*).

137-138. The absurdity, as Horace sees it, is in the largeness of the promise, and perhaps in *nobile*. But there is much that is conventional and unreal in this paragraph, vss. 137-142. Cf. the noble opening sentence of Paradise Lost. — **promissor**: apparently coined to ridicule the cyclic poet. — **hiatu**: also a ridiculous suggestion, as if the poet opened his mouth wide to utter such a line.

139. Notice the effect of the monosyllabic close.

141-142. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 2, 19-21, where the first lines of the Odyssey are freely rendered. Horace has simplified Homer by omitting the second line, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε.

143. ‘Not like a fire that begins brightly and then dies down into smoke.’ *fulgore* and *lucem* are the same.

145. Antiphaten: *Od.* 10, 100 ff. — Scyllam, Charybdim: *Od.* 12, 87 ff. — cum Cyclope: *Od.* 9, 160 ff.; the construction is merely a variation for *et Cyclopem*.

146. Homer does not begin as the writer did who, having for his subject the return of Diomed from Troy, went back by way of introduction and told the other story of the tragic death of his uncle, Meleager.

147. That is, from the birth of Helen.

- non secus ac notas, auditorem rapit, et quae  
 150 desperat tractata nitescere posse, relinquit;  
 atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,  
 primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet imum.  
 Tu, quid ego et populus mecum desideret, audi.  
 Si plausoris eges aulaea manentis et usque  
 155 sessuri, donec cantor 'Vos plaudite' dicat,  
 aetatis cuiusque notandi sunt tibi mores,  
 mobilibusque decor naturis dandus et annis.

149. *notas*: *i.e.*, Homer treats his subject-matter as already in part known to his hearers, as in fact it was.

150. *tractata*: *handled, treated*. The Latin construction here is clumsy and should not be used in translating.

151. *mentitur*: *i.e.*, *uses fictions*. — *veris falsa*: this reflects the belief that the Homeric story was in the main historical.

153-177. 'The poet must make his characters consistent and life-like and, in particular, must notice the characteristics of different periods in life.'

153. *tu*: the poet, as in 128. The abrupt line introduces a new thought, in this case wholly without transition. From this point the drama, which has been frequently alluded to, though not distinctly the subject of discussion, becomes more prominent.

154. *plausoris*: to be taken closely with *manentis*; 'if you want your audience to stay and to listen with pleasure up to the end.'

155. *vos plaudite*: the formula with which the plays ended; sometimes *vos valete et plaudite*. It is spoken sometimes by the company (*grex*), sometimes by the last actor, and sometimes (Plaut. *Trin.*, *M.G.*, and all the plays of Terence) there is no indication of the speaker. There is no allusion elsewhere to a *cantor*, nor can anything be inferred from this passage in regard to the usage in the time of Terence.

156. *notandi*: 'observed with care.'

157. *decor*: that which is suited (*decens*, vs. 92) to each period, not merely the good qualities; cf. 170 ff.

The description of the different Ages of Man was probably traditional. In Terence there are only two, *adulescens* and *senex*; Aristotle (*Rhet.* 2, 12) has three; Shakspeare (*As You Like It*, 2, 7) has seven. Though Horace introduces this as a part of his advice to the dramatist, he does not confine himself strictly to the possi-

Reddere qui voces iam scit puer et pede certo  
 signat humum, gestit paribus colludere, et iram  
 160 colligit ac ponit temere et mutatur in horas.  
 Imberbus iuvenis, tandem custode remoto,  
 gaudet equis canibusque et aprici gramine campi,  
 cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper,  
 utilium tardus provisor, prodigus aeris,  
 165 sublimis cupidusque et amata relinquere pernix.  
 Conversis studiis aetas animusque virilis  
 quaerit opes et amicitias, inservit honori,  
 commisisse cavet quod mox mutare laboret.  
 Multa senem circumveniunt incommoda, vel quod

bilities and needs of the drama. The first stage, vss. 158-160, would not be represented in tragedy or comedy, characteristics are mentioned which, though they can be noticed by a writer of novels, could scarcely be indicated within the conventional limits of Greek or Latin drama (164, *tardus provisor*; 165; 167, *amicitias*; 171), and, in general, much stress is laid upon the quickness of change (157; *iam*, 158; 160; 166; 175) from one period to another. Horace has carried his description beyond his first intention.

159-160. *signat*: *i.e.*, leaves tracks (*signa*) as he walks. — *gestit*: of the child's eagerness for play. — *temere*: *without cause*.

161-165. *tandem*: *i.e.*, the long-desired time has come and he is his own master. — *custode*: the *paedagogus*, as Horace's father was to him, *Sat.* 1, 6, 81. — *equis cani-*

*busque*: this has a Greek sound: cf. Ter. *Andr.* 56 f., *aut equos alere aut canes ad venandum*, of a young man's first interests, when he is out of his father's control. — *cereus*: the figure which this word suggests does not extend to *flecti*; 'impres-sible as wax and easily turned toward folly.' — *monitoribus asper*: cf. the scene in Plaut. *Bacch.* 109 ff. — *provisor*: 'slow to provide . . .'; the corresponding phrase in Aristotle (*Rhet.* 2, 12) is φιλοχρήματοι ἡκιστα.

166-168. *studiis*: *his interests*. — *opes*: in the general sense, 'influence and power,' which connects well with *amicitias*, 'alliances' for influence, such as Cicero discusses and condemns; cf. also *Sat.* 2, 6, 75. — *honori*: *office*.

169-174. This picture of old age is found in various places, *e.g.*, in Cic. *de Senect.*, and especially in scenes in Terence, — *vel quod*: not

- 170 quaerit et inventis miser abstinet ac timet uti,  
vel quod res omnes timide gelideque ministrat,  
dilator, spe longus, iners, avidusque futuri,  
difficilis, querulus, laudator temporis acti  
se puero, castigator censorque minorum.
- 175 Multa ferunt anni venientes comoda secum,  
multa recedentes adimunt, ne forte seniles  
mandentur iuveni partes pueroque viriles;  
semper in adiunctis aevoque morabimur aptis.  
Aut agitur res in scaenis, aut acta refertur.

causal, but explicative of *incommoda*. — *quaerit*: absolute. Avarice is traditionally and perhaps actually the vice of old age. — *timet uti*: while youth is *prodigus aeris*; perhaps there is a relation between the two. — *gelide*: a particularly well-chosen word. — *spe longus*: this may be a translation of *δύσελπις*, the word which Aristotle uses. It would then mean 'slow to entertain hopes.' It is, in fact, not a clear phrase. — *avidus futuri*: *i.e.*, anxious about what of life is left to him. — *minorum*: of younger men.

Though much of the substance of this passage (158-174) is traditional, the admirable phrasing, which has made it a classic, is Horace's own.

175-178. Cf. *Epist.* 2, 2, 55. This is, in reality, a comment upon life and its changes and not directly connected with the work of the poet. Horace brings it into connection with his main line of

thought by *ne . . . mandentur*, but somewhat awkwardly, since no one would propose to give to a *iuuenis* the words suited to a *senex* or would confuse a *vir* and a *puer* in delineating character. — *ne . . . mandentur*: a parenthetic final clause; 'and so one must not. . . .' — *semper*: with *morabimur*, not with *adiunctis*; the sense is 'character changes, but we poets must always be watchful to note the qualities of each period.' — *adiunctis*: *i.e.*, the qualities that accompany each time of life. — *aevo*: with both *adiunctis* and *aptis*, which are connected by *-que*.

179-188. What scenes should be put upon the stage. — This is one of the traditional subjects of rhetorical discussion.

179. The statement of actual usage precedes the discussion. — *refertur*: 'are described by an actor as having occurred off the stage,' within the palace or elsewhere.

- 180 Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,  
 quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus et quae  
 ipse sibi tradit spectator. Non tamen intus  
 digna geri promes in scaenam, multaue tolles  
 ex oculis quae mox narret facundia praesens,  
 185 ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet,  
 aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus,  
 aut in avem Procne vertatur, Cadmus in anguem.  
 Quodcumque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.  
 Neve minor neu sit quinto productior actu  
 190 fabula, quae posci vult et spectata reponi.  
 Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus

180. *segnius irritant*: 'produce a less vivid impression.' — *demissa per aurem*: *i.e.*, the matters which are merely described.

182. *sibi tradit*: the spectator has, as it were, seen the action himself and so tells it to himself, instead of having it told to him by the messenger or reporter. — *intus*: in the palace; with *digna geri*.

184. *facundia praesens*: 'a messenger (speaker) appearing in person.' It is, I think, quite impossible that *praesens* should mean 'who was present when the action occurred.' The point of *praesens* is that it enforces the contrast between that which took place off the stage (*ex oculis*) and that which the spectator is permitted to see, in the person of the actor who comes on to tell the tale.

185. *ne*: nearly like *ne* of vs. 176. Many *ne*-clauses are like this, indistinguishable in form from pro-

hibitions and not essentially different in sense. — In the Medea of Euripides the children are killed within the palace, but their cries are heard by the audience.

186–187. These myths are not the subject of any Greek plays now extant, but the references are of course to definite plays known to Horace.

188. *incredulus odi*: expressing in one phrase the two distinct emotions; *incredulus* refers to the impossible metamorphoses of vs. 187, *odi* to the horrible spectacle of vs. 185 or 186.

189. *quinto . . . actu*: this rule Horace got from some grammatical tradition, and it was long current, on his authority, in modern times. It is, however, quite without foundation. The act divisions in Latin comedy are not in the Mss. or in the earliest editions.

191. *deus intersit*: *i.e.*, natural



inciderit: nec quarta loqui persona laboret.  
 Actoris partes chorus officiumque virile  
 defendat, neu quid medios intercinat actus,  
 195 quod non proposito conducat et haereat apte.  
 Ille bonis faveatque et consilietur amice,  
 et regat iratos et amet peccare timentis;  
 ille dapes laudet mensae brevis, ille salubrem  
 iustitiam legesque et apertis otia portis;  
 200 ille tegat commissa, deosque precetur et oret,

means should usually be found for working out the plot. The rule was laid down with reference to plays in which supernatural intervention was unnecessarily employed. — *vindice*: *defender*, one who protects the hero and releases him from the complications of the plot. The phrase *nisi dignus vindice nodus* is classic.

192. *loqui . . . laboret*: the rule was that only three speaking characters should be on the stage at once; a fourth would not easily find a place (*laboret*) in the dialogue. This rule is not without exceptions and in the later comedy was not observed at all.

193. *actoris partes*: *i.e.*, the chorus should be treated as an actor, should have its place in the plot and in the action, and this should be an important part (*officium virile*).

194–195. ‘It should not be used merely to sing interludes, odes which do not contribute (*conducat*)

to the plot or have any real connection with it.’

196–201. The proper function of the chorus.

196. *bonis faveat*: this is in accordance with the practice of the extant tragedies, that the chorus should support the cause of virtue. — *consilietur*: *advise*. This also is common.

197. *regat*: *i.e.*, ‘try to control.’ — *peccare timentis*: not the same as *bonis*, but the characters who seem to be shrinking from some wrong act that is presenting itself to them as a possibility. For the expression cf. *Epist.* 1, 16, 52; 2, 1, 23.

198. *mensae brevis*: *i.e.*, ‘it should be on the side of simplicity, against luxury.’ Cf. *cena brevis*, *Epist.* 1, 14, 35.

200. *tegat commissa*: ‘it should play the part of the trustworthy confidant and not betray secrets committed to its keeping.’ This situation is not infrequent in Greek tragedy.

ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis.

Tibia non, ut nunc, orichalco vincta, tubaeque  
aemula, sed tenuis simplexque foramine pauco  
adspirare et adesse choris erat utilis, atque

205 nondum spissa nimis complere sedilia flatu,  
quo sane populus numerabilis, utpote parvus,  
et frugi castusque verecundusque, coibat.

Postquam coepit agros extendere victor et urbes  
latior amplecti murus vinoque diurno

210 placari Genius festis impune diebus,

201. *redeat, abeat, fortuna*, a partial personification; cf. *Carm.* I, 35, 23 f., *utcumque mutata potentis | veste domos inimica linquis*.

202 ff. The discussion of the function of the chorus suggests easily the music which accompanied the songs.

202. *tibia*: properly a wooden or ivory flute, with few openings, which gave a light and clear sound. When bound with metal — *orichalcum* was an amalgam of copper and other metals — its note was more like that of a brass horn (*tuba*), less clear and simple.

204. *adspirare, adesse*: as an accompaniment to the choral song, without independent force.

205. *nondum*: especially with *erat utilis* to be supplied. — *nimis*: with *spissa*. 'The flute was not yet used, as it is now, to fill with loud blast a crowded theater,' *i.e.*, was not independent of the song.

206. *quo*: the antecedent is *sedilia*, for the whole theater. —

sane: 'of course,' 'you know.' — *utpote parvus*: parenthetic and explanatory of *numerabilis*.

207. The adjectives describe the ideal simplicity and piety of the early time, which Horace here regards as necessary to the purity of art.

208–210. In the preceding discussion of the drama there is nothing to indicate that Horace was thinking exclusively of the Greek tragedy; on the contrary, the advice is of course addressed to writers of Roman tragedy. Yet the tone is almost wholly Greek. As the discussion goes on, however, to the period of luxury, the underlying thought is Roman. This appears in *agros extendere victor*, which is not strictly applicable to Greek history after the Persian Wars, but is accurately descriptive of Roman history after the Punic Wars. The plural *urbes* would suggest Greek cities; *latior murus* is suitable to either; but

accessit numerisque modisque licentia maior.

Indoctus quid enim saperet liberque laborum  
rusticus, urbano confusus, turpis honesto?

Sic priscae motumque et luxuriam addidit arti

215 tibicen traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem:

sic etiam fidibus voces crevere severis,

et tulit eloquium insolitum facundia praeceps,

utiliumque sagax rerum et divina futuri

vs. 210 is wholly in Roman terms.  
— *diurno*: in the daytime. — *impune*: i.e., without consideration of the proper restraints.

211. *numerisque modisque*: more complicated music and meters were used. This, according to the traditional doctrine, was regarded as *licentia*, like the increasing license of manners.

212-213. *quid enim saperet*: i.e., 'no standard of taste could be maintained in a population so mixed and so unrestrained.' — *liber laborum*: on festal days labor would be suspended. — *turpis honesto*: where there was no such distinction as that which in Horace's time separated the *equites* — the cultivated part of the audience — from the lower classes.

214-215. *sic*: as a result of this confusion and this increase of luxury. — *motum*: i.e., he moved about the stage (*vagus*), no longer subordinating himself to the chorus. — *luxuriam*: i.e., he trailed his purple robe (*traxit vestem*) about the stage.

216. *voces*: notes. The tradi-

tion was that the lyre was at first four-stringed, and that the number of strings was gradually increased to eleven.

217. *tulit*: brought in, 'brought with it.' — *eloquium*: style. — *facundia praeceps*: 'the eager desire to speak, unrestrained (*praeceps*) by considerations of taste.' The same *licentia maior* which had affected music influenced also the style of the choral odes.

218-219. *sagax*: with *sententia*; the thought itself was affected by the same tendencies and came to be full of precepts and sententious maxims of wisdom. — *divina futuri*: the chorus undertook to prophesy, and became as obscure and bombastic as oracles. The precise point of these criticisms is not clear, nor even whether Horace has in mind the later Greek tragedy or the Roman. This whole passage, vss. 202-219, is to be regarded as a bit of the traditional rhetorical doctrine and not as history or direct criticism. The point of view is wholly incorrect.

sortilegis non discrepuit sententia Delphis.

- 220 Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,  
 mox etiam agrestis Satyros nudavit, et asper  
 incolumi gravitate iocum tentavit eo, quod  
 illecebris erat et grata novitate morandus  
 spectator, functusque sacris et potus et exlex.  
 225 Verum ita risores, ita commendare dicaces  
 conveniet Satyros, ita vertere seria ludo,

220-250. The Satyric drama. This section also is in part traditional, but it is in part a real criticism of forms of drama which were on the stage in Horace's time, like mimes and *fabulae Atellanae*, and which bore enough resemblance to the Satyr plays to justify Horace in treating them all as one kind of drama.

220-221. *certavit*: this is Greek, referring to the dramatic contests at Athens. — *hircum*: the commonly accepted derivation of *τραγῳδία* was from *τράγος*, a goat offered as the prize of victory. — *mox*: *i.e.*, the Satyr play is supposed to be derived from tragedy. This is the reverse of the fact; formal tragedy was a development out of the popular Satyr play and the name comes from the use of *τράγος* of the chorus of the Satyr drama. — *nudavit*: the Satyrs were naked except for a goatskin about the loins. — *asper*: *i.e.*, he was still a tragic poet, with something of the severity of tragedy. The Satyr play, as a fourth play after the dramatic trilogy, was written

by the same poet who had written the tragedies.

222. *incolumi gravitate*: 'without loss of dignity' by presenting such plays.

223. *morandus*: *i.e.*, 'it was necessary to provide some amusement and novelty to detain the spectators.'

224. *functus sacris*: 'having already performed the solemn rites of sacrifice, they were released from restraint (*exlex*).'

225. *verum*: 'but, though the spectators were *exlex* and the object of the play was laughter and jesting, there were still restraints imposed upon the characters and the style of the plays.' — *risores*: in effect an adj., *merry*, to balance *dicaces*, *jesting*, *commendare*: *i.e.*, 'present them to the favor of the audience.'

226. *vertere seria ludo*: the Satyr play, coming immediately after the tragedies, changed the spirit from seriousness to lightness. The abl. (*ludo*) is rare with *verto*, but is found occasionally after the analogy of the abl. with *muto*.

ne quicumque deus, quicumque adhibebitur heros,  
 regali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro,  
 migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas,  
 230 aut, dum vitat humum, nubes et inania captet.  
 Effutire levis indigna tragoedia versus,  
 ut festis matrona moveri iussa diebus,  
 intererit Satyris paullum pudibunda protervis.  
 Non ego inornata et dominantia nomina solum

228. *conspectus . . . nuper*: the characters of the tragedy, where they had appeared in royal state, might reappear in the Satyr play. In that case the contrast should not be made so startling as to shock the taste or to degrade the heroic tone of tragedy.

229. *migret in . . . tabernas*: the king or hero who has just been seen coming out of his palace must not now be represented as moving to a hovel. The word *tabernas* is chosen with reference to the Roman farces called *fabulae tabernariae*, plays of low life, the scene of which was in some poor place of resort for the common people. — *humili sermone*: this anticipates what is said at greater length in the next lines.

230. *nubes et inania*: the opposite fault of a tone too lofty for the general spirit of the play.

231. *indigna*: 'not condescending to . . .,' as in *Epist.* I, 3, 35, *indigni fraternum rumpere foedus*. — *tragoedia*: i.e., the tragic (heroic) character in the Satyr play.

232. *moveri iussa*: dancing was ordinarily considered quite unsuitable for a woman of dignity, but at some religious festivals the married women took part in the dance as a religious duty (*iussa*). Cf. *Carm.* 2, 12, 17 ff.; 3, 14, 5 f., for references to such dances.

233. *intererit . . . paullum*: 'will have little to do with,' 'will be among them, but will retain the dignity proper to tragedy.' The contrast is emphasized by the juxtaposition of the two adjectives, 'dignified herself, in spite of their frolicsome behavior.'

234. *non . . . solum*: the other half of the thought begins with vs. 240, without a particle (*sed etiam*); 'I should not be satisfied with observing the ordinary laws of colloquial style or even with making some finer distinctions; I should aim at something still higher.' — *inornata*: *plain* words which suggest no figurative meanings. — *dominantia*: a translation of *κύρια*, *literal*, as *nomina verbaque* is a translation of *ὀνόματα*

- 235 verbaque, Pisones, Satyrorum scriptor amabo;  
nec sic enitar tragico differre colori,  
ut nihil intersit, Davusne loquator et audax  
Pythias, emuncto lucrata Simone talentum,  
an custos famulusque dei Silenus alumni.
- 240 Ex noto fictum carmen sequar, ut sibi quivis  
speret idem, sudet multum frustraue laboret  
ausus idem: tantum series iuncturaque pollet,  
tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris.

καὶ ῥήματα, standing for all language; cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 103.

235. The address to the Pisones at this point is consistent with the more personal and direct tone of the whole discussion of the Satyr plays, and supports the view that the matter was one of living interest at the time. — *scriptor*: this also maintains the tone of direct interest, but does not, of course, mean that Horace himself intended to write for the stage.

236. *nec sic*: 'nor should I be satisfied with a mere distinction between the tragic and the comic style, without observing also the finer distinctions between the different characters.'

237-239. *Davus*: a standing name for a slave in comedy. — *Pythias*: this name for the *arguta meretrix* (*Sat.* 1, 10, 40) happens not to be used in any extant comedy. — *emuncto*: one of the many slang words used in comedy for cheating; perhaps *swiped*. — *Simone*: an old man; Chremes is

used as the typical name in the corresponding passage in *Sat.* 1, 10, 40 ff. — The names and the situation all refer to the *comoedia palliata*, like the plays of Terence, the style of which, it is implied, is not to be used in a Satyr play. — *Silenus*: the old guardian and attendant of the youthful Dionysus, fond of wine, but also a kind of philosopher.

240-243. This passage contains a summary of Horace's own ideal in style, of wider application than is given to it here. — *noto fictum*: the same general contrast as that expressed in vs. 151, *sic veris falsa remiscet*. — *speret*: *i.e.*, the style shall seem easy enough to tempt any one to try it. — *idem, idem*: intentionally repeated in the same place in the verse. — *series iuncturaque*: cf. *callida iunctura*, 47 f.; but here the thought is broader, including all the more general characteristics of style, not the meaning of words only. — *de medio sumptis*: ordinary



- Silvis deducti caveant, me iudice, Fauni,  
 245 ne velut innati triviis ac paene forenses  
 aut nimium teneris iuvenentur versibus unquam,  
 aut immunda crepent ignominiosaque dicta :  
 offenduntur enim, quibus est equus et pater et res,  
 nec si quid fricti ciceris probat et nucis emptor,  
 250 aequis accipiunt animis donantve corona.  
 Syllaba longa brevi subiecta vocatur iambus,  
 pes citus : unde etiam trimetris ad crescere iussit  
 nomen iambeis cum senos redderet ictus,  
 primus ad extremum similis sibi : non ita pridem,

words, out of which skillful use can make a style that has distinction.

244. *Fauni*: the Italian equivalent for the satyrs.

245. *innati triviis, forenses*: the wild creatures of the woods must not use the language of street boys or even the more cultivated speech of those who attend the law courts.

246. *teneris . . . versibus*: sentimental love songs, expressions alien to the free spirit of the Fauns. — *iuvenentur*: *sport*, play the *iuvēnis*; formed like the Greek *νεανιεύεσθαι*.

247. The Satyr plays were coarse, but they should avoid vicious and indecent expressions.

248–250. *equus*: with reference to the providing of a horse for the *equites* in the early time, when the word had a military meaning. — *et pater*: the free-born citizens. — *et res*: the persons of property and standing and, presumably, of cultivation. — *fricti*: *parched*; from

*frigo*. — *corona*: symbolic, since there were no formal contests at Rome. — It is to be noticed that from vs. 231 the thought is almost wholly Roman.

251–269. On meter and versification.

251. The fact that an iambus consists of a short followed by a long is stated rather formally, in order to make a proper starting point for the discussion of the use of spondees.

252–253. *unde*: *i.e.*, because it is a ‘quick foot.’ — The construction is *iambeis nomen trimetris ad crescere iussit*; *iambeis* is dat. after *ad crescere* and *trimetris* is attracted into the same case; ‘for which reason it bade the name trimeter attach itself to iambic lines,’ although there were six feet and one might expect the name hexameter. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 57, *illitardo cognomen damus*.

254. *similis sibi*: all the feet

- 255 tardior ut paullo graviorque veniret ad aures,  
 spondeos stabiles in iura paterna recepit  
 commodus et patiens, non ut de sede secunda  
 cederet aut quarta socialiter. Hic et in Acci  
 nobilibus trimetris apparet rarus, et Enni  
 260 in scaenam missos magno cum pondere versus  
 aut operae celeris nimium curaue carentis  
 aut ignoratae premit artis crimine turpi.  
 Non quivis videt immodulata poemata iudex,  
 et data Romanis venia est indigna poetis.  
 265 Idcircone vager scribamque licenter? An omnes  
 visuros peccata putem mea, tutus et intra  
 spem veniæ cautus? Vitavi denique culpam,

being iambs. — **non ita pridem**: these words are not quite intelligible, since spondees had been used in iambic trimeters from the earliest times. [None of the various explanations is really good. Cic. *Brut.* 10, 41 is not a parallel.]

256. **stabiles**: heavy in comparison with the lightly running iambs. — **in iura paterna**: adopted them legally.

257. **non ut**: 'but not to the extent of admitting them to the second or fourth foot.'

258. **socialiter**: 'like an ally,' like one who made a partnership on absolutely equal terms. The personification of the iambus goes through the whole passage, *iussit, recepit, commodus et patiens, cederet*.

259–262. 'In Roman poets the frequency of spondees makes

the verse too heavy.' — **hic**: the iambus. — **nobilibus**: *well-known*, without approval, which would be inconsistent with the context. — **rarus**: this supplies, in thought, the subject of *premit*; 'and the rarity of it in the verses of Ennius.' — **in scaenam missos**: his verses in drama, as distinct from his epic poetry. — **operae**: with *crimine*, as *artis* is, and modified by *nimium celeris* and *carentis*.

263–264. **non quivis**: the meaning of the general phrase appears in *Romanis*. — **indigna**: *undeserved*; strictly, 'pardon that the giver should think it unworthy of himself to bestow.'

265. **idcirco**: *i.e.*, 'because I know that the judge is not strict.'

266–267. **tutus et . . . cautus**: 'or shall I be just careful enough to keep within the law?'

non laudem merui. Vos exemplaria Graeca  
nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.

- 270 At vestri proavi Plautinos et numeros et  
laudavere sales, nimium patienter utrumque,  
ne dicam stulte, mirati, si modo ego et vos  
scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto,  
legitimumque sonum digitis callemus et aure.  
275 Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camenæ  
dicitur et plaustis vexisse poemata Thespis,

268. non . . . merui: 'there is no positive merit in that course.'—vos: emphatic; 'you, who surely desire *laudem merere*.'

270–294. On the need of study and care in the writing of poetry, as shown in the history of the Greek drama.

270. proavi: in a general sense, *maiores*.—Plautinos: for Horace's judgment on Plautus see *Epist.* 2, 1, 170 ff. and note.—numeros: this may be a reference to the verses which were supposed to be Plautus's own epitaph, in which the phrase *numeri innumeri* is used. Plautus was, in fact, an extremely good versifier, but of a sort that Horace did not appreciate.

271–272. patienter: *i.e.*, they should not have endured them, much less admired them.

273. inurbanum lepido: with reference to the *sales*. The word *lepidus*, which Horace uses rarely, is one of the commonest adjectives in Plautus and is chosen here for

that reason. The standard of *urbanitas* is better suited to the Augustan age than to the time of the Second Punic War.

274. sonum: the *numeri*. Horace's judgment on this point also, as on the wit of Plautus, is too narrow, like the judgment of a Queen Anne writer on a poet of the Elizabethan period.—digitis: this seems to be traditional; Horace did not count the feet of his Alcaics on his fingers. But it is true that the natural feeling for the free early versification had, in part, died out under the impulse toward finished accuracy.

275. The order of thought here is more important than the grammatical structure; 'tragedy was an unknown kind of poetry before its invention, according to tradition, by Thespis.'

276. plaustis: the source of this curious tradition, which appears only here, is unknown, nor is it possible to discover what error

- quae canerent agerentque peruncti faecibus ora.  
 Post hunc, personae pallaeque repertor honestae,  
 Aeschylus et modicis instravit pulpita tignis  
 280 et docuit magnumque loqui nitique cothurno.  
 Successit vetus his comoedia, non sine multa  
 laude, sed in vitium libertas excidit et vim  
 dignam lege regi : lex est accepta chorusque  
 turpiter obticuit sublato iure nocendi.  
 285 Nil intentatum nostri liquere poetae ;

of interpretation gave rise to it. — **Thespis**: the 'inventor' of tragedy, as Homer was of the epic and Archilochus of iambics. But, properly understood, no form of art was ever invented.

277. **canerent, agerent**: Horace uses the plural a little carelessly, in speaking of a play in which there was only one actor. — **peruncti faecibus**: this quite uncertain tradition, if it has any foundation in fact, has to do with comedy, not with tragedy.

278–280. The innovations here attributed to Aeschylus are the mask, the special dress, the elevated wooden stage, and the thick-soled tragic boot. There are traces of these traditions in various authors, but the source from which Horace derived them is unknown. — **honestae**: *dignified*; with *pallae* only, not with *personae*. — **modicis**: a qualification of the tradition; the first stage would naturally be thought of as small. — **magnum loqui**: inserted into the

account of the stage machinery to go with *niti*.

281. **vetus**: ἀρχαία; the technical name for the comedy of which Aristophanes is the only extant representative. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 1–2; 1, 10, 16 f.

282–283. **libertas**: so *Sat.* 1, 4, 5, *multa cum libertate notabant*. 'But this freedom degenerated (*excidit*) into a fault.' — **vim**: the technical word for 'assault,' 'illegal violence.' — **lege**: the accounts are somewhat confused and it is more probable that the law against extreme personalities on the stage had nothing to do with the decline of the chorus.

284. **turpiter**: with *obticuit*; the silence was discreditable because it was, as Horace understood it, the result of the withdrawal of the right to do harm. — This reference to the loss of the chorus has, in fact, nothing to do with the main thought, and comedy is mentioned only to lead up to the general statement *nil intentatum*.

- nec minimum meruere decus vestigia Graeca  
 ausi deserere et celebrare domestica facta,  
 vel qui praetextas vel qui docuere togatas.  
 Nec virtute foret clarisve potentius armis  
 290 quam lingua Latium si non offenderet unum-  
 quemque poetarum limae labor et mora. Vos, O  
 Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprehendite, quod non  
 multa dies et multa litura coercuit atque  
 praesectum decies non castigavit ad unguem.  
 295 Ingenium misera quia fortunatius arte

286. *nec minimum*: *i.e.*, 'and not the least of their merits is the fact that they have shown independence.'

287. *domestica facta*: *i.e.*, 'that they have used native material, Roman legends.'

288. *praetextas*: *sc. fabulas*; tragedies on themes from Roman history, like the *Brutus* of Accius. The name came from the *toga praetexta* worn by the Roman generals and heroes who were represented in the plays. — *togatas*: comedies in which Roman citizens appeared, wearing the ordinary toga. — *docuere*: the technical word for the poet's part in preparing the play for presentation by 'teaching' it to the actors.

289-290. *virtute . . . armis*: a double expression for a single idea. — *lingua*: for literature in general.

291. This thought is often expressed by Horace; *Sat.* 1, 4, 12 f.; 1, 10, 68-72; *Epist.* 2, 1, 167.

292. *Pompilius sanguis*: the claim of the Calpurnii (*Pisones*) was that they were descended from Numa Pompilius through a son *Calpus*. This form of address is hardly more than a variation on *Pisones*.

294. *praesectum . . . ad unguem*: cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 32, *ad unguem factus homo*; the figure is taken from the testing of the smoothness of a surface by passing the thumb nail over it; the closely cut nail (*praesectum*) would be especially sensitive. — *castigavit*: general in meaning (*corrected, restrained*), not continuing the figure of pruning, which is faintly suggested by *coercuit*.

295. *misera, fortunatius*: the words are quoted, as it were, from the poets, who were expressing in vivid language their acceptance of the dictum of Democritus; labor seemed to them wretched and they trusted to their talent for success.

credit et excludit sanos Helicone poetas  
 Democritus, bona pars non unguis ponere curat,  
 non barbam; secreta petit loca, balnea vitat.  
 Nanciscetur enim pretium nomenque poetae,  
 300 si tribus Anticyris caput insanabile nunquam  
 tonsori Licino commiserit. O ego laevus,  
 qui purgor bilem sub verni temporis horam!  
 Non alius faceret meliora poemata. Verum  
 nil tanti est: ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum  
 305 reddere quae ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi:  
 munus et officium nil scribens ipse docebo,  
 unde parentur opes, quid alat formetque poetam,

297. Democritus: Cicero (*de Div.* 1, 37, 80) records it in this form; 'negat sine furore Democritus quemquam poetam magnum esse posse.' — bona pars: 'most poets.' — non . . . curat: 'do not take the trouble.' The neglect of personal appearance seems to them evidence of inspiration. It is most curious that this tradition should still persist among musicians and painters.

299. nanciscetur: *i.e.*, 'he believes that he will obtain . . .'

300. tribus Anticyris: cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 83, where it is said that all Anticyra must be reserved for the *avari*.

301. Licino: there is doubtless some point in the use of a proper name here, but the man is unknown and the point is lost. — laevus: 'fool that I am!'

302. verni: the time of year when it was held (Celsus, 2,

13) that purgatives should be used.

303. faceret: *i.e.*, 'if I were not so foolish as to use purgatives.'

304. nil tanti est: 'it isn't worth while,' 'I don't care so much as all that about it'; an expression of indifference; cf. *Cic. Att.* 2, 13, 2; 5, 8, 3. — cotis: this is the reply of Isocrates when he was asked why he taught others the art of oratory.

306. This is the literal statement, explaining and applying the anecdote. — munus et officium: *function and duty* of the poet; the two words express merely two slightly different sides of one idea. — nil scribens: referring to his repeatedly expressed determination to write no more lyric poetry; such a *sermo* as this is not poetry.

307-308. These clauses are not a table of contents of the rest of the Epistle, nor are they a



quid deceat, quid non, quo virtus, quo ferat error.  
Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons.

- 310 Rem tibi Socraticae poterunt ostendere chartae,  
verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.  
Qui didicit, patriae quid debeat et quid amicis;  
quo sit amore parens, quo frater amandus et hospes;  
quod sit conscripti, quod iudicis officium; quae  
315 partes in bellum missi ducis: ille profecto  
reddere personae scit convenientia cuique.

formal and complete outline of an Art of Poetry. They are merely amplifications of *munus et officium*, specifying certain aspects of poetic art and corresponding only by accident and in the most general way with the discussions that follow.—*opes*: *powers*; *i.e.*, 'what will best furnish him with material and prepare him to write.'—*quid deceat*: 'standards of taste.'—*virtus, error*: in a very general sense, 'the right path and the wrong,' 'a true understanding of poetry and a mistaken judgment about it.'

309. *scribendi recte*: as in *Sat.* I, 4, 13, with emphasis upon a high standard.—*sapere*: *wisdom*, with secondary reference to philosophy and in contrast to the thought of 295 ff.

310. *rem*: the material, the things to write about; not exactly 'subject-matter,' but the ideas to be expressed.—*Socraticae . . . chartae*: these are named for illustration only, not as exclusive sources. The important 'Socratic'

writers are Plato and Xenophon.—*poterunt*: 'they will, for example, contain such suggestion as you need.'

311. *rem . . . sequentur*: this rule appears in various forms, most concisely in Cato's *rem tene, verba sequentur*, and humorously in the saying of Asinius Pollio, *male hercle eveniat verbis, nisi rem sequantur*.

314. *conscripti*: *councilor*; the word is familiar in the formula *patres conscripti*, but is here used in a more general sense, as in inscriptions (*neve ibi senator neve decurio neve conscriptus esto*, C.I.L., I, 206, 96). This is the only passage except in inscriptions where the word is used alone without *pater*.—*iudicis*: such an official combined some of the functions now divided between the judge and the jury; cf. *Sat.* I, 4, 23.

316. *personae*: dramatic poetry is here, as in so much of this Epistle, uppermost in Horace's mind.—*convenientia*: *i.e.*, to

Respicere exemplar vitae morumque iubebo  
doctum imitatore[m] et vivas hinc ducere voces.

- Interdum speciosa locis morataque recte  
320 fabula nullius veneris sine pondere et arte  
valdius oblectat populum meliusque moratur,  
quam versus inopes rerum nugaeque canorae.  
Graii[s] ingenium, Graii[s] dedit ore rotundo  
Musa loqui, praeter laudem nullius avaris.  
325 Romani pueri longis rationibus assem  
discunt in partes centum diducere. 'Dicat  
filius Albini: Si de quincunce remota est

make the speech of each character suitable to the part he plays in life.

317-318. 'The poet who desires that his work should be a reflection of life (*imitatore[m]*) and who has learned the principles of life and art from study (*doctum = qui didicit*) will then turn to life itself, to the observation of character (*morum*), and from this, as from a model, will learn to give vividness to the speeches (*vivas voces*) of the persons of his drama.'

319-322. 'For a vivid and life-like portrayal of character is often more effective than a merely artistic finish.' — *speciosa locis*: i.e., 'which contains vivid and attractive passages (*vivas voces*), speeches that attract the attention of the hearer'; cf. *Epist.* 2, 1, 223. — *morataque recte*: 'in which the speeches conform properly to the characters that utter them,' as is suggested in *exemplar morum*. — *nullius ve-*

*neris*: 'without the attractiveness of lofty words (*sine pondere*) or artistic polish.' The thought is again expressed by contrast in *inopes rerum nugaeque canorae*.

323-332. 'It is to the Greeks that philosophy and art have given the power to realize these ideals.'

324. *avaris*: the word is selected in anticipation of the thought that follows; 'for the Greeks are eager only for glory, while we Romans are *avari* in a worse sense.'

325. *longis rationibus*: 'long calculations' like the 'examples' in arithmetic.

326. *centum*: the *as* was divided into twelfths, *unciae*, and the Roman reckonings were based in part on a duodecimal system. But they also used a decimal system and *in partes centum diducere* means, in effect, 'to reduce the duodecimal system to decimals.'

327-330. A school recitation in arithmetic; *filius Albini* is the

uncia, quid superat? Poteras dixisse.' 'Triens.' 'Eulrem poteris servare tuam! Redit uncia, quid fit?'

330 'Semis.' An, haec animos aerugo et cura peculicum semel imbuerit, speramus carmina fingi posse linenda cedro et levi servanda cupresso? Aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare poetae, aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae.

335 Quicquid praecipies, esto brevis, ut cito dicta percipiant animi dociles teneantque fideles. Omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat.

Ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris, ne, quodcumque volet, poscat sibi fabula credi,

340 neu pransae Lamiae vivum puerum extrahat alvo. Centuriae seniorum agitant expertia frugis;

pupil who is called upon to recite; the problem is in the addition and subtraction of simple fractions. — quincunce: *quinque unciae*, five-twelfths. — triens: *i.e.*, it is not enough to answer four twelfths; the boy must also be able to reduce the fraction to its lowest terms, one third. — redit: not the putting back of the *uncia* taken away, but a new problem; *is added*.

330. aerugo: *caner, rust*, as consuming the metal; cf. *Sat.* I, 4, 101. — peculi: with *cura* only; the word has here some slighting force, since it is used chiefly of the small property of a child or slave.

332. linenda . . .: *i.e.*, 'deserving of immortality.' Oil or cedar was used to preserve the papyrus

from bookworms. — levi . . . cupresso: the cypress wood took a high polish, and cases made of it would be especially fine.

334. iucunda, idonea . . . vitae: these repeat *prodesse* and *delectare* in reversed order.

335. quicquid praecipies: *i.e.*, 'if you choose *prodesse, idonea vitae*, to write a didactic poem.' — cito: with *dicta*; = *brevia*.

336. dociles, fideles: predicate.

338. ficta: the other alternatives; 'if you choose *iucunda, delectare*, to write poems to give pleasure only.' — proxima veris: *i.e.*, not at variance with probabilities.

340. Lamiae: a monstrous creature that devoured children alive.

341. centuriae: this word suggests the figure of an election. — seniorum: the citizens above forty-

celsi praetereunt austera poemata Ramnes:  
omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci  
lectorem delectando pariterque monendo.

- 345 Hic meret aera liber Sosiis, hic et mare transit  
et longum noto scriptori prorogat aevum.  
Sunt delicta tamen, quibus ignovisse velimus:  
nam neque chorda sonum reddit, quem vult manus et  
mens,  
poscentique gravem persaepe remittit acutum,  
350 nec semper feriet quodcumque minabitur arcus.  
Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis  
offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,  
aut humana parum cavit natura. Quid ergo est?  
Vt scriptor si peccat idem librarius usque,

five. — *expertia frugis*: poems that are not didactic, but *incunda*.

342. *celsi*... *Ramnes*: the knights were the younger citizens, proud of their position and their old name. — *austera*: poems that are merely didactic, not *incunda*.

343-344. *omne*... *punctum*: *i.e.*, both old and young; cf. *Epist.* 2, 2, 99, note. — Vs. 341 corresponds to the first half of vs. 333, vs. 342 to the second half, and vss. 343-344 to vs. 334.

345. *Sosiis*: the booksellers, already mentioned in *Epist.* 1, 20, 2.

346. This verse returns, as a kind of summary, to the thought of vs. 332.

347. *tamen*: *i.e.*, 'though I thus hold up the ideal, I recognize the fact that it is difficult of attainment.'

348-350. The comparison, as so often in Horace, is merely implied; 'such failings of a poet are like the mistakes of the musician or the archer.' — *gravem*: *low*. — *persaepe*: there is an apologetic tone in this word; *very often*, so weak is human skill. — *feriet*; the future tense, instead of the present *reddit*, *remittit*, represents the archer as already excusing his possible miss, before he shoots.

352. *offendar maculis*: this is the doctrine of *Sat.* 1, 3, 68 ff. and almost the same form of expression as that in *Sat.* 1, 6, 65-67. The use of *maculis* anticipates the comparison of vs. 354. — *fudit*: as if by the spilling of ink.

354. *scriptor* . . . *librarius*: a slave who copied books, in the Roman way.

- 355 quamvis est monitus, venia caret, et citharoedus  
ridetur, chorda qui semper oberrat eadem :  
sic mihi, qui multum cessat, fit Choerilus ille,  
quem bis terve bonum cum risu miror; et idem  
indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus;  
360 verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum.  
Vt pictura, poesis; erit quae, si propius stes,  
te capiat magis, et quaedam, si longius abstes;  
haec amat obscurum; volet haec sub luce videri,

355. *venia caret*: 'can no longer be pardoned.'

357. *qui multum cessat*: this corresponds to *peccat idem* and *semper oberrat*. — *Choerilus ille*: *Epist.* 2, 1, 233.

358–360. *cum risu miror*: *i.e.*, 'he is generally so poor that, when once or twice he says a good thing, it only makes me laugh and wonder how he came to do it.' — *idem*: with adversative implication, as often; 'and, on the other hand.' — *indignor*: not 'I am angry,' but in its proper sense, 'I count it unworthy of him.' — *quandoque*: = *quandocumque*; the different forms of the indefinite relative were never as clearly differentiated in usage as they are in the grammars. — *bonus*: a standing epithet. — *dormitat*: cf. *dormire*, *Sat.* 2, 1, 7, in a figurative sense not unlike this. — Vs. 360 is a humorous excuse playing upon the literal sense of *dormitat*. — The thought here is only apparently contradictory to vs. 347 and vss. 351 f.; *non ego*

*paucis offender maculis* means 'I will not condemn a whole poem for a few faults'; *indignor* . . . *Homerus* does not mean 'I am angry with Homer for his few faults,' but rather 'I so admire Homer that, when he makes an occasional slip, my only feeling is that it is unworthy of so great a poet.' The word *indignor* is not the same as *offendar*; it is selected for the contrast with *cum risu miror* and means scarcely more than 'I wonder at it,' 'I am surprised.'

361–365. *ut pictura, poesis*: the comparison is not original; cf. *Auct. ad Herenn.* 4, 28, 39, *poema loquens pictura, pictura tacitum poema debet esse*. It should be noticed that the comparison, which is suggested by the thought of vss. 347–360, concerns only the proper attitude of the critic toward works of art, either pictures or poems, not their essential characteristics. — In carrying a comparison out into details, as is done here, there is

- iudicis argutum quae non formidat acumen :  
 365 haec placuit semel, haec decies repetita placebit.  
 O maior iuvenum, quamvis et voce paterna  
 fingeris ad rectum et per te sapis, hoc tibi dictum  
 tolle memor, certis medium et tolerabile rebus  
 recte concedi : consultus iuris et actor  
 370 causarum mediocris abest virtute diserti  
 Messallae, nec scit quantum Cascellius Aulus,  
 sed tamen in pretio est; mediocribus esse poetis  
 non homines, non di, non concessere columnae.

always a tendency to let the mind rest upon one side, sometimes to the exclusion of the other side. The contrast in *propius, longius* is primarily pictorial, not poetic, though it doubtless means, secondarily, to contrast poetry highly finished in details with poetry on a larger scale, like an epic. But *haec amat obscurum*, which is a very just remark about some paintings, is almost meaningless when used of a poem. The last line, vs. 365, is written with poetry primarily in mind (*repetita*), though it applies equally well to a picture.

366. *maior iuvenum*: this is almost the only personal touch in the epistle, and it is not certain that this address to the elder brother means anything more than that he is now old enough to be making his choice of a career.

367. *ad rectum*: in matters of taste; cf. *recte*, vs. 309. — *per te sapis*: a polite phrase to take off the edge of the rather earnest

advice, as in the first lines of *Epist.* 1, 17, *satis per te tibi consulis*, and *Epist.* 1, 18, *si bene te novi*. — *hoc dictum*: in vss. 372 f.

368. *tolle memor*: *i.e.*, 'carry away with you and store in your memory,' as if the epistle were really a *sermo*. — *medium*: not as Horace often uses the word, but 'mediocre,' 'moderately good.'

369. *consultus, actor*: the two branches of the legal profession, the jurist and the pleader.

370. *mediocris*: the emphatic word; 'of only moderate ability.' — *abest*: *i.e.*, 'fails to attain to.'

371. *Messallae*: cf. *Sat.* 1, 10, 29, note. He was a man of much distinction in several fields. — *Cascellius*: distinguished in the Ciceronian period as a jurist and an orator. He was probably not living at this time.

372-373. *in pretio*: of value; a term of moderate praise. — *mediocribus*: dative in the predicate; cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 19, *licet esse beatis*. —



- Vt gratas inter mensas symphonia discors  
 375 et crassum unguentum et Sardo cum melle papaver  
 offendunt, poterat duci quia cena sine istis:  
 sic animis natum inventumque poema iuvandis,  
 si paullum summo decessit, vergit ad imum.  
 Ludere qui nescit, campestribus abstinet armis,  
 380 indoctusque pilae discive trochive quiescit,  
 ne spissae risum tollant impune coronae;  
 qui nescit versus, tamen audet fingere. Quidni?  
 Liber et ingenuus, praesertim census equestrem

This is the *dictum* of vs. 367. — *columnae*: an intentionally lofty word for the *pilae* (*Sat.* 1, 4, 71), posts in front of the shop where announcements of books or copies of the books themselves were hung to attract buyers. There is also an intentional anticlimax in *hominēs, di, columnae*.

374–376. ‘This is true of any luxury; only the best is really good.’ — *symphonia discors*: to the educated Roman leader, acquainted with Greek, the contradiction in these words would be as obvious as in the phrase *concordia discors*, *Epist.* 1, 12, 19. Music was often played during a dinner. — *crassum*: *thick, coarse*. — *Sardo*: of inferior quality. — *papaver*: the seeds of the white poppy. — *duci*: *carried on*.

377. *natum*: so of a wall, *Sat.* 2, 3, 8. — The distinction between the arts which have to do only with pleasure and cultivation and those which serve also a practical

end is made by Cicero, in comparing the actor and the orator.

379. *ludere*: the general sense which this word has when standing alone is immediately made definite by the next words. — *campestribus . . . armis*: those which are mentioned in the next verse.

380. *pilae*: *Sat.* 1, 5, 49. — *disci*: *Sat.* 2, 2, 13, where (in vs. 11) these two forms of Greek athletics are contrasted with hunting and riding.

381. *impune*: *i.e.*, there would be no ground on which the player who was laughed at could resent the ridicule; *justly, properly*.

382. *qui nescit*: this is the opinion expressed in *Epist.* 2, 1, 114–117, under a slightly different figure.

382. *quidni*: *why not, of course?* In this phrase *ni* has no conditional force.

383–384. ‘He’s a perfectly respectable citizen. Why shouldn’t

summam nummorum, vitioque remotus ab omni.

- 385 Tu nihil invita dices faciesve Minerva;  
 id tibi iudicium esto, ea mens: si quid tamen olim  
 scripseris, in Maeci descendat iudicis aures,  
 et patris et nostras, nonumque prematur in annum,  
 membranis intus positis. Delere licebit  
 390 quod non edideris; nescit vox missa reverti.  
 Silvestris homines sacer interpresque deorum

he write poetry?'—*census*: the participle, retaining in the passive the cognate accus. of the active. The construction is rare.—*vitio remotus*: so *sine crimine* in a similar description, *Epist.* 1, 7, 56.

385. *tu*: referring back to vs. 366, and returning, after the general remarks of vs. 374 ff., to the personal application.—*nihil . . . dices*: concessive in force (cf. *tamen*), like *quavis . . . per te sapis*, vs. 366 f., and with the same courteous intention.—*invita . . . Minerva*: this phrase was proverbial and is explained by Cicero (*de Off.* 1, 31, 110), *invita Minerva, ut aiunt, id est, adversante et repugnante natura*. Minerva is here the goddess of the intellectual powers.

386. *id, ea*: *such*. The construction is paratactic for 'such is your judgment that you will say nothing. . . .'

387. *Maeci*: Sp. Maecius Targa, named in *Sat.* 1, 10, 38 as a critic of authority. He is named here merely as a representative of the

severe criticism to which the writings of a young man should be submitted.

388. *et patris et nostras*: as critics also, though perhaps more friendly critics.—*nonum . . . in annum*: this famous precept is not to be understood literally or definitely. The meaning is that a young writer should hold back his work for mature consideration and revision. The number (*nonum*) was perhaps chosen because the poet Helvius Cinna spent nine years in the writing and correcting of his epic *Smyrna* (Catull. 95, 1-2). But this case was by no means unique; Vergil spent seven years upon the *Georgics* and left the *Aeneid* unfinished after ten years of work upon it.

390. *vox missa*: the expression is figurative; literally, it refers to the spoken word, as in *Epist.* 1, 18, 71, *semel emissum volat irrevocabile verbum*.

391-407. 'But, on the other hand, do not think that poetry is too light an occupation for a serious Roman, for it has contributed

- caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus,  
dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones;  
dictus et Amphion Thebanæ conditor urbis  
395 saxa movere sono testudinis et prece blanda  
ducere quo vellet. Fuit hæc sapientia quondam,  
publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis,  
concubitu prohibere vago, dare iura maritis,  
oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno.  
400 Sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque

largely to the movement of civilization.' This thought is repeated in substance in *Epist.* 2, 1, 118-138. But the tone there is less historical and more abstract, and there is consequently little repetition of phrases or illustrations.

391. *silvestris*: *i.e.*, men in their primitive state, still living in the woods. — *sacer*: the poet is *vates*, inspired singer, interpreter of the divine will.

392. *victu foedo*: *i.e.*, the acorns and nuts which they lived upon as the animals did. The adj. *foedo* is used in a general way of the kind of life, rather than of anything unpleasant in the food itself.

393. *dictus ob hoc*: 'this is the origin of the legend of his taming tigers.'

394. *dictus*: the repetition of the word at the beginning of the line is meant to suggest that the story of Amphion is also a legend, the real purpose of which is to express in vivid form the power of the singer.

395. *prece*: his song moved

rocks as it moved the gods, when it was addressed to them; cf. *Epist.* 2, 1, 135, *docta prece blandus*, of the chorus.

396. *hæc*: referring back to the work of Orpheus and Amphion, and then analyzed and explained in the following infinitive phrases.

397-399. Cf. the similar account of the evolution of society in *Sat.* 1, 3, 99-110, where, however, it is used to support the Epicurean doctrine that all moral ideas are derived from *utilitas*. — *concubitu . . . vago*: *venerem incertam rapi-entis more ferarum*, *Sat.* 1, 3, 109. — *maritis*: 'to husband and wife.' The regulation of marriage was one of the most important matters of Roman law. — *ligno*: perhaps a reference to the tradition that the laws of Solon were made public on wooden tablets. But there is a similar tradition in regard to the Twelve Tables.

400. *sic*: because poets were leaders in all these civilizing movements.

carminibus venit. Post hos insignis Homerus  
 Tyrtaeusque mares animos in Martia bella  
 versibus exacuit; dictae per carmina sortes,  
 et vitae monstrata via est; et gratia regum  
 405 Pieriis tentata modis, ludusque repertus,  
 et longorum operum finis: ne forte pudori  
 sit tibi Musa lyrae sollers et cantor Apollo.  
 Natura fieret laudabile carmen, an arte,  
 quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena,  
 410 nec rude quid prosit video ingenium; alterius sic  
 altera poscit opem res et coniurat amice.  
 Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,

401. hos: the *divinis vatibus*, of whom Orpheus and Amphion were the earliest examples.

402. Tyrtaeus: the poet who wrote war songs and marching songs for the Spartans, in the seventh century B.C. — mares: as in *Epist.* I, I, 64, *maribus Curii*.

403. exacuit: the subject is *Homerus*, as well as Tyrtaeus. Horace frequently uses a singular verb with several singular subjects. The thought of the sentence is, 'poets inspired men to deeds of valor,' taking up again the enumeration of the services of poetry to mankind. — sortes: in the more general sense, *oracles*, which were uttered in hexameters.

404. vitae... via: in didactic poetry, like that of Hesiod. — gratia regum: Pindar, Bacchylides, Simonides were all in some sense court poets.

405-406. ludus... finis: dra-

matic poetry. The thought is more fully expressed in *Epist.* 2, I, 139-142. — ne forte: a 'parenthetic' clause of purpose, summarizing the argument of vss. 391-406.

408-415. 'Both nature and art must contribute to make a good poet — though I know that this is not the accepted doctrine.'

408. natura... an arte: this was an old question, usually answered as here by saying that both are necessary. Cf., e.g., Cic. *pro Arch.* 7, 15.

409. studium: = *ars*. — vena: of precious metals, as in modern usage.

410. rude... ingenium: = *natura sine arte*.

411. amice: i.e., 'it is a mistake to oppose nature and skill, as if they were enemies; they are really close friends.'

412-415. The error of attempt-

- multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,  
 abstinuit venere et vino. Qui Pythia cantat  
 415 tibicen, didicit prius extimuitque magistrum.  
 Nunc satis est dixisse: 'Ego mira poemata pango;  
 occupet extremum scabies; mihi turpe relinqui est,  
 et quod non didici sane nescire fateri.'  
 Vt praeco, ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas,  
 420 adsentatores iubet ad lucrum ire poeta  
 dives agris, dives positus in faenore nummis.  
 Si vero est, unctum qui recte ponere possit,  
 et spondere levi pro paupere, et eripere artis

ing to write without sufficient training is illustrated in *Epist.* 2, 1, 114 ff. by a comparison with trades and professions, in vss. 379 ff. by a comparison with the players in games of skill, and here by a reference to the practice needed for success in the Pythian games. — *cursu*: in the foot race, from which so many figures have been drawn. — *tulit fecitque*: *i.e.*, both passive and active preparation. — *puer*: 'from boyhood.' — *Pythia cantat*: cf. *coronari Olympia*, *Epist.* 1, 1, 50. Musical contests were a regular part of the games. — *extimuit*: *i.e.*, 'has endured discipline from which, at the time, he shrank.'

416. *nunc satis est*: 'but nowadays poets are satisfied with their own approval and think courage is the only quality necessary to writing.'

417. *occupet . . . scabies*: 'the devil take the hindmost.' The

Scholiast says that this is part of a phrase used by children in a game and gives the whole chant, *habeat scabiem quisquis ad me venerit novissimus* (arranged in metrical order). Cf. *Epist.* 1, 1, 59, note.

418. *sane*: at all, with *nescire*.

420. *ad lucrum*: 'as the auctioneer summons a crowd who hope to make something by buying cheap, so the rich author invites flattery.'

421. This verse occurs also in *Sat.* 1, 2, 13, where, however, it is not necessary to the sense, as it is here.

422. *unctum*: a rich morsel. — *ponere*: as a host places a good dinner before his guests.

423. *levi*: *i.e.*, a poor man who is so lacking in self-respect as to be willing to profit by such help. — The object of *eripere* is to be supplied from *pro paupere*. — *artis*: 'lawsuits that bind him tight.'

litibus implicitum ; mirabor, si sciet inter-  
 425 noscere mendacem verumque beatus amicum.  
 Tu seu donaris, seu quid donare voles cui,  
 nolito ad versus tibi factos ducere plenum  
 laetitiae ; clamabit enim 'pulchre ! bene ! recte !'  
 pallescet super his ; etiam stillabit amicis  
 430 ex oculis rorem, saliet, tundet pede terram.  
 Vt qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt  
 et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo, sic  
 derisor vero plus laudatore movetur.  
 Reges dicuntur multis urgere culullis

[This is Bentley's conjecture. The reading of the Mss., *atris*, cannot be justified by *atra cura*.]

424. *inter . . . noscere* : cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 117 f., *unde . . . octoginta* ; *Epist.* 2, 2, 93. It is to be remembered that to the Roman feeling the difference between the juxtaposition of two words and their composition into a single word was much less distinct than it is in English. The habit of reading from print prevents us from perceiving actual composition in such a phrase, for example, as *not at all*.

425. *beatus* : 'in his self-satisfaction.'

426. *donaris* : = *donaveris* ; 'if you already have some person who is under obligation to you.'

427. *tibi factos* : 'the verses that you, his host and benefactor, have made.'

429. *super his* : 'at this or that passage,' which is intended to excite terror.

430. *saliat* : as an expression of joy, when that is the proper emotion : — *tundet . . . terram* : when he hears of the wickedness of the villain of the drama. — All this is, of course, a humorous exaggeration of natural expressions of emotion.

431. *conducti* : *for hire*. There are various allusions to the custom of hiring women (*præficae*) to accompany a funeral procession with cries of grief. The masculine is used in order that the phrase may be more directly applicable to the flattering friend.

432. *ex animo* : with *dolentibus*, contrasting with *conducti*.

433. *derisor* : *i.e.*, 'the man who is pretending to admire, but is in his heart laughing at the poet for being so easily fooled.' — *movetur* : 'makes a greater show of emotion,' as already described.

434. *reges* : this is like the allusion in *Sat.* 1, 2, 86, *regibus hic*



- 435 et torquere mero quem perspexisse laborant,  
 an sit amicitia dignus: si carmina condes,  
 nunquam te fallent animi sub vulpe latentes.  
 Quintilio si quid recitares, 'corrigere sodes  
 hoc,' aiebat, 'et hoc': melius te posse negares  
 440 bis terque expertum frustra, delere iubebat  
 et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.  
 Si defendere delictum quam vertere malles,

*mos est*, but neither custom is elsewhere mentioned.

435. *torquere mero*: cf. *Epist.* 1, 18, 38, note. This is the general idea which is expressed in the saying *in vino veritas*. — *laborant*: *are anxious, are striving*.

437. *fallent*: *i.e.*, 'you need not use such means as these, for your flatterer will reveal himself surely enough.' — *sub vulpe*: the allusion is to the fox who flattered the raven in order to get the bit of cheese (*Phaedr.* 1, 13), keeping his real purpose (*animi*) out of sight (*latentes*). The phrase *sub vulpe* is therefore a concise expression for 'as the fox hid his purpose in his heart.'

438. *Quintilio*: the abruptness of the transition gives a strong adversative force; 'Quintilius, on the other hand, will speak his mind plainly.' This is the Quintilius Varus whose death Horace mourned in the noble ode, *Carm.* 1, 24, attributing to him *incorrupta Fides nudaque Veritas*. — *recitares*: of the past, as *aiebat*,

*iubebat* show, not an ordinary unfulfilled condition.

439. *negares*: a condition without *si* expressed, but dependent upon *si* of vs. 438, which is again expressed in vs. 442.

441. 'If, on a second or third attempt, the verses prove incapable of improvement, then they must be stricken out and the thought must be expressed in some entirely new form, as a metal worker puts a piece of work that cannot be properly finished back upon the anvil and begins all over again.' The finishing of the metal work was sometimes done on the lathe, and *male tornatos* means 'which come out badly in the finishing process.' Such work would be taken back to the anvil (*incudi*), to be forged over again.

442. *vertere*: *to change, to amend*. In this general sense *vertere* needs some additional defining phrase, usually *in* with the accus.; here the definition is already given by *defendere delictum*. [It is quite impossible that there should be any connection with

nullum ultra verbum aut operam insumebat inanem,  
quin sine rivali teque et tua solus amares.

- 445 Vir bonus et prudens versus reprehendet inertes,  
culpabit duros, incomptis adlinet atrum  
transverso calamo signum, ambitiosa recidet  
ornamenta, parum claris lucem dare coget,  
arguet ambigue dictum, mutanda notabit,  
450 fiet Aristarchus, nec dicet, 'cur ego amicum  
offendam in nugis?' Hae nugae seria ducent  
in mala derisum semel exceptumque sinistre.

*vertere stilum*, as many good editions say.]

443. *inanem*: predicate; *to no effect*.

444. *sine rivali*: with *solus*; the phrase is used by Cic. (*ad Q. Fr.* 3, 8, 4) as if it were proverbial.

445-449. The attitude of the frank and competent critic, which has been outlined in the reminiscence of Quintilius Varus, is here defined in more general terms, with the *vir bonus et prudens* substituted for Quintilius and with future tenses instead of imperfects. The process of revision is illustrated in details which are undoubtedly drawn from Horace's own experience and practice and which therefore reveal to us something of his method of work. The faults selected for illustration are those which Horace has especially endeavored to avoid; *versus inertes* (flat, lacking in vigor of expression), *duros* (harsh in sound and rhythm), *incomptis*

(ill-arranged in order of thought), *ambitiosa* (aiming too directly at effect), *parum claris* (words which do not sufficiently express the thought), *ambigue dictum* (phrases which are capable of more than one interpretation). Some of these have parallels in *Epist.* 2, 2, 122 f. There is a careful variation in the verbs also; *reprehendet*, *culpabit*, *arguet* are general, *adlinet atrum signum*, *recidet*, *lucem dare coget* are more specific.

450. *Aristarchus*: the famous Homeric critic, who lived in Alexandria in the second century B.C. His name had become typical of the severe critic.

451-452. *hae nugae*: 'these things which you call trifles.'—*derisum semel*: the poet who has once been ridiculed in public for faults which may be in themselves trifling has suffered a loss of reputation from which he can scarcely recover.

Vt mala quem scabies aut morbus regius urget,  
aut fanaticus error et iracunda Diana,  
155 vesanum titigisse timent fugiuntque poetam  
qui sapiunt: agitant pueri incautique sequuntur.  
Hic, dum sublimis versus ructatur et errat,  
si veluti merulis intentus decedit auceps  
in puteum foveamve, licet 'succurrite' longum  
460 clamet 'io cives,' non sit qui tollere curet.

453-476. 'Allow me, in conclusion, to hold up to you the picture of the kind of poet you should try not to be—the crazy fool, who thinks himself inspired.'

453. *morbus regius*: this phrase embalms two popular errors, that jaundice was a contagious disease and that it was somehow especially connected with kings or with the rich; to account for the latter various fanciful explanations were given.

454. *fanaticus error*: the frantic dancing of the priests of Bellona (*Sat.* 2, 3, 223, *gaudens cruentis*), who went about the streets cutting themselves in frenzy and begging from the passers-by. The word *fanaticus* (from *fanum*) was used especially of the priests and worship of Bellona and Cybele. — *Diana*: as moon goddess, whose beams were supposed to cause lunacy (*luna*).

455. *vesanum*: = *insanum*.

456. *qui sapiunt*: = *sapientes*; subject of *timent fugiuntque* and contrasted with *incauti*. — *agitant*: at the beginning of the

clause with adversative effect. The picture of the poet in the rôle of the madman, tormented by street boys (cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 133 ff.), while the more reckless of the people follow behind to look on, and the cautious and respectable citizens cross to the other side of the street, is highly effective in its ridicule.

457. *sublimis*: 'with his head in the air.'

458. *merulis intentus*: this reads like an allusion to some well-known story, but no such story has come down to us.

459-460. *longum*: 'so as to be heard afar.' — *non sit*: the grammatical construction is *si . . . decedit, licet . . . clamet, non sit*; the indicative of the condition would naturally be followed by an indicative *non est* in the conclusion, but the concessive clause *licet . . . clamet* comes in and forms a new protasis, under the influence of which the apodosis takes a subjunctive; if 'he falls into a well, even though he should cry out, no one would help him.'

- Si curet quis opem ferre et demittere funem,  
 'qui scis an prudens huc se proiecerit atque  
 servari nolit?' dicam, Siculique poetae  
 narrabo interitum. Deus immortalis haberi  
 465 dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Aetnam  
 insiluit. Sit ius liceatque perire poetis.  
 Invitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti.  
 Nec semel hoc fecit, nec, si retractus erit, iam  
 fiet homo et ponet famosae mortis amorem.  
 470 Nec satis apparet, cur versus factitet; utrum  
 minxerit in patrios cineres, an triste bidental

461-463. 'For, as I should point out to any zealous rescuer, most probably he doesn't want to be rescued.' — *dicam*: apodosis to *si quis curet*. — *Siculi poetae*: Empedocles of Agrigentum, philosopher, poet, and statesman of the fifth century B.C. About his life and death various legends grew up, the one of widest currency being this, that he threw himself into the crater of Aetna. The best thing to be said of this story is that it furnished the theme for Matthew Arnold's 'Empedocles on Etna.'

464. *deus immortalis*: this was one of the motives ascribed to him for the deed.

465. *frigidus*: it is possible that this is an allusion to teachings of Empedocles (who was a physicist), in which he identified life with heat. But the allusion would be rather obscure. It is more likely to be 'in cold blood,' for the contrast with *ardentem*.

467. *idem . . . occidenti*: 'does the same thing as killing him'; *i.e.*, it is just as bad to prevent him from dying when he wants to die, as to kill him when he wants to live. The construction with the dative is rare, but is found in Lucret.; cf. also the abl. after *alius*. This is the only spondaic hexameter in Horace.

468-469. 'And it will do no good to save him; he has tried it before, and he likes the notoriety.'

470. *nec satis apparet*: *i.e.*, 'we don't know the cause of his poetic madness, but the fact is plain.' — *cur versus factitet*: this is expressed as if it were identical with madness.

471-472. *triste bidental*: a spot struck by lightning, which was therefore considered sacred (*triste*) and was consecrated by a sacrifice of *bidentes* (esp. sheep). It was also surrounded by a wall, and any one who should remove this

moverit incestus : certe furit, ac velut ursus  
 obiectos caveae valuit si frangere clathros,  
 indoctum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus ;  
 475 quem vero arripuit, tenet occiditque legendo,  
 non missura cutem, nisi plena cruoris, hirudo.

would be unclean (*incestus*). —  
 certe : 'at any rate, whatever the  
 cause, he is certainly mad.'

474. *indoctum doctumque* : a hu-  
 morous variation on *pueri puellae*,  
*et pueros et anus* ; the mad poet  
 will make no distinction according

to education, if only he can find a  
 hearer. — *fugat* : cf. the story of  
 Ruso, *Sat.* 1, 3, 86 ff.

476. The two objects, that  
 which is compared and that with  
 which it is compared, are, as often  
 identified in the expression.















-1  
-5  
-9  
-10

2-1  
-6  
-8

1-1  
-2  
-3  
-4  
-5  
-6  
-7  
-8  
-9  
-10  
-11  
-12  
-13  
-14  
-15  
-16  
-17  
-18  
-19  
-20



cabbage leaf before drinking wine, no  
drunk or headache. — Cato

---

